

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN THE DEEPEST ANTHROPOGENIC STRATUM AT 3 CONCEPCIÓN STREET IN THE CITY OF HUELVA, SPAIN*

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Abstract

Finds from the occupation layer under the water table at 3 Concepción St, in the historic centre of the city of Huelva, Spain, confirm the early development of an important Phoenician *emporion*, already revealed by pottery and craft and industrial activities in the nearby plot at 7–13 Méndez Núñez St/12 Las Monjas Sq. As well as vessels of Phoenician and local tradition, some Greek Geometric and a significant Sardinian representation have been documented. Whereas the oldest Phoenician pottery in Méndez Núñez St/Las Monjas Sq. was broadly dated to *ca.* 900 BC, the characteristics of a Tyre jug type 9 (in Bikai's classification) from 3 Concepción St point more strongly to the 10th century BC.

Against the background of the finds in the deepest anthropogenic sub-phreatic stratum at 7–13 Méndez Núñez St/12 Las Monjas Sq. (hereinafter MN/PM) in the historic centre of Huelva,¹ we are now presenting the new corresponding finds, just 43 m away, at 3 Concepción St (hereinafter C3) (Fig. 1). The archaeological intervention took place in two phases between May 2009 and September 2010.

SOME GEOLOGICAL AND STRATIGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The old Huelva habitat spread out from a higher elevation, configured by a cluster of hillocks (*cabezos*), towards a lower brackish marsh on the estuary of the Tinto and Odiel rivers. Over the last several decades, excavations in the lower area of the

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** Authors of drawings. Fig. 1: F. González de Canales and M. García Fernández. Drawings I.8 and 15, II.11, 17 and 20, III.2, 7, 9 and 11, IV.14, V.1 and 4, VI.1, 4–7, 9, 13–14, 16 and 20, VII.21, and XIII.5 and 7: M. García Fernández; XIV.1–9, 11 and 15: J. Ramon Torres and M. García Fernández; remaining drawings: L. Serrano Pichardo.

¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004; 2006.

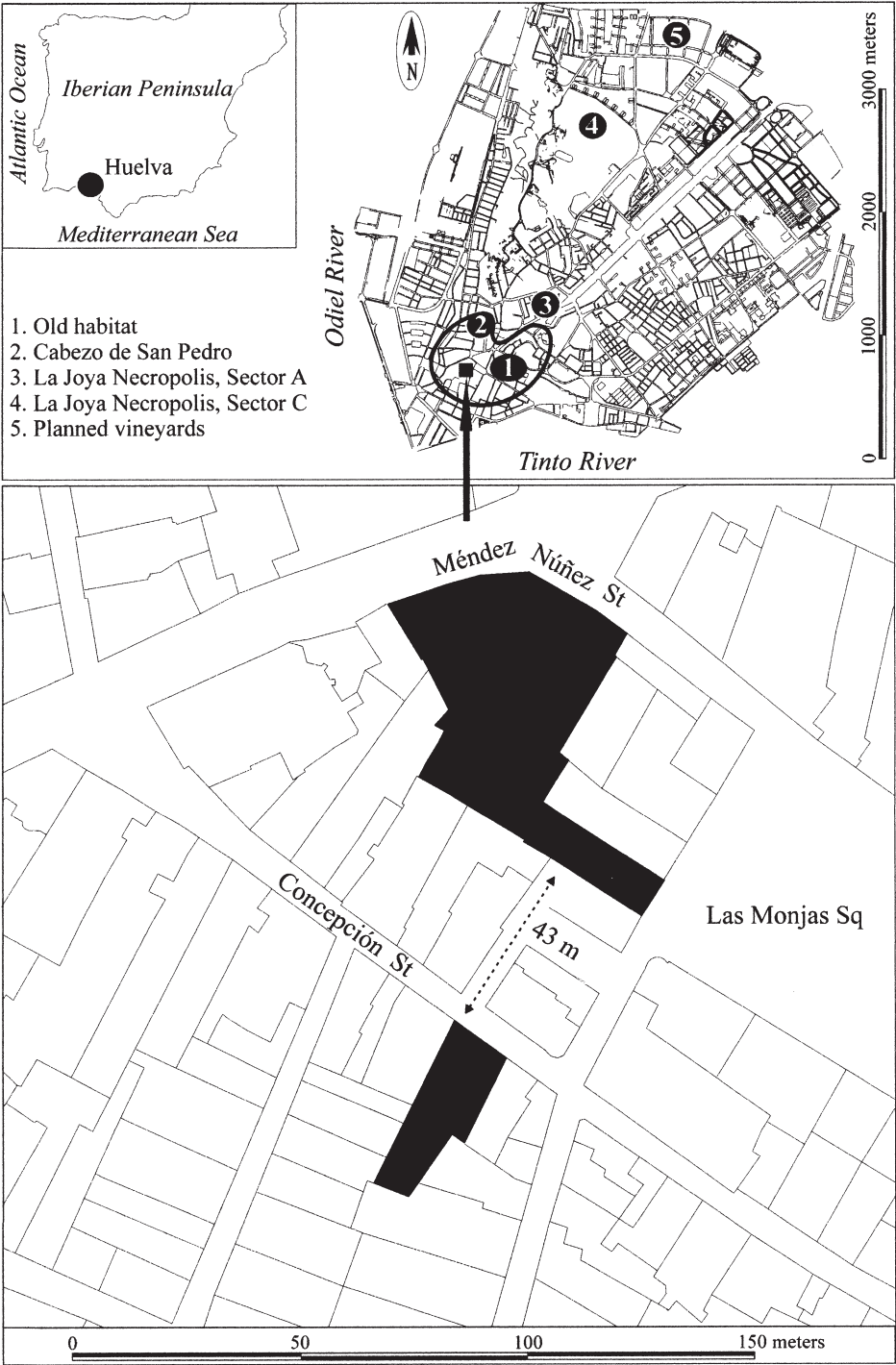


Fig. 1: Huelva site and hinterland.

city had to be interrupted due to the overflow of a strong phreatic layer, whose water table fluctuates depending on position and pluviosity but is always a few metres below ground level.

Although only structures of the late 8th or early 7th centuries could be reached at MN/PM, during the subsequent emptying of the terrain for construction of an underground garage, it was possible to differentiate the deepest sub-phreatic stratum with anthropic activity. This stratum was previously documented in a geotechnical drilling by the dark greyish colour of the soil. Such characteristic and adherence allowed a selective control of the exhumed earths, as is shown by the dating of the recovered pottery to a chronological band of some amplitude, though homogeneous. After the publication of these materials, a series of Groningen's radiometric determinations ascribed cattle bones from the same stratum to a chronological band different from that estimated by the pottery, though also homogeneous.² In the case of C3, after the interruption of the excavation when the phreatic level was reached, the recovery of materials followed by controlling the earthwork during the emptying of the terrain. In this case, the stratum under examination was between 4.7 and 5.5 m below ground level (thickness 80 cm); not dissimilar to the one at MN/PM.

It is obvious that the difficulties inherent to excavations of sub-phreatic strata in metropolitan areas can be enormous, as in the case of MN/PM and C3 where landslides provoked the collapse of neighbouring buildings. From another standpoint, although it might be thought that an organised excavation could exhaust the archaeological record, the differentiation of hypothetical substrata within the incumbent stratum can not be granted *a priori*. The reason is that, *de visu*, the stratum shows a great deal of homogeneity, explainable by a prolonged sub-phreatic situation and its being subject to flooding by great oceanic tides during its formation, since it is located virtually at sea level. This is what samples of earths recovered at different levels suggest.³ While the deepest sample (pre-anthropoc level) showed a marshy media over which the first occupation had happened (muddy nature of the sediments, abundant vegetation, absence of marine organisms and shell fragments conveyed from the marine environment), more superficial samples, corresponding to the stratum under consideration (anthropic level), aimed at an occasional (muddy materials with abundant remains of marshy vegetation, scarce molluscs and marine foraminifera) or permanently submerged tidal plain (muddy sands rich in bivalve and gastropod molluscs and foraminifera). These results can only be explained by floods similar to the ones experienced in the lower areas of the city until not long

² Nijboer and van der Plicht 2006.

³ We would like to thank Prof. González Regalado, of the Experimental Sciences Department at the University of Huelva, for her sedimentological study based on the following references: Gofas *et al.* 2011; Laporte 1981; and Murray 1991.

ago, which at that time might have caused periods of depopulation. The action of tidal waves, whose impact over the lower parts of the habitat might have been devastating, could also be considered. Geological studies of numerous soundings in the Tinto-Odiel estuary inform us about the historical repetition of this type of cataclysm.⁴ The most recent was the 1755 Great Lisbon Earthquake.

Another issue to consider is the possibility that material in a secondary deposit was dragged down from an upper position. Although the Cabezo del Viento, the closest hillock, was demolished in 1872, a 1870 map with contour lines shows an elevation of 40 m. The space between this hillock and both MN/PM and C3 was over 100 m with no practicable slope, owing to its nature – brackish marsh. Other than this, although Phoenician pottery from the deepest stratum of MN/PM was associated with ceramics of local tradition, similar to the ones ascribed to Phase I at Cabezo de San Pedro, in this hillock, Phoenician pottery from that period was absent. Since it is implausible that just the Phoenician, but no local pottery, was going to be dragged down selectively from the hillock, the obvious interpretation is that, during that early phase, the lower areas must have been occupied by a mixed Phoenician-local population, while the hillocks were inhabited, for preference, by the locals. Neither can the selective dragging down of oven walls, big smelting slags, and other artefacts found in MN/PM – and no rolling stones or fragments of tertiary bivalve shells so common in the hillocks – be explained by the sweeping away due to surface run-off. Consequently, the primary deposition of recovered materials must have happened in the sub-phreatic stratum where they were found, except for possible displacements by cleaning, common to any inhabited space. The next question refers to the type of construction in the site during those initial stages.

As from the 8th century BC, an urban mesh is recorded in Huelva not differing from the Eastern pattern with houses made of adobe and two types of rocks: slate and, in some singular buildings, calcarenite ashlar. Such rocks are alien to the site and needed transportation from the Gibraleón and Niebla quarries, respectively some 15 and 30 km distant. Although in the earths from the MN/PM deepest stratum appeared some slate fragments, it does not seem that this kind of stone was used extensively during the first phases. Rather suggestive was the presence of thickly worked tree trunks and, in C3, adobe debris. As stated above, we can rule out that these building blocks, like all other artefacts and ecofacts, could have ended up in a secondary position as a consequence of being swept away from upper levels.

⁴ Morales *et al.* 2008.

POTTERY OF PHOENICIAN TRADITION

Although there is extensive research on and at Phoenician sites, or sites of Phoenician influence, vessels recorded in Tyre,⁵ Cyprus⁶ and Sarepta⁷ continue to be a fundamental reference for the 10th to 8th centuries BC. For this reason, as well as historical character and vascular analogies, preference was given in MN/PM to typologies differentiated in Tyre by P.M. Bikai. However, in order to sort out the material excavated, some categories were given an *ad hoc* classification. Regardless of hypothetical local productions, which should be resolved by further clay analyses, what we could appreciate in the period before the emergence of Western Phoenician plates, with wide and everted rim, were shapes similar to the Tyrian, without ruling out the arrival of Phoenicians of some other provenance.

In C3, it seemed appropriate to keep the same classification criteria, also considering further contributions after the completion of the MN/PM study, such as the publication of Kition pottery by Bikai.⁸ Thus, the Tyre and Kition types referred to in this work – with which we parallel the documented material – correspond to those established by Bikai in 1978 and 2003, respectively; the Sarepta types to the ones referred to by Anderson in 1988; and those of Huelva, as differentiated in MN/PM in 2004.

A matter already addressed in MN/PM is the alteration of clays and surfaces by a process of heavy environmental reduction.⁹ Although colours are sometimes acceptably preserved (as bands painted on the neck of Phoenician jug VI.4 [= Pl. XVI.2]), the usual effect is the shift of supposedly original reddish-orange to whitish-grey.

Eight hundred and thirty vessels, catalogued from diagnostic fragments of rim and base, to which one perfume burner, or perhaps a chalice, has been added (with its body partially preserved) will be presented as follows: 1) Plates; 2) Fine Ware; 3) Bowls; 4) Jugs; 5) Heavy-Walled Juglets; 6) Juglets; 7) Perfume Burner (or Chalice?); 8) Supports; 9) Covers; 10) Mortars; 11) Lamps; 12) Phoenician Copies of Greek Skyphoi; 13) Bases. A further section is devoted to all recorded amphorae.

⁵ Bikai 1978a.

⁶ Bikai 1987a.

⁷ Anderson 1988.

⁸ Bikai 2003.

⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 33–34.

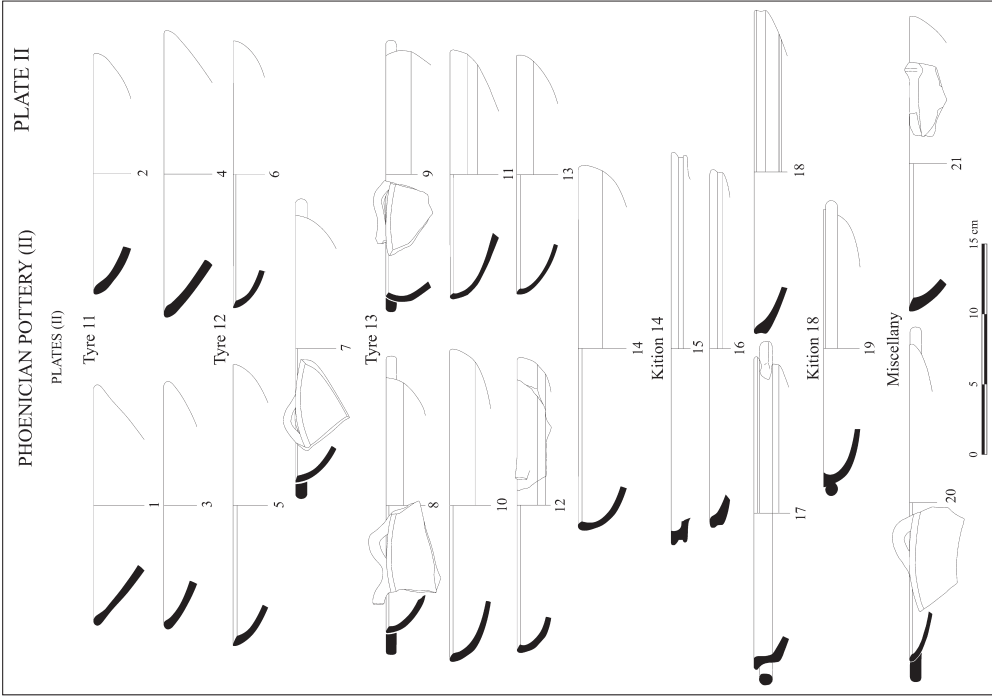


Plate II: Phoenician pottery (II).

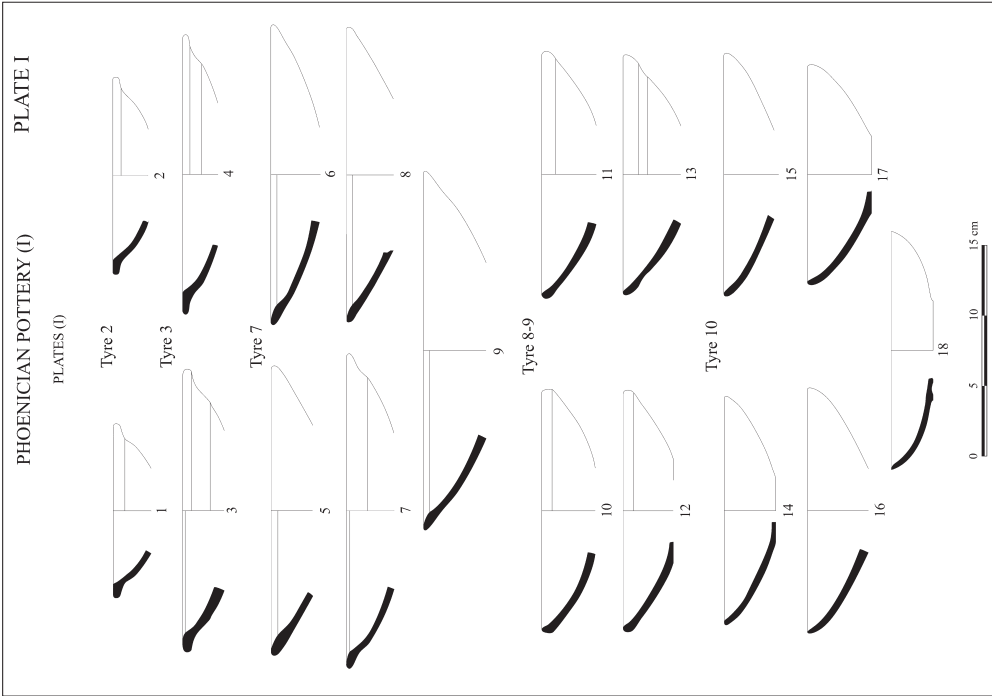


Plate I: Phoenician pottery (I).

1. Plates

Tyre Plate 2: 11 examples (Pl. I.1–2).

Plate with 15 cm average diameter, a flat base type 7 and rim of different orientation. When inverted, it can sit either on the interior edge of the rim, on the exterior edge, or flat on the rim itself. Rarely burnished. It first appears in Tyre Stratum IV and massively at Stratum III. Plate type 7, probable predecessor of Plate 2, differs in being better made, having a larger diameter and a narrower ridge at the rim.¹⁰ In Kition, where the distinction of 7 is not so clear, a better-made type 2B is differentiated, which is deeper, wider in diameter and generally red slipped only inside. Both types, 2A and 2B, are already present at Kition in 'Floor I-3'.¹¹

Tyre Plate 3: 7 examples (Pl. I.3–4).

Plate almost always well finished and burnished, with base type 1 or 2 and rim usually wider than Plate 2, that generally sits flat on the rim when inverted. It appears in Tyre IV, increasing in the following strata.¹² Attending to shape and burnish, seven examples have been estimated in C3 with some reserves.

Tyre Plate 7: 175 examples (Pl. I.5–9).

This plate, 19.8 cm in average diameter, rim with an interior ridge and flat base type 7, can be burnished or, exceptionally, red slipped and burnished. It is found first of all in Tyre VI, reaching its maximum occurrence in Tyre IV.¹³ In MN/PM, 380 examples were counted;¹⁴ a few of very big size were not included but referred to as dishes or large bowls (see below: Huelva Bowl 1).

Tyre Plates 8–9: 18 examples (Pl. I.10–13).

Plate 8 is a plain straight-sided flaring plate with a rim sometimes slightly thickened and a string-cut flat base. Rarely burnished. Witnessed in Strata XIII.2–I of Tyre, with peak incidence in Stratum IV.¹⁵ Plate 9, present in Strata XIII.2–II, with a maximum in Strata VI–V, is formally similar, but often burnished and the interior decorated with red or red and black bands.¹⁶ The grouping of these plates in Huelva

¹⁰ Bikai 1978a, 22–23 and table 3A.

¹¹ Bikai 2003, 224, tables 8, 15, 16 and pl. 1.22–30.

¹² Bikai 1978a, 22 and table 3A.

¹³ Bikai 1978a, 23 and table 3A.

¹⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 35 and pls. I.1, I.2 = XLIV.3, I.3–4, I.5 = XLIV.2, I.6–8, I.9 = XLIV.1 and I.10–24.

¹⁵ Bikai 1978a, 23–24 and table 3A.

¹⁶ Bikai 1978a, 24 and table 3A.

is justified in that the discolouration by the reducing medium prevents their differentiation in many cases. The average diameter of 50 samples, measured amongst 465 of MN/PM, was 17 cm.¹⁷

Tyre Plate 10: 69 examples (Pl. I.14–18).

Halfway between Plates 8 and 11, and almost always burnished inside, Plate 10 differs from 8 by its curved body wall and unthickened rim. Its average diameter is 17.24 cm and has a low ring Base 8, although there are examples with a type 7 flat base.¹⁸ There is a maximum incidence in Strata XII–V, with a marked decrease from Stratum IV onward. As in MN/PM, where 93 examples were exhumed,¹⁹ some rims of C3 attributed to this plate could belong to Huelva type 2 bowls (see below).

Tyre Plate 11: 14 examples (Pl. II.1–4).

Well-fired plate, almost always burnished, with slight thickening of the interior rim and curved body wall. Usually low ring Base 8, but examples with the flat Base 7 do occur. Though it is attested in all Tyre strata, except in I, it decays significantly from Stratum IV onward.²⁰ Average diameter of 12 examples selected out of 18 from MN/PM was 21 cm.²¹

The ten type 11 plates represented at Tyre regularly offer a more curved wall and are deeper than the ones from C3, but similar cases are not lacking (for example, Tyre [Bikai 1978a], pl. XXXI.1 and 3 and C3, Pl. II.2–3).

Tyre Plate 12: 12 examples (Pl. II.5–7).

Similar to Plate 11, but its body wall is usually more curved and the thickening of the interior rim has been squared-off. It shows an average diameter of 18.33 cm and, either, a flat Base 7 or a low ring Base 8. Their representation decreases from Stratum X-1 onward.²² Out of the 12 cases considered in C3, three have handles and four have a squared-off rim, but not significantly thickened, and one of which also shows remains of a handle (Pl. II.7).

Although these C3 plates show a curved body and a squared-off rim like type 12, they differ from their Tyre equivalents, which, for instance, show a thicker rim.

¹⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 35 and pls. II.1, II.2 = XLIV.4, II.3–4, II.5 = XLIV.5, II.6–9, II.10 = XLIV.6 and II.11–36.

¹⁸ Bikai 1978a, 24 and table 3A.

¹⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 37 and pls. III.1–3, III.4 = XLIV.7, III.5 = XLIV.9, III.6 and III.7 = XLIV.8.

²⁰ Bikai 1978a, 24–25 and table 3A.

²¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 37 and pls. III.8–13 and XLIV.10–13.

²² Bikai 1978a, 25 and table 3A.

Other plates assigned to type 13, by showing carination and, at times, handles, have a rim similar to type 12 (for example, Pl. II.12 and II.14; see also 'heterogeneous forms' in comments to type 13).

Tyre Plate 13: 22 examples (Pls. II.8–14, XVI.1).

Tyre Plate 13, well finished, mostly burnished and with an average diameter of 18.08 cm, offers a slight carination as most prominent feature and, often, knobs or small horizontal handles. Its rim can be either straight or slightly thickened on the interior. It can occur with either a flat Base 7 or a low ring Base 8. This plate prevails in Strata XIV–VIII, with a rebound in Stratum VI and sharp decline from Stratum V onward.²³ In MN/PM, 11 examples were accounted for.²⁴ Some of C3 have handle remains while others are supposed to have had them, but they are not extant due to the small size of the fragments. Four show a thickened squared-off rim internally (Pl. II.8 = XVI.1 and Pl. II.14) as type 12 – two of which keep handle remains (Pl. II.8 = XVI.1) – and three a squared-off rim internally but not significantly thickened – two of them also with handles (Pl. II.9 and 12). These heterogeneous forms hinder an ascription.

In some examples similarities are approximate, since, for instance, the ones represented at Tyre offer a more prominent carination than C3. However, examples with a very prominent carination, like II.9, are not lacking at C3.

Kition Plate 14: 4 examples (Pl. II.15–18).

Documented from Kition 'Floor I-3' onwards, this plate is perceived as a deteriorated version of Tyre Fine Ware 7.²⁵ It is equivalent to Sarepta Bowl/Plate X-10.²⁶ Four examples have been catalogued in C3, one of which preserves part of a handle (Pl. II.17).

Kition Plate 18: Single example (Pl. II.19).

This plate is equivalent to Lehmann form 14,²⁷ with a rounded thickening, like a roll, on the exterior of the rim. Its representation in Kition is limited to five examples, three in Floor 3-2A and two in Floor 2A.²⁸

²³ Bikai 1978a, 25 and table 3A.

²⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 37–38 and pls. III.14 = XLV.1, III.15–17, III.18 = XLV.2, III.19 = XLV.3, III.20 = XLV.4 and III.21–22

²⁵ Bikai 2003, 224, tables 8, 15 and pl. 2.6–8.

²⁶ Anderson 1988, 149–50 and pls. 35.10 and 47.X-10.

²⁷ Lehmann 1996, 363 with parallels and pl. 4.14/1–2.

²⁸ Bikai 2003, 225, tables 8, 15 and pl. 2.21–22.

Miscellaneous: 9 examples (Pl. II.20–21).

Three plates show a lowered and gently rounded rim on the inside and handle remains (Pl. II.20) and a fourth, with a similar rim, a plastic decoration in the form of a long bone (Pl. II.21). Another five are close to type 2, but lack or have some features that make them different.

2. Fine Ware

The definition of fine ware differs according to wall thickness or the quality and finish of the vessel, all of which may result in inconsistencies.²⁹ Here we shall adopt the classification established in MN/PM, aware of the fact that some examples ascribed to Huelva Fine Ware 3 are of poor quality and, conversely, certain bowls type 3, 4, 5 and 8 of Huelva could be considered fine ware without any objection, as, in fact, similar cases are referred to in Tyre. In C3 we also appreciate one example of Tyre Fine Ware 3 and another of type 7, not recorded in MN/PM.

Huelva Fine Ware 1: Single example (Pl. III.1).

A high quality carinated plate with a thin wall, often extremely thin, and a rim 2–3 cm wide, usually slightly convex and, sometimes, decorated with grooves. Occasionally, the rim is concave and may end in a thin lip pointing outwards. Among 103 examples entered in MN/PM (to which, plausibly, most of other 162 with incomplete rims can be added), 62 out of 80 measured showed a diameter of 16 cm.³⁰ The features mentioned relate it to Tyre Fine Ware 6, represented from Stratum V onward, for which a cast manufacture is suggested.³¹ Another reason for this equivalence is that all corresponding 55 base fragments (Fine Ware Base 1 of Huelva), conserving part of the centre, had a distinct support circle like the one assigned to Tyre Fine Ware 6.³² However, perhaps in Huelva Fine Ware 1, some rims of plates close to Tyre Fine Ware 2³³ were also included. In Kition, Fine Ware 6 is differentiated from 2 because it is slipped just on the interior and in the upper exterior (over the rim);³⁴ only, there might be just some completely red

²⁹ Bikai 2003, 217.

³⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 39–40 and pls. IV.1–6, IV.7 = XLVI.6, IV.8–9, IV.10 = XLVI.2, IV.11–15, IV.16 = XLVI.8, IV.17–21, IV.22 = XLVI.9, IV.23–31, IV.32 = XLVI.1, IV.33–45, V.1–3, V.4 = XLVI.7, V.5–6, V.7 = XLVI.3, V.8–9, V.10 = XLVI.10, V.11–16, V.17 = XLVI.4, V.18 = XLVI.5 and V.19–21.

³¹ Bikai 1978a, 28 and table 4A.

³² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 41.

³³ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 44.

³⁴ Bikai 2003, 221.

slipped cases and others simply burnished.³⁵ Given the discolouration by the medium, their distinction in Huelva turns out to be more complex.

The single rim, 2.3 cm wide, assigned to this type in C3 corresponds to a plate with a 16 cm diameter.

Huelva Fine Ware 2: Single example (Pl. III.2).

The fragment does not preserve the whole rim, but the small diameter estimated, about 14 cm, opens a possible correspondence to Huelva Fine Ware 2, whose rim is wider and diameter smaller than type 1.³⁶

Huelva Fine Ware 3: 30 examples (Pl. III.3–8).

Deep bowl of convex walls, sometimes carinated and often decorated with grooves, having a Huelva Fine Ware Base 2. For their delicate slip, burnish and grooved decoration, some can certainly fall into the Fine Ware category, while others, of inferior quality, are more typical of an ordinary table set. In MN/PM, 209 examples were differentiated. The average diameter of 27 measured was 16 cm.³⁷ Two of C3 (Pl. III.6 and 8) stand out for their large size. Tyre Fine Ware 4³⁸ and most of type 8 represented in Bikai's publication show similar rim and body;³⁹ however, colour alterations in Huelva hinder the chance to assure the presence of plates similar to Tyre Fine Ware 8, since it is characterised by golden clay and a heavy red slip on the outside.

Huelva Fine Ware 4: Single example (Pl. III.9).

High carinated bowl of similar typology to Huelva Bowl 8, but with a thinner wall and extraordinary quality. The six examples catalogued in MN/PM offered an average diameter of 12.5 cm.⁴⁰ For their golden clay, some similar cases of Tyre are considered as Fine Ware Plate 8.⁴¹

³⁵ Bikai 1978b, 52, Class 2, type 1.

³⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 40–41 and pls. VI.1, VI.2 = XLVI.13, VI.3, VI.4 = XLVI.11, VI.5 and VI.6 = XLVI.12.

³⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 42 and pls. VI.7–14, VI.15 = XLVI.21, VI.16 = XLVI.22, VI.17, VI.18 = XLVI.20 and VI.19–26.

³⁸ Bikai 1978a, 28 and pls. I.4, X.14–16, 20–22 and XV.8.

³⁹ Bikai 1978a, 29 and pls. XIX.2–8 and XXXI.12.

⁴⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 43 and pls. VI.31 = XLVI.24, VI.32–34, VI.35 = XLVI.23 and VI.36.

⁴¹ Bikai 1978a, 29 and pl. XIX.1.

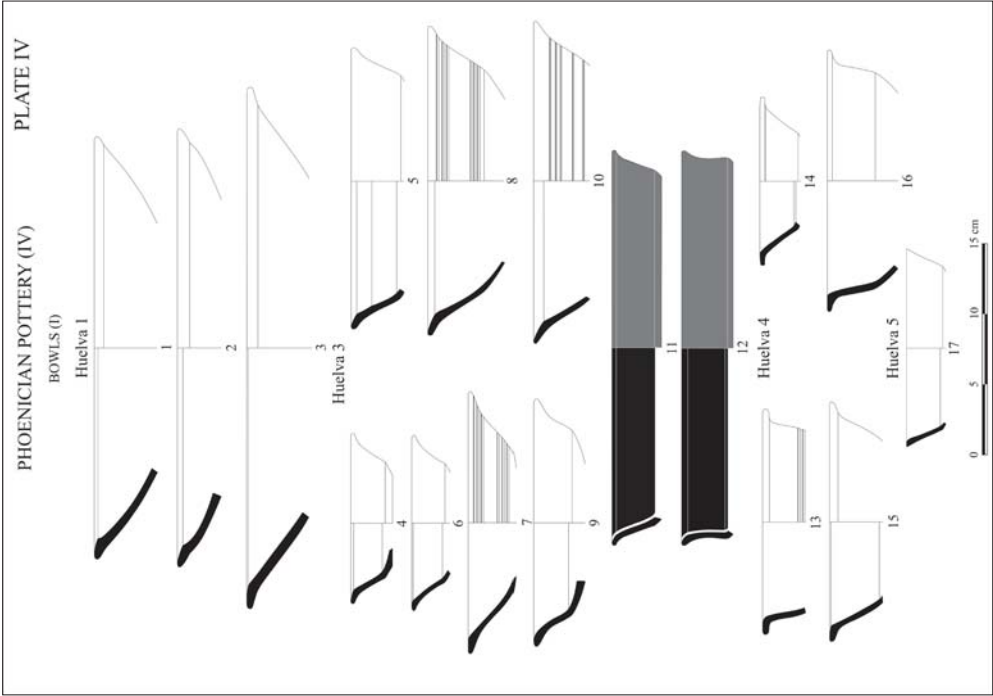


Plate IV: Phoenician pottery (IV).

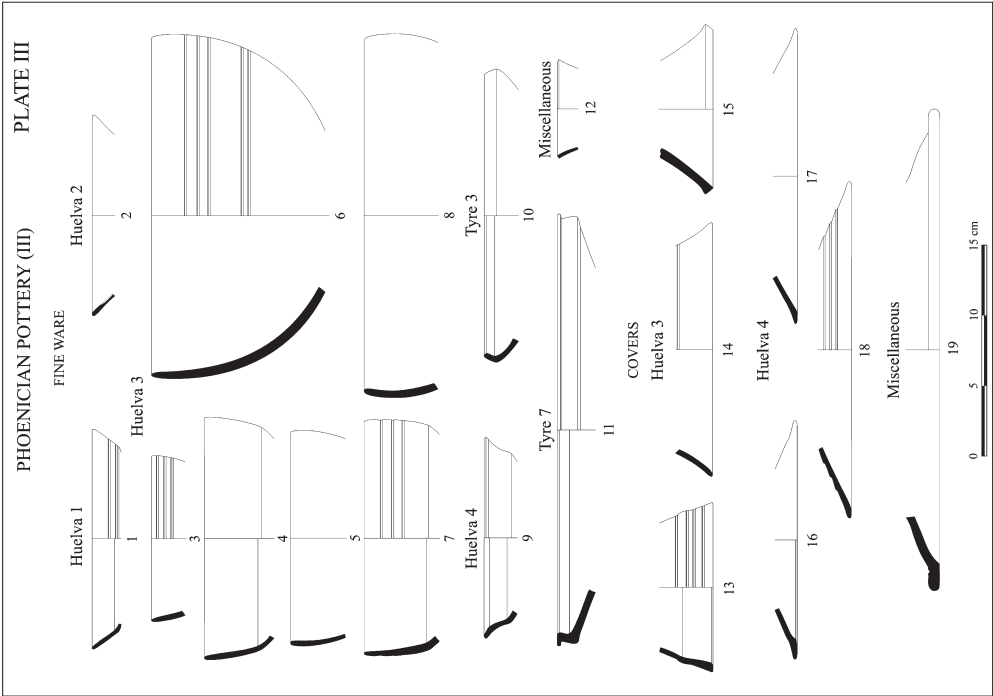


Plate III: Phoenician pottery (III).

Tyre Fine Ware 3: Single example (Pl. III.10).

Red slipped and burnished plate, or simply burnished, with a low rim.⁴² Not found in MN/PM. A close parallel to the single C3 example is seen in Kition.⁴³

Tyre Fine Ware 7: Single example (Pl. III.11).

This plate, present at Tyre from Stratum V onward, not found in MN/PM, is distinctive in having an incised ridge on the outer edge of the rim. Red slipped and burnished or, less frequently, just burnished.⁴⁴ C3 example, of high quality, careful burnish and 30 cm in diameter, is not far from some Tyre parallel.⁴⁵

Miscellaneous: Single example (Pl. III.12).

Small bowl with a thin wall, bevelled rim on the outside and carefully slipped and burnished, whose colour fades from a supposed original red to grey.

3. Bowls

The consideration of the 'Bowl' category differs amongst Eastern Phoenician repositories. Some common plates and Fine Ware 4 of Tyre are closer to a bowl than to a plate, and qualified as bowls in other sites. In MN/PM eight typologies were established which, given the variety of shapes and attributes to be considered, are far from being exclusive.⁴⁶ For practical reasons such typologies are maintained in this article.

Huelva Bowl 1: 5 examples (Pl. IV.1–3).

Vessel, 34.5 cm in average diameter, closer to a plate than to a bowl. The rim, somewhat flared, has an inner joint point separating it from the body. It is similar to Tyre Plate 7, but with a thicker and, sometimes, more curved wall.⁴⁷ Although, in Tyre, plates of type 7 are up to 36 cm in diameter,⁴⁸ in MN/PM it seemed advisable to differentiate those of larger dimensions like large bowls/dishes, since plates similar to Tyre 7 did not exceed 24 cm in diameter and examples of intermediate size were not found.

⁴² Bikai 1978a, 28.

⁴³ Bikai 2003, pl. 3.20.

⁴⁴ Bikai 1978a, 29 and table 4A.

⁴⁵ Bikai 1978a, pl. XV.23.

⁴⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 44–50.

⁴⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 45 and pls. VII.1 = XLVII.2, VII.2 = XLVII.6, VII.3 = XLVII.5, VII.4–5, VII.6 = XLVII.4, VII.7 = XLVII.1, VII.8 and VII.9 = XLVII.3.

⁴⁸ Bikai 1978a, 23.

Huelva Bowl 2: No rims.

Would be equivalent to Tyre Deep Bowl 6, a bowl of slightly curved wall and high ring base (Base 11), whose highest representation in red slipped cases occurs in Strata XVII–XIV and non-slipped in XVII–XIII, but some examples reach VII.⁴⁹ Although in MN/PM it could not be safely attested, 13 Tyre type 11:3 bases⁵⁰ were counted.⁵¹ It is likely that both in MN/PM and C3, where one Base 11:3 has been documented (Pl. VII.21), some rims of Huelva type 2 bowls were attributed to plates, especially type 10.

Huelva Bowl 3: 38 examples (Pl. IV.4–12).

Carinated bowl, usually showing a slightly concave wall above the carination, at times with grooves, and a flared rim thickened on the interior. Due to its quality and magnificent burnish, some examples could be ascribed to fine ware. Diameters determined in six cases amongst the 17 recorded in MN/PM were around 16 cm.⁵² Examples IV.11–12 of C3 are remarkable for their size, quality and burnished black slip.

Huelva Bowl 4: 22 examples (Pl. IV.13–16).

A bowl, also carinated, equivalent to Lehmann form 120,⁵³ showing a straight wall above the carination, sometimes with grooves, and a pointed rim or less frequently rounded, which flared horizontally or tilted downward. The average diameter of 11 examples collected amongst 16 at MN/PM was 18.5 cm. Similar bowls appear in later Western contexts.⁵⁴ Those of good quality and careful burnish are close to Tyre Fine Ware 5, first observed in Stratum V, with peak incidence in IV.⁵⁵ Some Tyre Fine Ware 5 are assimilated to a variety of Sarepta Plate/Bowl X-3.⁵⁶

Huelva Bowl 5: Single example (Pl. IV.17).

This bowl is characterised by a horizontally flattened rim. Among 27 listed in MN/PM, seven showed an average diameter of 16 cm. Perhaps it should be seen as a

⁴⁹ Bikai 1978a, 32 and table 5A.

⁵⁰ Bikai 1978a, 32 and pl. XCV.11:3.

⁵¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 46 and pls. VII.15 = XLVII.9, VII.16 = XLVII.11, VII.17 = XLVII.10, VII.18–20 and VII.21 = XLVII.8.

⁵² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 47 and pls. VIII.1 = XLVIII.1, VIII.2 = XLVIII.2 and VIII.3–6.

⁵³ Lehmann 1996, 382–83 with parallels and pl. 21.120a/1–120c/3.

⁵⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 47–48, and pls. VIII.7 = XLVIII.5, VIII.8–10, VIII.11 = XLVIII.4, VIII.12, VIII.13 = XLVIII.3 and VIII.14–17.

⁵⁵ Bikai 1978a, 28 and table 4A.

⁵⁶ Anderson 1988, 145–46 and 280, n. 26.

pyxis, since Huelva Cover 1⁵⁷ could only be designed for a vertical wall vessel with a rim like the one above.⁵⁸ The assumption was confirmed by the good fit between one example and a cover of similar characteristics.⁵⁹ The existence of quality pyxides is also supported by the excellently burnished and grooved decoration of some covers, unsuited for cooking ware.

Huelva Bowl 6: 2 examples (Pl. V.1–2).

Carinated bowl, of straight or slightly concave wall above the carination, which differs from the previous bowl type 5 by a rounded instead of a flat rim. Some examples, though worse finished and having a thicker wall, are close to Huelva Bowl 3; in fact, they could even be unified. Amongst 26 identified in MN/PM, six showed diameters of around 16 cm.⁶⁰

Huelva Bowl 8: 22 examples (Pl. V.3–10).

This bowl is characterised by a high carination differentiating the rim from the body. Twenty six examples documented in MN/PM showed an average diameter of 18.5 cm. The rim usually flares, except for a few examples, tending to verticality, close to Tyre Plate 5,⁶¹ from which they differ by their better finish and frequent burnish.⁶² It also finds similarities to the Sarepta Bowl X-24,⁶³ two cups from El Carambolo⁶⁴ and two Phoenician bowls from El Campillo (Cádiz). The latter, of local production, and dated to the 10th–9th centuries BC, are formally close to some local pottery.⁶⁵ It is possible that Huelva bowls type 8 of small size might be used as cups, and the bigger ones as dishes, a category to which some close examples from Málaga and Carthage⁶⁶ are assigned. One from MN/PM⁶⁷ and two from C3 (Pl. V.3 and 5) show a carefully burnished black slip.

⁵⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 54–55 and pls. X.4–5, X.6 = XLIX.6, X.7–8, X.9 = XLIX.8, X.10 = XLIX.9, X.11–12 and X.13 = XLIX.7.

⁵⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 48 and pls. VIII.18–21, VIII.22 = XLVIII.7, VIII.23 = XLVIII.6 and VIII.24.

⁵⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 48, bowl VIII.23 = XLVIII.6 and cover X.9 = XLIX.8.

⁶⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 49 and pls. VIII.25 = XLVIII.8, VIII.26, VIII.27 = XLVIII.9 and VIII.28–30.

⁶¹ Bikai 1978a, 23.

⁶² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 50 and pls. IX.1 = XLVIII.14, IX.2–3, IX.4 = XLVIII.15, IX.5, IX.6 = XLVIII.16, IX.7–17, IX.18 = XLVIII.13, IX.19–22, IX.23 = XLVIII.18, IX.24 = XLVIII.12, IX.25 and IX.26 = XLVIII.17.

⁶³ Anderson 1988, 158–59 and pls. 24.12 and 14, 25.15, 27.18 and 47.X-24A.

⁶⁴ de Amores Carredano 1995, 162–65, 167, 172, fig. 1 and 175–78, pls. 1–7.

⁶⁵ López Amador *et al.* 1996, 97–103, 107–09 and 125, fig. 8.2–3.

⁶⁶ Maass-Lindemann 1999, 135 and 143, fig. 5.3b–c.

⁶⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pl. IX.26 = XLVIII.17.

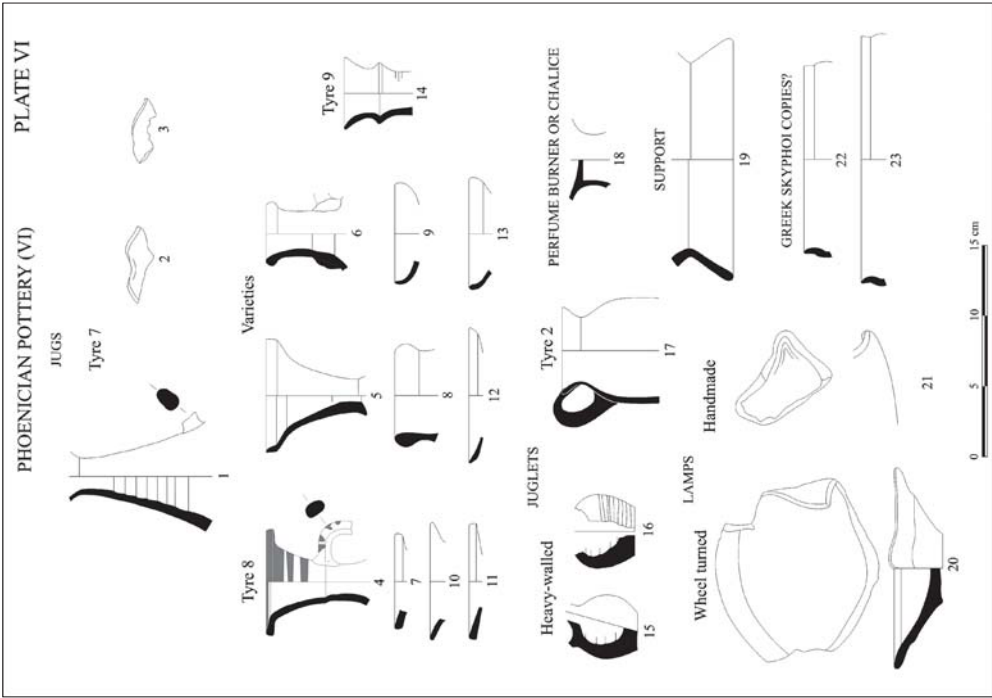


Plate VI: Phoenician pottery (VI).

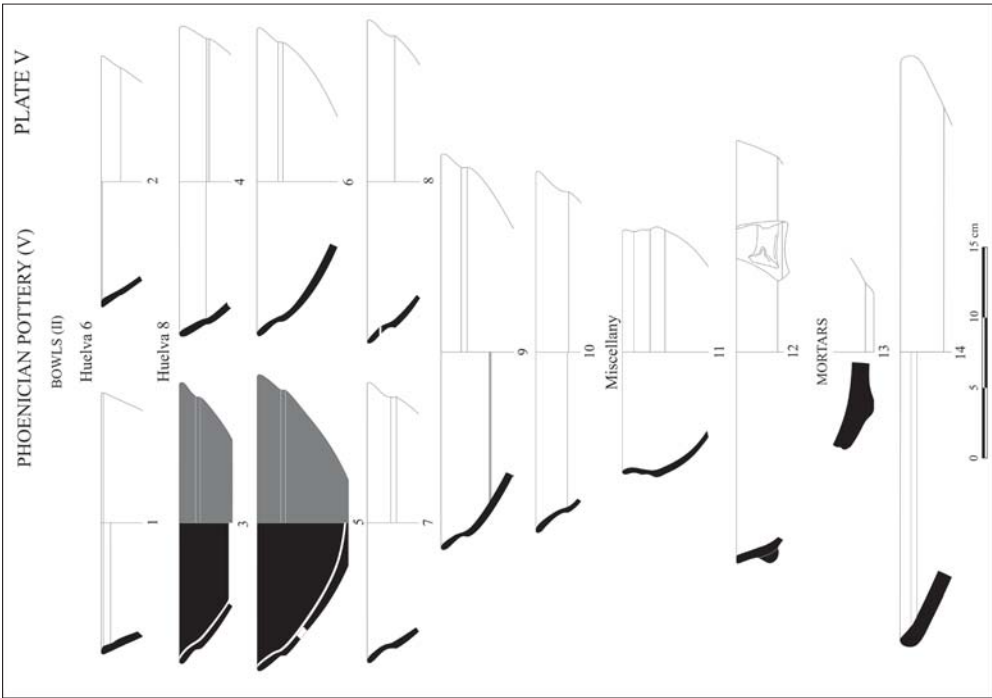


Plate V: Phoenician pottery (V).

Miscellaneous: 6 examples (Pl. V.11–12).

V.11 bowl, with an undulated profile, and V.12, similar to type 5, though larger (30 cm diameter) and with plastic decoration in the form of a long bone, are to be remarked.

4. Jugs

Tyre Jug 7 (trefoil): 5 examples (Pl. VI.1–3).

VI.1 could be assigned to the form of inverted conical neck and globular body⁶⁸ (though the body is not preserved in the fragment). Four rims (Pl. VI.2–3) could not be assigned to any specific form.

Tyre Jug 8 and varieties: 10 examples (Pl. VI.4–13; Pl. XVI.2–3).

Tyre 8 squared-off rim jug, first appears in Stratum XIII-1 reaching its maximum representation in Strata IX–IV.⁶⁹ In Cyprus, it is the main fossil guide of the Salamis horizon.⁷⁰ Found in MN/PM,⁷¹ so has it been in Cádiz,⁷² La Rebanadilla (Málaga Airport) and the San Isidro necropolis.⁷³ Along typical forms (Pl. VI.4 [= XVI.2], 7 and 10–11), other jug varieties of similar chronology appear in C3, like VI.5 (= XVI.3), with parallels in Tyre X-1,⁷⁴ Rachidieh tomb IV,⁷⁵ Kition⁷⁶ and Cyprus examples assigned to the Salamis horizon.⁷⁷ Example VI.12 shows a concavity inside the rim and parallels in MN/PM,⁷⁸ and VI.6 and 8 a thickened rim on the outside, relatively similar to some MN/PM examples⁷⁹ and Sarepta DJ-7–DJ-9 varieties.⁸⁰ For two other jugs of spheroid mouth, VI.9 and 13, some parallel at MN/PM can also be remarked.⁸¹

⁶⁸ Bikai 1987a, 49.

⁶⁹ Bikai 1978a, 37–40 and table 6A.

⁷⁰ Bikai 1987a, 52.

⁷¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 61 and pls. XI.14 = L.7, XI.15 = L.8, XI.16, XI.17 = L.13, XI.18 = L.11, XI.19–20, XI.21 = L.14 and XI.22.

⁷² Gener *et al.* 2012, 150, fig. 7.h and j, 152, and 155, fig. 8.

⁷³ Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno *et al.* 2012, 73, fig. 10 and 84, fig. 21.

⁷⁴ Bikai 1978a, pl. XXIII.8.

⁷⁵ Doumet 1982, pls. XII.30 and XIII.58.

⁷⁶ Bikai 2003, pl. 5.2.

⁷⁷ Bikai 1987a, 62 and pls. IX.171 and X.177 = XXVIII.177.

⁷⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XI.23 = L.17, XI.24 = L.12, XI.25–28, XI.29 = L.18 and XI.30.

⁷⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pls. XI.34 = L.23, XI.35 = L.10, XI.36 = L.9, XI.37 = L.15, XI.38 = L.20, XI.40 = L.21 and XI.41–45.

⁸⁰ Anderson 1988, 206–08 and pl. 49.DJ-7–DJ-9.

⁸¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, pl. XI.32 = L.19.

Tyre Jug 9: Single example (Pl. VI.14; Pl. XVI.4).

Ridged-neck jug, flared from above the ridge to the rim. This neck shape is shared by rounded and ring-based jugs from Tyre Early Iron Age, where it is represented from Stratum XV onward, with a testimonial presence from Stratum V⁸² onward, although, as it has occasionally been noticed,⁸³ intrusions in an active habitat are to be considered possible. In fact, Bikai recommends giving more value to the peak of the battleship curve than to the first or last occurrence.⁸⁴

To our knowledge, it was unknown in West-Central Mediterranean before the appearance of one example in MN/PM,⁸⁵ partly similar to another one at the Limassol Museum, perchance from an Amathus tomb with materials of the Kouklia horizon.⁸⁶ Without being exhaustive, the short neck example at C3 has parallels in Cyprus,⁸⁷ Tell Abu Hawan IV B,⁸⁸ Tell El-Far'ah,⁸⁹ Khaldé tomb 167,⁹⁰ Megiddo VI A,⁹¹ Tell Qashish Phase 1,⁹² Khirbet Silm⁹³ and Joya.⁹⁴

Although most of the examples with which we parallel C3 jug show a lesser pointed rim, examples with a similar,⁹⁵ or very similar rim,⁹⁶ are not lacking. Anyway, a more or less pointed rim does not seem to have the chronological significance shown in the short and ridged neck in the evolved forms of F.J. Núñez Calvo.

5. Heavy-Walled Juglets

Two examples (Pl. VI.15–16; Pl. XVI.5).

These juglets, ascribed to the Salamis horizon in Cyprus, are characterised by an extremely thick wall, given the small size of its globular body.⁹⁷ Their reduced

⁸² Bikai 1978a, 37–40 and table 6A.

⁸³ Coldstream and Bikai 1988, 41.

⁸⁴ Bikai 2003, 208.

⁸⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 62–63 and pl. XI.46 = L.24.

⁸⁶ Bikai 1987a, 7, no. 36, 61–62 and pl. IV.36 = XXIV.36; 1987b, 2, 17 T. 376/16 and pl. II.15 = VI.8.

⁸⁷ Bikai 1987a, pls. V.24, V.60 and VI.37.

⁸⁸ Hamilton 1935, 9, fig. 14, 29, no. 158 and pl. XIV.158.

⁸⁹ Chambon 1984, 59, 202, no. 5 and pl. 50.5.

⁹⁰ Saidah 1966, 80, fig. 56.

⁹¹ Loud 1948, pl. 80.3.

⁹² Ben-Tor *et al.* 1981, fig. 10.1.

⁹³ Chapman 1972, 67, fig. 3.46 and 69, fig. 4.51–52.

⁹⁴ Chapman 1972, 67, fig. 3.191.

⁹⁵ Bikai 1987a, IV.62, with a less open neck, and VI.37 already mentioned in n. 87.

⁹⁶ Bikai 1987a, pl. IV.40, with a more elongated neck.

⁹⁷ Bikai 1987a, 14–16, 62, nos. 133–162 and pls. IX.136 = XXVIII.136, IX.137, IX.146, IX.147 = XXIX.147, IX.153 = XXVIII.153, IX.156, IX.157, IX.159, X.150 = XXVIII.150, X.155, X.158, X.160 = XXVIII.160, X.161, X.162, XXIX.152 and XXIX.154.

capacity suggests that the produce contained was to be dispensed in small portions, perhaps spices or ointments,⁹⁸ and in Kition it has been thought of a votive nature.⁹⁹ They have not been recorded in the Phoenician continental area.¹⁰⁰ Example VI.15 (= Pl. XVI.5) shows an inclined lengthwise axis, similar to the one of some Cypriot parallel.¹⁰¹

6. Juglets

Tyre Juglet 2: 2 examples (Pl. VI.17; Pl. XVI.6).

Tyre Juglet 2 differs from type 1, its supposed successor, by showing a better finish and no sharp angle between the neck and the body. The base can be crude and somewhat pointed, type 15, or round type 16. It presents a peak incidence in Stratum IV.¹⁰² In Sarepta it is accepted within type J-1,¹⁰³ to which Base B-3,¹⁰⁴ equivalent to Tyre Base 15, and Handle H-14 – which arches above the plane of the rim before dropping to the upper part of the body¹⁰⁵ – are assigned.

7. Perfume Burner (or perhaps a Chalice)

Single example (Pl. VI.18).

The only recorded perfume burner conserved the base of the upper bowl and the connecting section with the lower bowl. A chalice cannot be dismissed either.

8. Supports

Single example (Pl. VI.19).

In MN/PM seven bitroncoconical supports were identified.¹⁰⁶ The C3 example shows a simple joint (without moulding) between the two truncated cone bodies.

⁹⁸ Bikai 1987a, 16.

⁹⁹ Bikai 1981, 26–27 and pls. XXII.2 = XXVI.3 and XXII.3 = XXVI.4; 2003, 228.

¹⁰⁰ Bikai 1981, 27.

¹⁰¹ Bikai 1987a, pl. X.161.

¹⁰² Bikai 1978a, 42–43.

¹⁰³ Anderson 1988, 217–18, 297, n. 441 and pl. 50.J-1A.

¹⁰⁴ Anderson 1988, 236, 301, n. 549 and pl. 52.B-3A.

¹⁰⁵ Anderson 1988, 256 and pl. 51.H-14.

¹⁰⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 57 and pl. X.25–31.

9. Covers

Huelva Cover 3: 3 examples (Pl. III.13–15).

The cover differentiated at MN/PM as type 3 shows a trend towards troncoconical shape and a concave or straight profile.¹⁰⁷ Out of the three examples listed in C3, III.14 shows some similarities to Huelva Bowl 7, which already posed some distinction problems with the covers;¹⁰⁸ however, the careful treatment of the outside compared with the inside favours its identification as a cover.

Huelva Cover 4: 8 examples (Pl. III.16–18).

Covers similar to plates were grouped in MN/PM as type 4.¹⁰⁹ Eight examples from C3 could belong to this consideration.

Miscellaneous: 2 examples (Pl. III.19).

Two fragments comprising rims might also belong to covers: III.19 to a large example.

10 Mortars

Two examples (Pl. V.13–14).

A base (V.13) and a rim (V.14) of two open vessels with a thick wall have been attributed to mortars.

11. Lamps

Wheel-turned: 93 examples (Pl. VI.20).

Among 93 rim fragments of wheel-turned lamps, VI.20 belongs to a Tyre Lamp 1 with a single spout.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 55 and pls. X.17–18, X.19 = XLIX.12 and X.20 = XLIX.13.

¹⁰⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 49 and pls. VIII.31, VIII.32 = XLVIII.11 and VIII.33 = XLVIII.10.

¹⁰⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 55–56 and pls. X.21, X.22 = XLIX.14 and X.23.

¹¹⁰ Bikai 1978a, 19–20.

Handmade: Three examples (Pl. VI.21).

In MN/PM handmade lamps, similar to Phoenician wheel-turned with a single spout, by which they are supposedly inspired, were recorded.¹¹¹ Out of the three handmade lamp rims found in C3, VI.21 could be assigned to one example with a single spout.

12. Phoenician Copies of Greek Skyphoi

Two examples (Pl. VI.22–23).

Phoenician copies of Late Greek Geometric skyphoi are well documented.¹¹² A couple of C3 rim fragments suggests this type of copy, leaving to further elucidation whether older skyphoi were being copied, since in the same stratum there are Greek skyphoi perhaps belonging to Middle Geometric II (see below under Greek Pottery) and, in MN/PM, Euboeo-Cycladic Subprotogeometric and Attic Middle Geometric II.¹¹³

13. Bases

Tyre Bases 1–2: 5 examples (Pl. VII.1–4).

Tyre Base 1, well finished, burnished, stepped and often slightly convex is associated with Plates 3 and 4.¹¹⁴ The ones differentiated in C3 are not convex, this shape being more suitable as a cover than as a plate.¹¹⁵ Examples VII.3–4 belong to bowls according to part of the carinated body they still preserve. Some show incised circles as type 2, but are not burnished and stepped, features that this type shares with type 1.¹¹⁶

Tyre Bases 6–7: 121 examples (Pl. VII.5–7).

Tyre flat and string-cut bases 6 and 7 differ because Base 6 is red- or red-and-black-painted on the interior, although in Kition a ‘red 7 base’, slipped with this colour on the inside,¹¹⁷ was marked out. Base 7 is associated with Plates 7, 8 and some cases of 9, and it is frequent in all Tyre strata; Base 6, less frequent, is associated

¹¹¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 81 and pls. XV.35 = LIV.18, XV.36 = LIV.20 and XV.37 = LIV.19.

¹¹² Rouillard 1990; Briese and Docter 1992; Domínguez Monedero and Sánchez Fernández 2001, 84.

¹¹³ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 83–87 and pls. XVIII.3 = LVI.2, XVIII.4 = LVI.1, XIX.1 = LVII.1 and XIX.2 = LVII.2.

¹¹⁴ Bikai 1978a, 23.

¹¹⁵ Bikai 1978a, 59, n. 16.

¹¹⁶ Bikai 1978a, 23.

¹¹⁷ Bikai 2003, 225 and pl. 1.22–23.

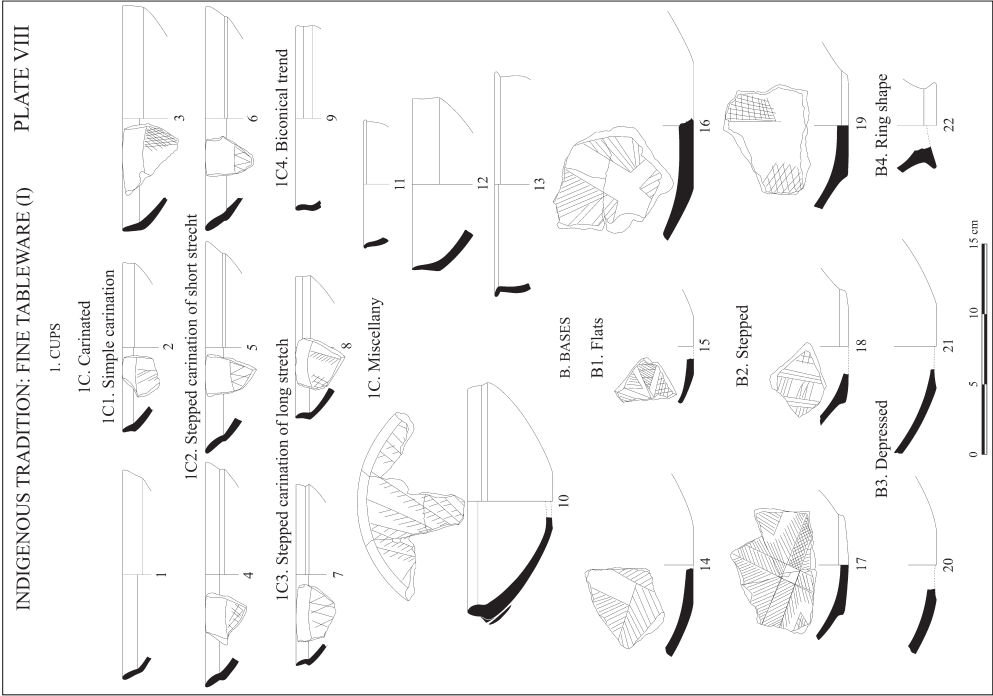


Plate VIII: Local tradition: fine tableware (I).

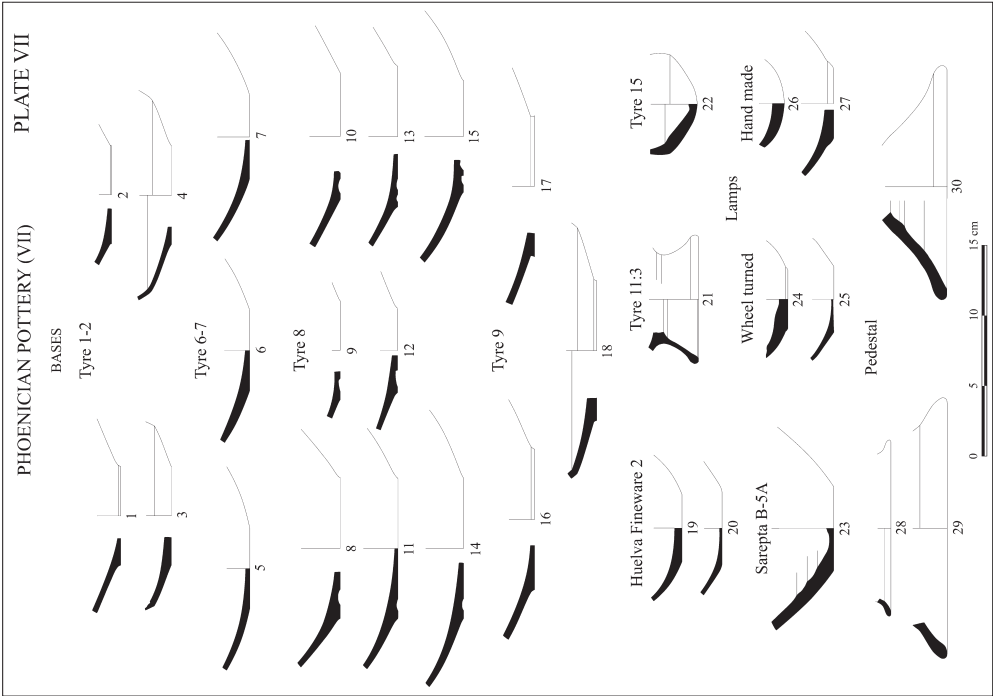


Plate VII: Phoenician pottery (VII).

with Plate 9. Plate 8 and Base 7 reach their peak in Stratum IV and Plate 9 and Base 6 in Strata VI–V.¹¹⁸ Just like Plates 8 and 9, colour alteration by the reducing medium observed at MN/PM suggested their unification. Out of 289 examples (plus another 32 recorded amongst rim fragments which also retain part of the base), the 36 measured offered an average diameter of 6.25 cm.¹¹⁹ On account of their size and shape, some bases which do not seem to be string-cut have been included.

Tyre Base 8: 14 examples (Pl. VII.8–15).

Low ring base associated with Plates 10, 11, 12 and 13, although these can also have a flat base. Well represented in the oldest strata of Tyre, it experienced a sharp decline from Stratum IV¹²⁰ on. In MN/PM only five examples were recorded.¹²¹

Tyre Base 9 and others of large size: 10 examples (Pl. VII.16–18).

Tyre Base 9, flat, thick and identical in form to Base 7, though larger, is attributed to large bowls.¹²² In MN/PM four examples were documented, appreciating certain correspondence to the finish, colour and clay to the Huelva large bowls/dishes type 1.¹²³ For their quality, not all examples catalogued in C3 correspond exactly to the type. Example VII.18 belongs to a carinated bowl. The average diameter of five measured was around 11 cm.

Huelva Fine Ware Base 2: 11 examples (Pl. VII.19–20).

Flat base, 4 to 5 cm in diameter, at times with a short step, related to Huelva Fine Ware Plate 3,¹²⁴ actually a real bowl not always of fine ware quality.

Tyre Base 11:3: Single example (Pl. VII.21).

Tyre high flaring ring Base 11 shows a peak incidence in Stratum XVII, a minimum from XIV onward and does not continue past Stratum VIII. Assigned to Deep Bowl

¹¹⁸ Bikai 1978a, 23–25 and tables 3A and 11A.

¹¹⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 36 and pls. I.1, I.2 = XLIV.3, I.9 = XLIV.1, I.24, II.1, II.2 = XLIV.4, II.5 = XLIV.5, II.7, II.10 = XLIV.6 and II.19–21.

¹²⁰ Bikai 1978a, 25 and table 11A.

¹²¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 38 and pl. III.23–27.

¹²² Bikai 1978a, 32 and pl. XCV.9.

¹²³ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 45 and pl. VII.10–13.

¹²⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 43 and pls. VI.7, VI.14, VI.15 = XLVI.21, VI.16 = XLVI.22, VI.17, VI.18 = XLVI.20 and VI.27–30.

6¹²⁵ or, in MN/PM – where 13 cases of the very high ring 11:3 variety¹²⁶ were recorded – to its equivalent: Huelva Bowl 2.¹²⁷

Tyre Base 15: 2 examples (Pl. VII.22).

Crudely made pointed base, which often shows fingerprints. It is documented from Strata VI on juglets associated with type 1, and sometimes to type 2.¹²⁸ Their equivalent in Sarepta, Base B-3, first appears in Substratum D1.¹²⁹ In MN/PM, 11 examples were counted.¹³⁰

Sarepta Base B-5A: Single example (Pl. VII.23).

Sarepta flat Base B-5A belongs to a closed convex wall vessel and is attributed to several types of ovoid or globular bodied jugs.¹³¹

Wheel-turned Lamp Bases: 40 examples, including two recorded amongst rim fragments (Pl. VII.24–25).

The assemblage comprises some string cut examples similar to Sarepta Base B-31A, thickening like Sarepta Base B-31B (VII.24) and depressed ones (VII.25). Some are stepped.

Handmade Lamp Bases: 2 examples (Pl. VII.26–27).

VII.26, rounded and thickened, is similar to wheel-turned Sarepta Base 30A; while VII.27, flat, stepped and reinforced, is similar to Sarepta Base 31B.¹³²

Pedestal Bases: 5 examples (Pl. VII.28–30).

The so-called ‘Pedestal Bases’ often show a troncoconical shape. In Sarepta, they are assigned to Base B-29.¹³³ The complexity of its doubtful attribution to supports, goblets, chalices or covers was observed in MN/PM.¹³⁴

¹²⁵ Bikai 1978a, 32 and table 11A.

¹²⁶ Bikai 1978a, pl. XCV.11:3.

¹²⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 46 and pls. VII.15 = XLVII.9, VII.16 = XLVII.11, VII.17 = XLVII.10, VII.18–20 and VII.21 = XLVII.8.

¹²⁸ Bikai 1978a, 42 and table 11A.

¹²⁹ Anderson 1988, 236.

¹³⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 66 and pl. XII.31–32.

¹³¹ Anderson 1988, 236–37 and pl. 52.B-5A.

¹³² Anderson 1988, 249.

¹³³ Anderson 1988, 248.

¹³⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 57–58 and pl. X.32–45.

POTTERY OF LOCAL TRADITION

Vessels of local tradition have their equivalent in handmade and reduced fired examples from Phase I of Cabezo de San Pedro, in the same habitat (Fig. 1), whose preferred ascription to Iron I is consistent with other finds there and with the detection of occasional Eastern stylistic influences and iron objects in some contexts of the Iberian Peninsula assigned to the Final Bronze Age.¹³⁵ This ascription was confirmed by the existence in MN/PM of a similar assemblage, together with thousands of Phoenician vessels predating those recorded previously in the colonies.

In MN/PM, 2109 fragments were catalogued of fine table ceramics made in the local tradition, equivalent to the 64 in San Pedro that established the basis of classification of this tableware.¹³⁶ The MN/PM material helped to confirm some types, question others, add some still unpublished, and propose a new classification. Something similar can be said of local geometric painted ware and coarse ware.¹³⁷

In C3, 415 vessels of local tradition have been identified on the basis of preserved fragments of rims or bases; a bitroncoconical support identified from a middle joint fragment and a geometric painted cup, identified from a body fragment, were also evaluated. Fine tableware is represented by 197 examples, exhibiting most of the forms provided in MN/PM. As a counterweight to some absences, one biconical bowl (2C4), unusual in Huelva, could be added, as well as the differentiation of three types of dish (3C1, 3C2 and 3C3). Five examples correspond to geometric painted ware and 215 to coarse ware.

Fine Tableware: 19 cups, 129 bowls, 19 dishes, 8 supports and 22 bases.

Painted Geometric Ware: a cup and 4 large bowls/dishes.

Coarse Ware: 14 bowls, 3 dishes, 50 cooking pots, 118 large vessels, 3 'perforated' and 27 bases.

These vessels are classified according to typologies established in MN/PM.

1. Fine Tableware (n.d. = not documented)

1. *Cups*: < 16 cm diameter

1C. Carinated

1C1. Simple carination: 3 (Pl. VIII.1–3).

1C2. Stepped carination of short stretch: 7 (Pl. VIII.4–6).

1C3. Stepped carination of long stretch: 3 (Pl. VIII.7–8).

1C4. Biconical trend: 1 (Pl. VIII.9).

Miscellany: 5 (Pl. VIII.10–13).

¹³⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 650–58.

¹³⁶ Ruiz Mata in Blázquez Martínez *et al.* 1979, 112.

¹³⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 667–70, 693, fig. 14, 694, fig. 15 and 697.

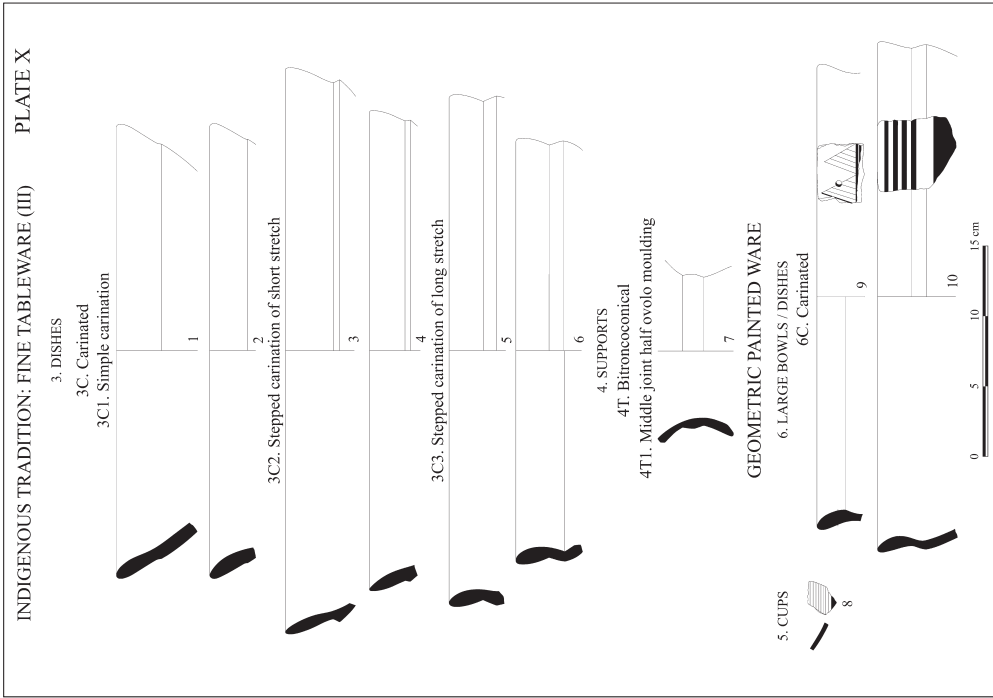


Plate X: Local tradition: fine tableware (III).

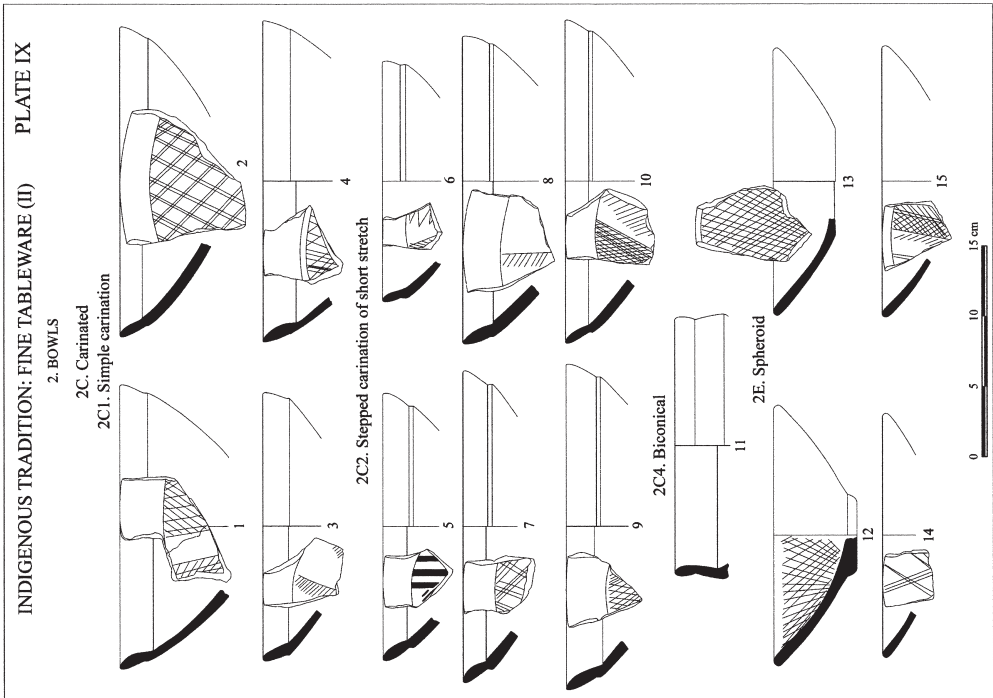


Plate IX: Local tradition: fine tableware (II).

2. Bowls: 16–26 cm diameter

2C. Carinated

2C1. Simple carination: 28 (Pl. IX.1–4).

2C2. Stepped carination of short stretch: 63
(Pl. IX.5–10).

2C3. Stepped carination of long stretch: n.d.

2C4. Biconical trend: 1 (Pl. IX.11).

Miscellaneous: 5.

Indeterminate by breakage at the carination: 23.

2E. Spheroid: 9 (Pl. IX.12–15).

2T. Troncoconical: n.d.

3. Dishes: > 26 cm diameter

3C. Carinated

3C1. Simple carination: 5 (Pl. X.1–2).

3C2. Stepped carination of short stretch: 6
(Pl. X.3–4).3C3. Stepped carination of long stretch: 6
(Pl. X.5–6).

Indeterminate by break in the carination: 2.

4. Supports

4T. Bitroncoconical

4T1. Middle joint half ovolo moulding (= a rounded convex moulding): 1
(Pl. X.7).

4T2. Ridge middle joint: n.d.

Indeterminate by not preserving the middle joint: 7.

Bases

B1. Flats: 14 (Pl. VIII.14–16).

B2. Stepped: 4 (Pl. VIII.17–19).

B3. Depressed: 3 (Pl. VIII.20–21).

B4. Ring shape: 1 (Pl. VIII.22).

2. Painted Geometric Ware*5. Cups: < 16 cm diameter*

5C. Carinated: n.d.

Body fragment non-diagnostic: 1 (Pl. X.8).

6. Large Bowls/Dishes

6C. Carinated: 4 (Pl. X.9–10).

7. *Ovoid Vessels*

7E. Spheroid: n.d.

7S. S-shape profile: n.d.

7S1. Flared neck: n.d.

7S2. Concave neck: n.d.

8. *Supports*

8T. Bitroncoconical: n.d.

3. **Coarse Ware**

10. *Bowls*: < 26 cm diameter

10C. Carinated

10C1. Simple carination: 1.

10E. Spheroid

10E1. Open profile: 12 (Pl. XI.1–2).

10E2. Closed profile: 1 (Pl. XI.3).

11. *Dishes*: > 26 cm diameter

11C. Carinated

11C1. Simple carination: n.d.

11C2. Stepped carination: 1 (Pl. XI.4).

Non-diagnostic rims: 2.

12. *Cooking Pots*

12C. Carinated: 6 (Pl. XI.5–6).

12E. Spheroid: 2 (Pl. XI.7–8).

12S. S-shape profile: 7 (Pl. XI.9–10).

Non-diagnostics rims: 35.

13. *Large Deep Vessels* (Pl. XII.1)

13C. Carinated

13C1. Simple carination: n.d.

13C2. Stepped carination: n.d.

13E. Spheroid: n.d.

13S. S-shape profile (*).

(*) The small size of 118 rim fragments precludes safe assignment, but the lack of carination in other fragments allows us to suppose that most are straight or show S-shape profiles.

14. *Short Rim and Flat Base Vessels*:

See *teglie* in Sardinian pottery (below)

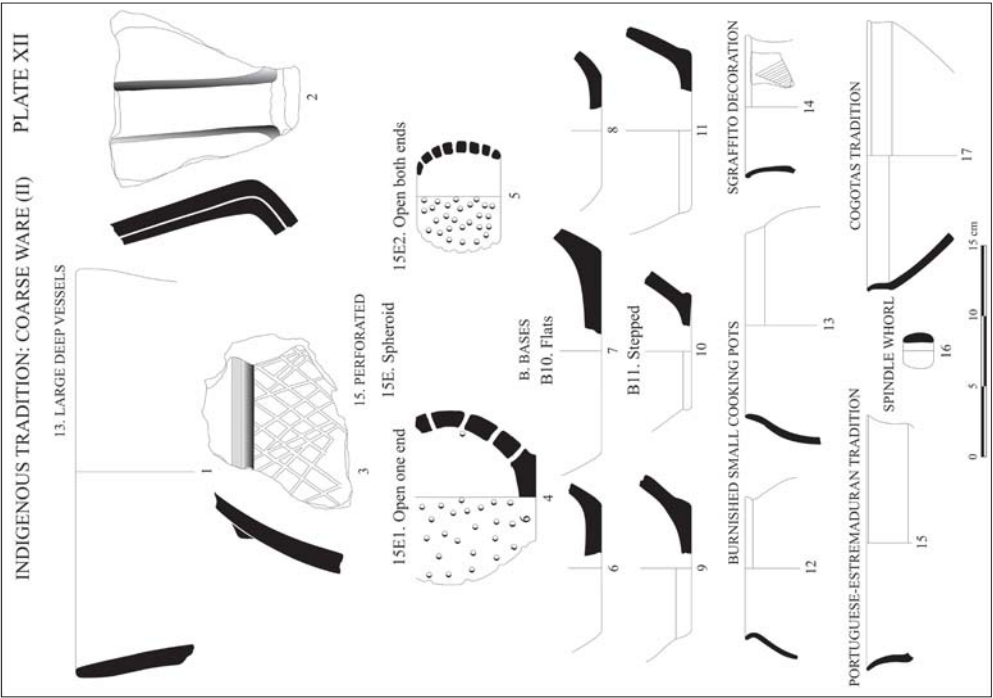


Plate XII: Local tradition: coarse ware (II).

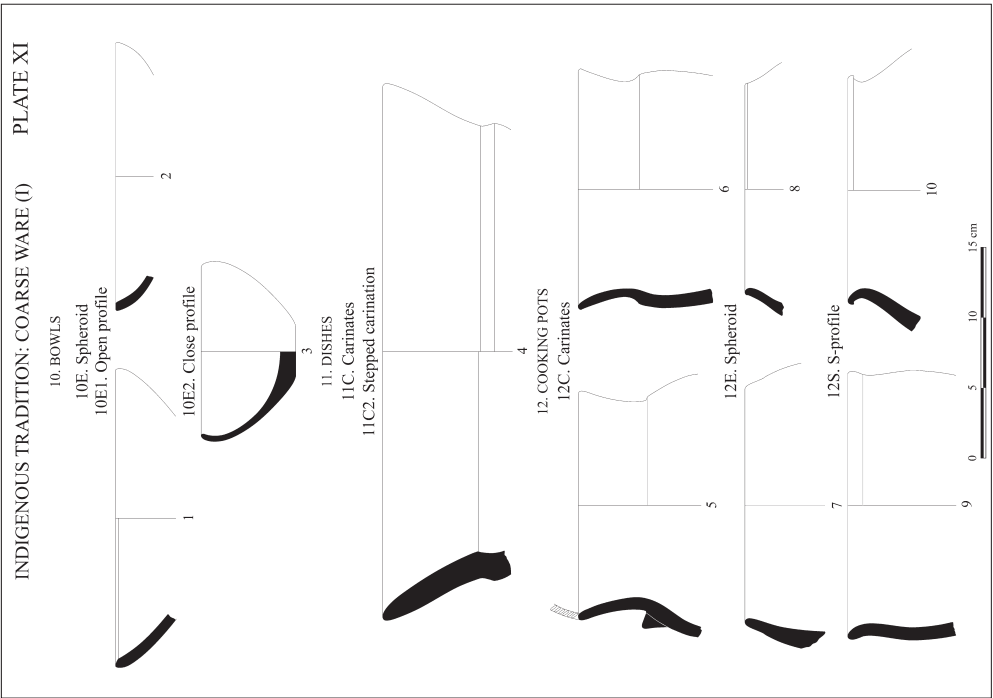


Plate XI: Local tradition: coarse ware (I).

15. *Perforated*

15E. Spheroid

15E1. Open one end: 1 (Pl. XII.4).

15E2. Open both ends: 1 (Pl. XII.5).

Non-diagnostic: 1.

Bases

B10. Flats: 12 (Pl. XII.6–8).

B11. Stepped: 15 (Pl. XII.9–11).

Besides atypical fragments, some cooking pots and various fastening elements were left out of the tabulation: six handles, two body fragments with handle springer, three with mamelons and two with rectangular mouldings. A cooking-pot fragment had fingerprint decoration; rim XII.2, from a large container, a vertical moulding; and body fragment XII.3 of another large container, a horizontal moulding and a reticular decoration underneath.

OTHER HANDMADE PRODUCTS

Burnished Small Cooking Pots: 2 examples (Pl. XII.12–13).

In MN/PM, a heterogeneous group of nine vessels close to, but smaller than, cooking pots with smoothed or burnished surface, was marked out. Their use must also have been different, since two of them were of fine quality and no traces of burning were spotted. Perhaps, they might have been used to store condiments (salt, spices...) or other substances.¹³⁸ The outside of two examples from C3 is burnished.

Sgraffito Decoration: Single example (Pl. XII.14).

Two fragments belong to the only recorded vessel with sgraffito decoration: one of them allows the identification of the full rim extension; another preserves remains of a triangle filled with parallel oblique lines. This pattern of filled triangles is not confined to Huelva¹³⁹ and other Andalusian sites. It has been witnessed in Carthage, including wide rim vessels similar to the one at C3.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 118 and pl. XXVIII.21–24.

¹³⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 128 and pl. XXXIV.1–9.

¹⁴⁰ Mansel 2011, 72–73 and 83, fig. 8.

Portuguese-Estremaduran Tradition: Single example (Pl. XII.15).

Carinated bowl with a wide and concave rim, careful burnish and fine quality, similar to other 20 differentiated at MN/PM, for which some parallels were perceived in Portugal and Estremadura (western Spain).¹⁴¹

Spindle Whorls: Single example (Pl. XII.16).

The discovery of a spindle whorl attests to textile activity.

Cogotas Tradition: 3 examples (Pl. XII.17).

Three bowls with concave vertical rim, like two similar examples at MN/PM,¹⁴² evoke the Cogotas tradition.

SARDINIAN POTTERY

C3 has provided a significant number of Sardinian ceramics exceeding, in percentage, those identified at MN/PM:

1. Two askoi body fragments with grooves (Pl. XIII.1–2; Pl. XVI.7).
2. Three askoi handles, one assigned with some doubt to a type 1 askos (Pl. XIII.3; Pl. XVI.8).
3. One askos base (Pl. XIII.4).
4. One rim of *vaso a collo* (Pl. XIII.5; Pl. XVI.9).
5. One neck, with a handle from the rim to the shoulder, of an amphora (Pl. XIII.6; Pl. XVI.11) which might correspond to form 2 with funnel neck of Campus and Leonelli,¹⁴³ or, perhaps, to form 6, with troncoconical neck and flared rim.¹⁴⁴
6. Three rims of cooking pots (Pl. XIII.7–9).
7. One *a gomito* (elbow-shaped) handle (Pl. XIII.10; Pl. XVI.10).
8. One stepped base of a closed vessel (Pl. XIII.11).
9. Eight *teglie* (Pl. XIII.12–16). In five cases, fragments comprise rim and base (Pl. XIII.12–15), including two with semi-perforations at the base (Pl. XIII.14–15); the remaining three are base fragments, one with semi-perforations (Pl. XIII.16).
10. Ten Sant’Imbenia amphora rims (Pl. XIV.9–11).
11. Two round bases of Sant’Imbenia amphorae.
12. Nine incomplete handles of large closed containers (Pl. XIV.13–17) – Sant’Imbenia amphorae, as a first possibility – which, along with the above rims and bases, are listed next below under the ‘Amphorae’ heading.
13. Nine atypical fragments of askoi bodies and 164 of coarse ware bodies.

¹⁴¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 108 and pl. XXII.12–24.

¹⁴² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 129 and pl. XXXIV.16–17.

¹⁴³ Campus and Leonelli 2000, 428 and 431, fig. 247.3–5.

¹⁴⁴ Campus and Leonelli 2000, 429 and 432, fig. 248.5–6.

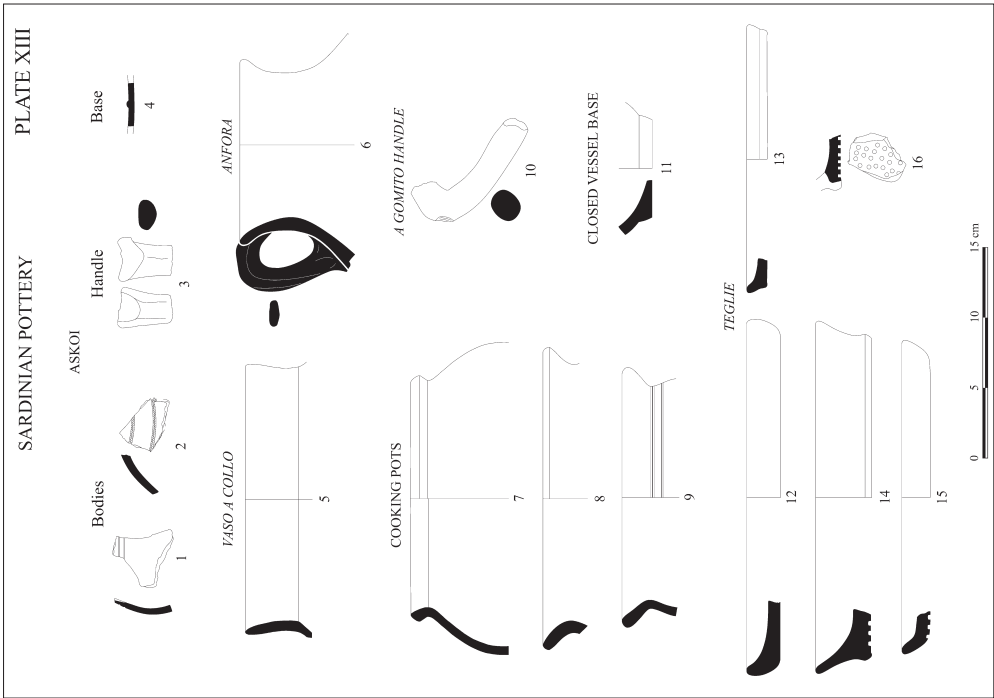


Plate XIII: Sardinian pottery.

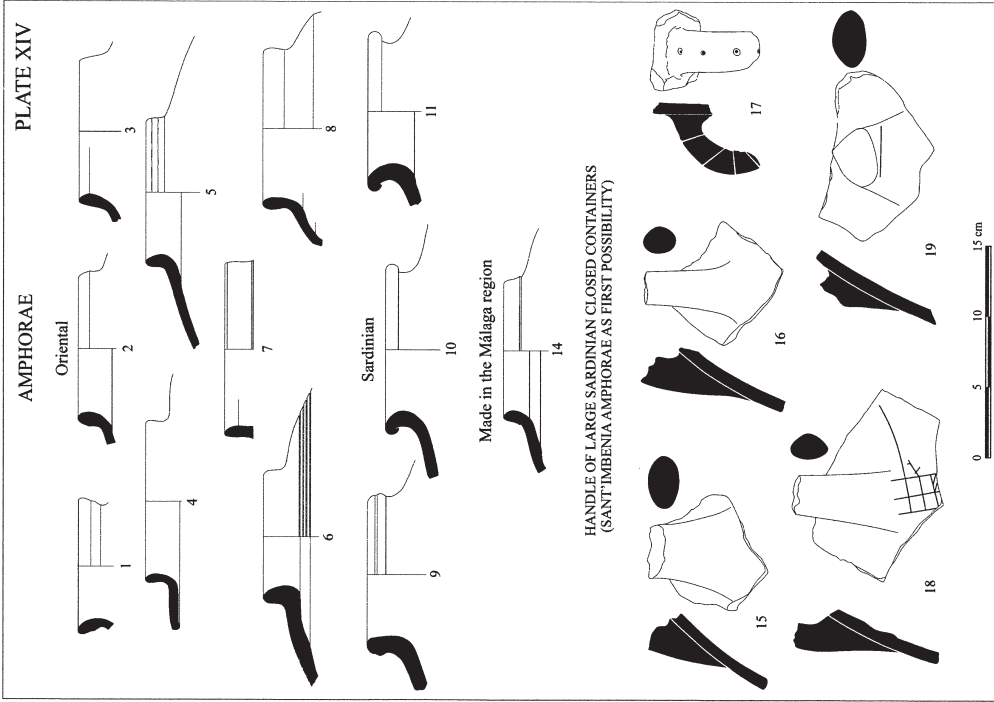


Plate XIV: Amphorae.

Vessels identified as *teglie* deserve a special remark. At MN/PM seven vessels were found of open profile, shallow, with short rims, generally thick wall and flat bases occasionally stepped, i.e. similar to Sardinian *teglie*, as was acknowledged. However, the aspect of the clay, altered by the medium, opened the possibility that they might have been manufactured locally from marshy mud.¹⁴⁵ The subsequent mineralogical analysis of one example showed it contained pyrite. Thus, it was probably manufactured from clay formed in an anoxic environment, under reducing conditions, consistent with sediment in a swamp in which the pyritic component would not oxidise.¹⁴⁶ Although this result points to the Huelva estuary sediments, a similar environment could be found in Sardinia, as well. In C3, the perception is somewhat different, because among eight similar vessels, some, less altered by the reducing medium, preserved brown colourations that, together with quartzite and occasional golden mica inclusions, favour a genuinely Sardinian origin. Consequently, subject to what future analytical results may show, they can be considered Sardinian without discarding, in absolute terms, the feasibility of local copies.

AMPHORAE (J. Ramon Torres)

Amphorae at the deep level of C3, just like other ceramic materials, are scattered in minute pieces, so that reconstruction of minimal profiles has been impossible: even small sections that would allow, for instance, the union of rims with backs and carinations, where handles are usually found. Notwithstanding this, we have tried to optimise the results from the documented assemblage.

Basically, three very different areas of origin can be identified for these vessels: the Near East, Sardinia and the Málaga coastline.

Typologically, those of Eastern origin are not always easy to assign, precisely because in the Levant attention has not been paid, with some exceptions, to the morphologies of rim details, carinations, etc., with priority given to the publication of complete or semi-complete profiles to scales and levels of details which, for this purpose, are deficient. It may be observed that the existing morphological schemes are either somewhat outdated, in more generic cases, or deal with certain site classifications (such as Tyre,¹⁴⁷ amongst others), and even suggested that there has been a focus on initial moments of the Iron Age (Ir1a/Ir2a), to the detriment of the 9th and 8th centuries (Ir2b), those most affecting our analysis.

¹⁴⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 117–18, 194, 206 and pl. XXVIII.14–20.

¹⁴⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2011, 244 and 245, fig. 10.

¹⁴⁷ Bikai 1978a.

From a morphological standpoint, Huelva's eastern amphoral material does not seem too uniform. A number of fragments from the upper third of the vessels shows a predominance of forms characterised by rather angular carinations, or even, at times, forming a sharp curve rupture. Others lack sharp angles, having convex or even oblique-rectilinear and, generally, rather high backs, with an oblique-flared body profile under the carination, and rather small handles, sometimes slightly elbow-shaped. In other cases their maximum outward projection is centralised in the lower part, with rounded sections.

Other than this, rims, found in 11 examples (Pl. XIV.1–8), display a variability of detail to the extent that, strictly, no two are exactly of the same type and hardly any are alike. Most of these rims are linked to oblique backs, more or less curved. They could be included in Bikai's SJ-9 or, in other cases, his SJ-7.

Example XIV.8, with a very narrow back, could be a small format, old version, of Sagona 2.¹⁴⁸

This means that there are no Sagona 2 types (Bikai SJ-5), with stepped rim, Sagona 3 (Bikai SJ-4) and Sagona 7, generally typical of the last third of 8th century BC onwards, but perhaps, as stated before, Sagona 1 and 2 types with plain rims do exist. Generically, various examples from C3 could be included in Bikai SJ-9¹⁴⁹ and, naturally, in SJ-miscellaneous; although in both cases it is actually a form rather than a type, and one whose wide sequence needs further clarification.

It should also be remarked that some examples are characterised by a somewhat peculiar yellowish clay, and by presenting horizontal grooves and even shapeless adherences of mud as a result of wheel turning and assembling.

The second important group is that of Sardinian-made amphorae, whose origin is confirmed by archaeometric analysis.¹⁵⁰ These are also known as Sant'Imbenia type, from the Nuragic site of Alghero which allowed their identification.¹⁵¹ They are relatively well represented in C3, with 10 rims (Pl. XIV.9–11), thus following closely the percentage of Eastern vessels by NMI, besides profile fragments, handles with classical dovetail silhouette and bottoms (Pl. XIV.13–17). They are already relatively well-known elements in the Central and Western Mediterranean, since, apart from their obvious presence in Sardinia proper, they were exported

¹⁴⁸ Sagona 1982.

¹⁴⁹ Bikai 2003, pl. 6.1–13.

¹⁵⁰ Napoli and Aurisicchio 2009; De Rosa *et al.* 2011.

¹⁵¹ Oggiano 2000.

abundantly to Carthage,¹⁵² Cádiz,¹⁵³ La Rebanadilla,¹⁵⁴ Las Chorreras¹⁵⁵ and, of course, Huelva,¹⁵⁶ among other destinations. It is possible that, in the future, more refined morpho-chronological clarifications can be made.

With regard to this material, two things are especially relevant: the first is a Sant'Imbenia amphora bottom containing grape seeds (Pl. XVI.12); the second is the presence of various graffiti *ante coctionem* on amphora bodies of this type, in some cases being Phoenician inscriptions and in others, apparently, identification marks (Pl. XIV.16). These important data clearly reflect, in a local Nuragic environment, the Phoenician impulse in the Mediterranean production and distribution of wine in this kind of container. As to their formal features, they are characterised by an ovoid body profile, with its maximum diameter rather high, generally ogival bottom, two handles of flattened oval section on the back and higher or lower rims, with an oblique concave profile, finished with projecting thickenings, whose sections are variable, such as presence or absence of external grooves (Pl. XIV.9) or sometimes, showing a fold (Pl. XIV.10–11). They are handmade vessels, red slipped on the outside (lost, in this case), derived from non-carinated Eastern Phoenician prototypes.¹⁵⁷

Finally, a third group is composed of amphorae clearly produced in the Málaga region, corresponding to T-10311, identified a few years ago. This is the first known type of Western Phoenician manufacture in the Far West,¹⁵⁸ of which two rim fragments from the deep level are recorded (Pl. XIV.12) – thus, significantly less common than the above groups, but clearly distinct as a category. This raises some questions, especially chronological, even moving the date for the beginning of their production back to perhaps somewhere in the second quarter of the 8th century BC.

GREEK POTTERY (A.J. Domínguez Monedero)

Skyphos: single example (Pl. XV.1; Pl. XVII.1).

Slightly flared rim in an open shape, surely a skyphos, 14 cm rim diameter. On the outside, it presents a band running over the lip rim and under a line in reserve, what seems to be a wider band though not uniformly covered with paint.

¹⁵² Docter *et al.* 1997.

¹⁵³ Córdoba and Ruiz 2005.

¹⁵⁴ Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno *et al.* 2012, 72, fig. 7.

¹⁵⁵ Martín *et al.* 2007, 563–65, fig. 3 and pl. 3.

¹⁵⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004.

¹⁵⁷ Ramon 2000.

¹⁵⁸ Ramon 2006.

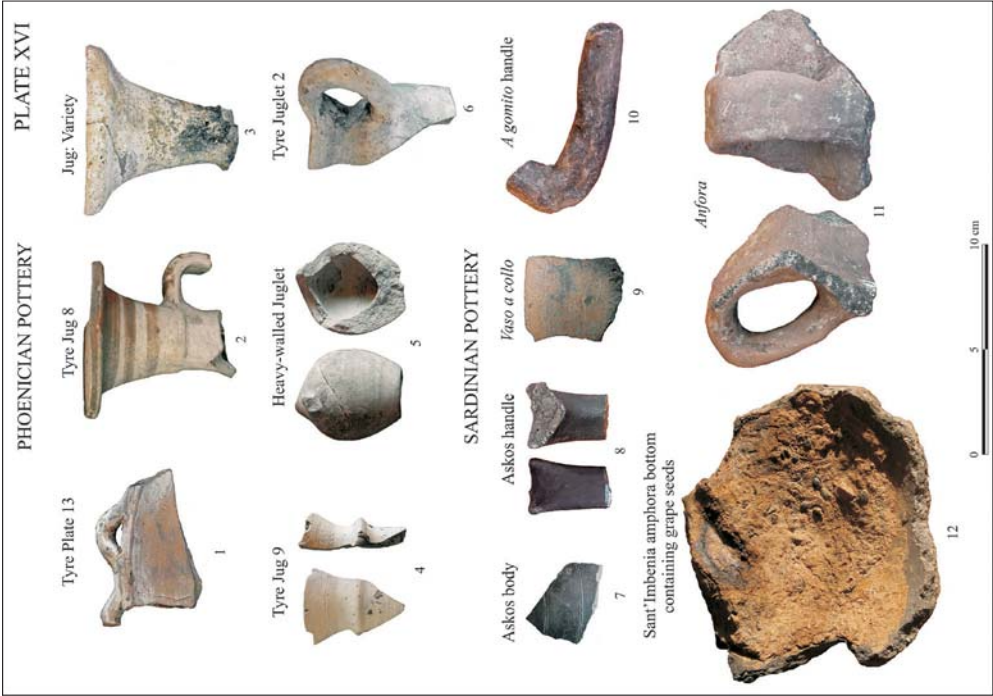


Plate XVI: Phoenician (1–6) and Sardinian (7–12) pottery.

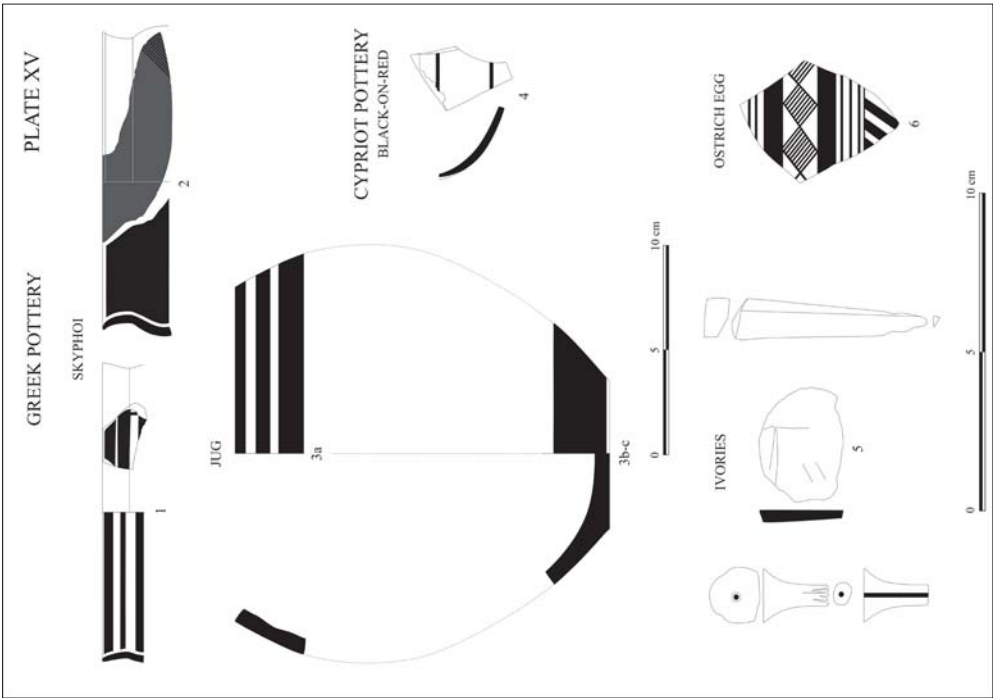


Plate XV: Greek (1–3) and Cypriot (4) pottery, ivories (5) and ostrich egg (6).

Inside, a band is also observed over the lip rim, as well as a narrower band separated from the previous one by another in reserve. Under this second band, and after another one in reserve, the beginning of another band or the beginning of the paint of the body is observed.

On the right exterior side of the fragment there is a vertical line invading part of the lip's lower band, and a horizontal one, whose possible intersection with the former is not observed. It would seem that the vertical line ought to delimit a metope, whose decorative motif, probably geometric, to which the horizontal line would correspond, cannot be determined.

Despite the exiguous decoration, both the narrow lip and the existence of vertical and horizontal lines can carry the vessel chronology to Middle Geometric II, although in some areas these decorations are still assigned to Late Geometric;¹⁵⁹ it would seemingly correspond to the Euboeo-Cycladic environment. About its form and other features, to a large extent what is said about the next vessel can be applied.

Skyphos: single example (Pl. XV.2; Pl. XVII.2).

Fragment conserving part of the flared rim and body inception of a vessel 14 cm in diameter. The whole exterior is covered with a black slip, occasionally yellowish-red, as the brush load faded. On the right side of the fragment a shift of the brush stroke is observed, not allowing us to ensure that it would be a decoration, which is generally not common in this type of vessel, as it is so to show brush marks. The interior is also black slipped, except for a whitish thread on the rim.

From the shape and decoration of the vessel, it seems to be a 'black cup'; although no handle remains are conserved, it might well be a skyphos, given its size. The same profile might also correspond to a single handled cup, but these tend to be smaller. Although only a clay analysis could determine precisely the manufacturing site, it is likely to have been in Euboea, where both Chalcis and Eretria had workshops making such vessels.

Black slipped cups form part of Euboean production, although they are not a type overly studied; however their use could be quite common judging by their strong presence in cultic sites, such as the sanctuaries of Apollo Daphnephorous at Eretria, Kalapodi or Mount Hymettus.¹⁶⁰ In Greece proper, production of these monochrome cups was also common, in Attica and the Cyclades, in Corinth and, in the Eastern Mediterranean, where they appear in Amathus (Cyprus) and Al Mina, the latter perhaps already during the Late Geometric.¹⁶¹ In Chalcis, both

¹⁵⁹ Coldstream 2008, 185 and pl. 39f.

¹⁶⁰ Kenzelmann Pfyffer *et al.* 2005, 53–54; Kenzelmann Pfyffer 2007, 242–43.

¹⁶¹ Kourou 2005.

their shape and decoration are also well represented; for example, in the Andreiomenou catalogue, piece 33 finds a good correspondence with the Huelva example¹⁶² in both shape and size. In those two Euboean cities, these black slipped skyphoi correspond to Middle Geometric II (*ca.* 800-760/50 BC) enduring, also, throughout Late Geometric. In the case of Eretria, this skyphos would be included within types SK2 and SK3.¹⁶³

Interesting data come from the fact that these black cups, although not common in the West, have also appeared at the Pontecagnano necropolis, in Middle Geometric II tombs, as well as in pre-Hellenic levels at the Cuma necropolis, with a similar chronology.¹⁶⁴ Other fragments, dated to Middle Geometric II, have recently come to light in Francavilla Marittima as well as in Utica.¹⁶⁵

Jug: single example (Pl. XV.3; Pl. XVII.3).

This is a closed vessel to which three fragments possibly correspond. Although two base fragments (Pl. XV.3b–c; Pl. XVII.3b–c) do not fit, there is not too much doubt they might belong to the same vessel. More questionable is the assignment of the third fragment (Pl. XV.3a; Pl. XVII.3a), corresponding to the body, since there is no physical connection. Nevertheless, we are considering them as parts of the same vessel.

The shape of the vessel seems quite globular, and in absence of other distinctive features such as handles or rims, we believe it to be a jug without any more precise identification. The 7 cm-diameter base is flat, and the vessel is decorated, in its lower part, by a reddish-brown hue slip, even though the brush had not covered the entire surface, hinting a clay tinge underneath. As to the body fragment, it shows three painted horizontal stripes, one wider than the other two, in a very similar tone to the other two fragments, all of which backs the idea that it comes from the same vessel. What looks like a wider band could also be part of the paint covering the vessel, except in the reserved horizontal bands.

Flat base jugs already appear in Attica at the beginning of the Geometric period and endure through it;¹⁶⁶ they are also known at Lefkandi from the Late Protogeometric.¹⁶⁷ In tomb 79 at the Toumba necropolis of Lefkandi, dated to Subprotogeometric II (= Early Geometric II), two trefoil mouth oinochoai appear with a profile

¹⁶² Andreiomenou 1985, 55–67.

¹⁶³ Verdan *et al.* 2008, 71–86.

¹⁶⁴ D'Agostino 1985, fig. 307 (Pontecagnano) and fig. 318 (Cumas); 1990, 80, figs. 9–10; Albore Livadie 1985, 71–75.

¹⁶⁵ Jacobsen 2007, 34–35 and 157; Lopez Castro *et al.* 2016.

¹⁶⁶ Coldstream 2008, 9–10.

¹⁶⁷ Lemos 2002, 76.

and decoration very similar to the one we are dealing with, although these are Attic examples¹⁶⁸ and, in our case, we are not able to determine the mouth shape. We believe our example to be of Euboean manufacture and, by its aspect, it also corresponds to the Subprotogeometric III–Middle Geometric II found in several parts of Euboea.¹⁶⁹ Nevertheless, its simple and uncharacterised decoration does not allow us to be more precise about exact typological or chronological ascription, since flat base jugs endure up to Late Geometric. Relationships in form and decoration between Euboean and Attic pottery are very noticeable during Middle Geometric II and Late Geometric, periods to which our piece might belong.

CYPRLOT POTTERY

A body fragment of an open vessel (Pl. XV.4; Pl. XVII.4) has been classified as Cypriot Black-on-Red, probably a bowl, red painted both inside and outside, with two black bands on the outside.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In MN/PM, most of the Phoenician pottery was ascribed to Cyprus's Salamis horizon, and the best correlation was with Stratum IV of Tyre.¹⁷⁰ The correlation of C3 with Cyprus and Tyre is similar, especially considering the presence of type 8 jugs with a ridged neck and squared-off rim characteristic of the Salamis horizon, the absence of mushroom-lipped jugs and the predominance of Tyre Plate 7.

Although Phoenician vessels at the deeper anthropogenic stratum of C3 bear a close resemblance to those of MN/PM, striking differences are not lacking. The absence of some poorly documented types in MN/PM, such as Bikai's Tyre Amphora 12 and Base 10, may be justified by the lesser number of ceramics found at C3: 830 rims and bases compared with 3112 at MN/PM.¹⁷¹ More difficult to explain is the presence of only 18 Tyre Plates 8–9 (combined), against 175 of type 7; whereas in MN/PM this ratio was 465 to 380,¹⁷² and in Tyre the number of Plates 8 and 9 exceeds that of Plates 7 in all strata where they are attested.¹⁷³ By contrast, the higher frequency of plates with features of types 12–13 and ring base

¹⁶⁸ Popham and Lemos 1996, pl. 75; Tomlinson 1995, 31.

¹⁶⁹ Verdan *et al.* 2008, 96.

¹⁷⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 179–81.

¹⁷¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 30.

¹⁷² González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 35.

¹⁷³ Bikai 1978a, table 3A.

type 8, according to the distribution of these vessels in Tyre's stratification,¹⁷⁴ implies a higher incidence of older pottery in C3 than in MN/PM, perhaps because the deeper soil of the stratum is over-represented.

Another difference is the discovery of only one rim of Huelva Fine Ware Plate 1, according to the typology established in MN/PM, and the absence of the corresponding Huelva Fine Ware Base 1 against 103 rims, to which most of the other 162 incomplete examples¹⁷⁵ must be added, and 316 bases at MN/PM.¹⁷⁶ Although such a large discrepancy could partly be justified by differences in the soil depth of the stratum analysed in each case, it rather seems to reflect activities in the habitat of a heterogeneous nature. In MN/PM a Phoenician sanctuary was identified, founded towards the second half of the 8th century BC – provided that a hoard with a scarab of the Lyre Player group¹⁷⁷ is accepted as a foundational element. It is possible that under this sacred site there was already an area of the same nature at deeper levels, justifying the concentration of workshops, such as ivory, evidenced from 816 pieces of elaborated ivory and ivory chips,¹⁷⁸ while in C3 only three pieces have been found (Pl. XV.5; Pl. XVII.5). Consistent with this interpretation, it is pertinent to emphasise the high concentration of fine ware in the Kition temple.¹⁷⁹

Some black slipped and burnished vessels of great quality deserve particular attention. In MN/PM, this kind of treatment was shown by one example of Huelva Fine Ware 3, an exceptional form of Huelva Fine Ware, one Huelva Bowl 8 and four atypical fragments attributed to jugs;¹⁸⁰ in C3, by two Huelva bowls of type 3 (Pl. IV.11–12) and two of type 8 (Pl. V.3 and 5). The existence of black slipped Phoenician pottery, already appreciated at Tyre Stratum IV,¹⁸¹ was brought forth by Bikai in regard to Kition materials,¹⁸² differentiating them as a category.¹⁸³

¹⁷⁴ Bikai 1978a, tables 3A and 11A.

¹⁷⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 39–40 and pls. IV.1–6, IV.7 = XLVI.6, IV.8–9, IV.10 = XLVI.2, IV.11–15, IV.16 = XLVI.8, IV.17–21, IV.22 = XLVI.9, IV.23–31, IV.32 = XLVI.1, IV.33–45, V.1–3, V.4 = XLVI.7, V.5–6, V.7 = XLVI.3, V.8–9, V.10 = XLVI.10, V.11–16, V.17 = XLVI.4, V.18 = XLVI.5 and V.19–21.

¹⁷⁶ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 41–42 and pls. V.22 = XLVI.15, V.23 = XLVI.19, V.24–25, V.26 = XLVI.17, XLVI.14, XLVI.16 and XLVI.18.

¹⁷⁷ Serrano *et al.* 2012.

¹⁷⁸ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 165.

¹⁷⁹ Bikai 2003, 221 and table 12.

¹⁸⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 42, 44 and pls. VI.14, 39 and IX.26.

¹⁸¹ Bikai 1978a, plate miscellaneous XVIA.7 = XVIB.7 and Fine Ware Plate 5 XVIA.10 = XVIB.10.

¹⁸² Bikai 1981, 27 and 31.

¹⁸³ Bikai 2003, 208 and 216.

As in the case of the Phoenician pottery, the absence in C3 of certain of the vessels of local tradition attested in MN/PM can be justified by the smaller numbers found: 421 rims and bases in C3 (including those grouped under 'Other handmade products', except the examples of Portuguese-Estremaduran Tradition) compared with 3000 in MN/PM.¹⁸⁴

While rims and bases of Phoenician and local vessels were balanced at MN/PM (3112 and 3000, respectively), at C3, the former (830) is double the latter (421). To this evidence we must add that some samples taken immediately above the virgin soil included atypical fragments of Phoenician amphorae, together with hand-made pottery of local tradition.

The Sardinian pottery increases the repertory already recognised in Huelva (askoi, *vasi a collo*, Sant'Imbenia amphorae, *teglie* and a bowl¹⁸⁵), adding novelties such as an *a gomito* (elbow-shaped) handle, three cooking pots and an amphora of Sardinian tradition, whose dispersion in Sardinia, where it is dated between Middle Bronze and Early Iron Age, seems limited.¹⁸⁶ This material allows all kinds of assumptions, from Sardinian navigations, with their own trading interests, to a strong Sardinian participation in Phoenicia's western enterprise. A contrasting interpretation is simply that it was used by Phoenicians coming from Sardinia, as its presence in areas of Phoenician penetration, the occasional associated Phoenician inscriptions – already appreciated in MN/PM¹⁸⁷ – or its practical evanescence by the end of the 8th century BC seem to suggest. Besides Huelva, La Rebanadilla (Málaga) has also provided Sardinian cooking vessels. The publishers of this excavation have remarked that these might have been transported by Sardinian ethnic groups travelling along with the Phoenicians.¹⁸⁸ In any case, considering that the presence of Sardinian pottery in the Iberian Peninsula was unknown a decade ago, progress has been spectacular and the same can be said about the increasing quantity of Greek Geometric pottery unearthed.

Although the study of palaeofaunal, palaeobotanical, metallurgical and epigraphic remains falls outside this work, may we point to the find of an ostrich egg fragment decorated with geometric motifs (Pl. XV.6; Pl. XVII.6), similar to those of geometric monochrome painted pottery produced locally (horizontal and oblique bands

¹⁸⁴ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 30. The fact that, for reasons given in the text, seven *teglie* stand as local pottery production in MN/PM, while another eight were counted as Sardinian in C3, does not sensibly change this comparison.

¹⁸⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2011, 244.

¹⁸⁶ Campus and Leonelli 2000, 428.

¹⁸⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 133, no. 2, pls. XXXV.2 and LXI.2. This inscription was dated to the 11th–9th centuries BC by Prof. Heltzer, instead of the 11th–10th as wrongly stated.

¹⁸⁸ Sánchez Sánchez-Moreno *et al.* 2012, 72–73 and fig. 9, 79–80 and fig. 17, and 83.

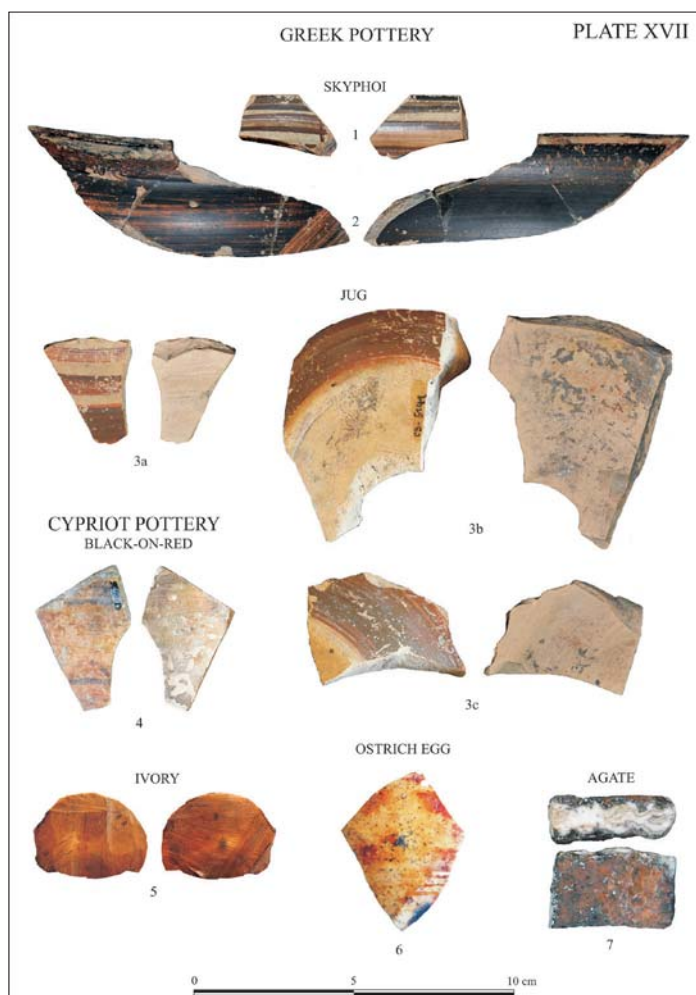


Plate XVII: Greek (1–3) and Cypriot pottery (4), ivories (5), ostrich egg (6) and agate (7).

and rhombuses filled with slanted lines). Also a partially abraded agate prism was recovered (Pl. XVII.7), which reinforces the idea of a glyptic workshop presumed at MN/PM on account of fragments of the same material recovered there.¹⁸⁹ One last point of interest is the presence of multiple *Vitis vinifera* seeds, as attested in MN/PM,¹⁹⁰ in apparent coincidence with an extensive ditch system associated with

¹⁸⁹ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 141 and pl. LXII.16–17.

¹⁹⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 175.

cottages in the *La Orden-Seminario* site, neighbouring the Huelva habitat, which has been linked to planned vineyards (Fig. 1).¹⁹¹

We would like to end this discussion with a chronological approach, acknowledging the serious inconvenience implied by the long survival of so many types of Phoenician pottery. In MN/PM, the lower limit of the stratum under study was established as *ca.* 770 BC, taking into account such notable absences as Western Phoenician plates of wide-turned rim, and mushroom-lipped jugs. The presence of these jugs starts in Tyre Stratum IV,¹⁹² whose end date, *ca.* 740 BC,¹⁹³ was later set back to *ca.* 760 BC¹⁹⁴ and *ca.* 750 BC.¹⁹⁵ Although in C3, which is closer to the old bank of the Tinto/Odiel estuary, these absences persisted, some plates close to Tyre types 2 and 3 and Kition 14, none discovered in MN/PM, might suggest a more recent date.¹⁹⁶

As for pottery with the oldest *terminus ante quem*, the presence in MN/PM of amphorae of Tyre type 12, bases of Tyre 10 and 11 (of Deep Bowls), Tyre 14 plates (with reserves), a Tyre 9 jug and spouted jugs, plus three Euboeo-Cycladic plates from Subprotogeometric I–II allowed the beginning of the stratum to be dated to *ca.* 900 BC, that is to say, between the last decades of the 10th and the early 9th century BC. In C3, where the absence of most of the types mentioned can be explained by the smaller quantity of pottery recovered, the presence of a Tyre type 9 jug with a short, flared, ridged neck and pointed rim, may point to an early date: the closest parallels to this jug in Cyprus are ascribed to the Kouklia horizon,¹⁹⁷ dated from *ca.* 1050 to 850? BC,¹⁹⁸ and in Tyre to Strata XIII-2¹⁹⁹ and XII.²⁰⁰ Núñez Calvo considers this form of short-necked jug within the evolutionary phases ‘b’ (rounded unstable base) and ‘c’ (with stable base) of ridged-neck jugs,²⁰¹ and estimates that, in Tyre X-2, necks have experienced an elongation marking the beginning of phase ‘d’.²⁰² If these appraisals are correct, a dating to the second half

¹⁹¹ González Batanero and Echevarría Sánchez 2008, 82; González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 654.

¹⁹² Bikai 1978a, table 6A.

¹⁹³ Bikai 1978a, 68.

¹⁹⁴ Bikai 1981, 33.

¹⁹⁵ Bikai 2003, 234–35. Correspondingly, the beginning of Tyre V should be antedated from *ca.* 760 BC (Bikai 1978a, 68) to *ca.* 800 BC (Bikai 2003, 234–35).

¹⁹⁶ The only example of Kition Plate 18 has been excluded from the discussion owing to the uncertainty about the beginning of its production, since just five examples were recorded in the Cypriot Phoenician colony.

¹⁹⁷ Bikai 1987a, pls. V.24, 60 and VI.37.

¹⁹⁸ Bikai 1987a, 69.

¹⁹⁹ Bikai 1978a, pl. XXXVII.13.

²⁰⁰ Bikai 1978a, pl. XXXI.15.

²⁰¹ Núñez Calvo 2008a, 25 and 32–36.

²⁰² Núñez Calvo 2008a, 39.

of the 10th century BC would seem appropriate. A similar dating could correspond to other vessels exhumed, such as some plates with features of Tyre types 12 and 13; for, although their persistence hinders certainty, it is equally incorrect to force the oldest datings possible as to assign the lowest ones to all cases. Plates 12 and 13 are not included in the Kition series, where the four strata differentiated only present an equivalence to the deepest sub-phreatic elements of Huelva 'Floor I-3', whose materials point to a possible beginning towards the end of the 9th century BC, and the oldest elements of Floor 3 represented in Tyre V–IV.²⁰³ No Phoenician vessels with the oldest *terminus ante quem* of MN/PM and C3 appear in Kition. Nevertheless, the assignment of a high chronology to the beginning of the stratum, where a considerable amount of pottery from the first half of the 8th century BC is well documented, force the attribution of its formation to an overextended temporary lapse. All the same, we ought to reckon that an 80 cm thickness of the stratum can be compatible with a broad chronological band.

APPENDIX

F. GONZÁLEZ DE CANALES AND J. LLOMPART

In this Appendix, by the authors of the principal publication of MN/PM in 2004 (except, regrettably, the late Leonardo Serrano who passed away at the end of 2013), we expound some thoughts on a couple of critical studies that deserve to be taken into account. They are not exempt from a degree of complexity, since they involve the radiocarbon debate and the problem of Tarshish, two issues affected by a plethora of arguments and counter-arguments that we shall avoid for want of space.

The first study is that of Alexander Fantalkin, Israel Finkelstein and Eli Piasetzky²⁰⁴ whose attention to our publication we appreciate. In fact, their conclusions are not far from ours: when they state that 'the major part of the earliest stratum of the Huelva Town deposits should be timed toward the end of the 9th to first half of the 8th centuries BCE', they coincide with the evaluation we inferred from a simple statistical analysis through which, on balance, we equated the deposit to Tyre Stratum IV.²⁰⁵ Indeed, they do not argue about some of the pottery that we estimate to date prior to the end of the 9th century BC, *inter alia*, some Tyre type 12 amphorae, a type 9 jug with a parallel in Cyprus or, with reservations, two type 14 plates, besides three Subprotogeometric Euboeo-cycladic plates ascribed by Nitsche to SPG I–II (unless those ascriptions are rejected). To this repertory we can add the actual C3 Tyre type 9 jug. It is also possible, though indemonstrable, that some of the ceramics with a long time-span may be much earlier than their *terminus ante quem*. Nevertheless, Fantalkin *et al.* do not seem specifically to discard the presence of pottery prior to

²⁰³ Bikai 2003, 234–36.

²⁰⁴ Fantalkin *et al.* 2011.

²⁰⁵ González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 179–81.

the end of the 9th century BC, given that ‘the major part of the stratum’ is not the entire stratum. Logically, the initial phases of Phoenician presence in such a distant place ought to be represented by a smaller amount of pottery than later phases with the first colonies already under development.

Except for one further remark below, we shall not debate Groningen’s radiocarbon dating of the deep stratum at MN/PM carried out after the 2004 publication, because for the Phoenician ceramics we adopted the chronology of Tyre’s stratigraphy and Cyprus horizons, based on the Cypriot and Greek pottery, and directly for the Greek pottery, the chronology established by J.N. Coldstream.

As to Tarshish, the authors mention several publications, mostly subsequent to the MN/PM results. The issue was briefly considered at the publication of these finds and, in more detail, in other studies.²⁰⁶

The second piece, by Ayelet Gilboa,²⁰⁷ also raises some 14C issues and the question of Tarshish. Regarding the radiocarbon debate, she agrees with other analysts – including some of the authors of the first study²⁰⁸ – that it is far from being settled. Gilboa exposes serious discrepancies among radiocarbon determinations obtained from short-lived organic matter originating in stratigraphically excellent deposits, as in the destruction layer at Stratum VIA at Megiddo – considered one of the “best” destruction layers in the Levant’, where ‘some 14C dates from short-lived organic substances found sealed on the floors are 120 radiocarbon years apart’.

In order to justify these discrepancies Gilboa argues that we are always going to find material in a secondary deposit even in ideal contexts. It would be far more serious if the unexpected results were due not to the samples but to the complexity of the technique itself. In any case, she recommends taking into account the Israeli radiocarbon evidence whenever dating the Phoenician presence in the West. We would rather accept it with some caution, since we recall many other inconsistencies, such as the notorious discrepancies in the results

²⁰⁶ González de Canales 2004, 169–277; 2010. In other publications we have corrected the account of a supposed elephant tusk and the suggestion of an ivory workshop documented in the deepest stratum of MN/PM (González de Canales *et al.* 2004, 135, no. 10, 163–66, 236–37 and pls. XLI–XLII and LXVII–LXVIII). The piece interpreted as a tusk, due to a lapse in the communication of the laboratory results, actually, corresponds to the horn of a *Bos (primigenious?)* (information courtesy of Dr Poplin, Musée national d’Histoire naturelle, Paris). As to the ivory workshop, a recent study shows that much of the ivory in context of the 3rd millennium and the first half of the 2nd millennium BC in Andalusia comes from hippopotami and the Asian *Elephas maximus*, then extant in Syria (Baanerjee and Huth 2012). The authors of this study are currently analysing the ivories from the workshop identified in MN/PM. If the origin of these ivories is Levantine, instead of African as was previously thought, then it may be the case that the Phoenicians brought raw ivory from the East to be manufactured in Huelva and distributed in the domestic market. Against what was argued on other occasions, this cannot be used to justify directly the biblical allusion to ivory from Tarshish. Notwithstanding this, the Tarshish–Huelva linkage is not rejected, since the Phoenician craftsmen and traders established in Huelva were not going to refuse ivory from North Africa.

²⁰⁷ Gilboa 2013.

²⁰⁸ Finkelstein 2008.

and interpretations in some records of different radiocarbon laboratories at Tel Rehov,²⁰⁹ or more recently, the problems in the multicentric study of Tell el-Qudeirat for lower chronologies.²¹⁰ We have to agree that for as long as differences of several decades persist, any conclusions based on the radiocarbon method that relate archaeological data with historical events occurring at precise moments or over short periods of time are questionable.

As to the 14C determinations in the Iberian Peninsula, although the very high dates recorded some decades ago were liable to criticism, some recent determinations at La Rebanadilla and its necropolis at the Cortijo de San Isidro (Málaga) date the Phoenician presence in the area to the second half of the 9th century BC.²¹¹ The 'oldest' Phoenician pottery from Huelva is earlier than that from the former site, also earlier than what has been unearthed at the Cadiz Cine Cómico, dated by the excavators to the end of the 9th century BC,²¹² and again earlier than the oldest examples from the Astarte temple at Kition, commonly ascribed to the second half of the 9th century BC.

In the case of MN/PM, Gilboa does not reject the reliability of the 14C method when referring to the Groningen determination which dates the cattle bones to the first half of the 9th century BC, and one of them, on balance, to the 10th century BC, but she justifies these high dates by assigning the bones to a hypothetical local pre-Phoenician moment. Although the indiscriminate provenance of the bones within the stratum seriously limits the value of these determinations, it is difficult to assume that all of them come from a pre-Phoenician juncture when local and Phoenician pottery in the stratum is roughly on a par, and above all, when some samples taken immediately on C3 bedrock included atypical fragments of Phoenician amphorae, together with handmade pottery of local tradition, which further affects the Phoenician involvement in the genesis and expansion of the 'city' of Huelva.

As to Phoenician pottery, its long time-span prevents our disposing of fossil-guides to differentiate precise time lapses, notably the second half of the 10th century BC from the first half of the 9th. Amongst the Huelva ceramics, the Tyre Amphora 12, assigned to the Cyprus Kouklia horizon, and unknown in the Central-Western Mediterranean, reaches Tyre's Strata X–IX, though in minimum quantities, as Gilboa notes. In Tel Dor it rarely surpasses the Ir1b horizon.²¹³ From another viewpoint, the minimum presence of some type of ceramics in strata with very high or very low dating compared with its position in other sites is at least suspicious. Núñez Calvo, who estimates an absolute chronology for Tyre Stratum IX at the first half of the 9th century BC,²¹⁴ also defends an inception of Phoenician ceramic in MN/PM towards the end of that century. To that end, he carries

²⁰⁹ Mazar *et al.* 2005, 232.

²¹⁰ Gilboa *et al.* 2009.

²¹¹ Arancibia Román *et al.* 2011, 130, 137 and table 1.

²¹² Gener Basallote *et al.* 2012.

²¹³ As we claim (González de Canales *et al.* 2008, 649–52) in relation to another article by Gilboa, in which a strong correlation is established between the Ir1b and 'Megiddo VIA' horizons, the latter ending *ca.* 930–920 BC according to the 'low chronology' (Gilboa *et al.* 2008, 146).

²¹⁴ Núñez Calvo 2008b, 13, fig. 1.3.

Tyre type 12 amphorae to Strata IV and III.²¹⁵ If we observe the diagnostic sherds in table 1 (of Tyre) and the percentages of amphorae type 12 in table 10A, we can appreciate that beyond Stratum IX, with 16 examples, there is just a fragment of Amphora 12 in Stratum VII, another in Stratum IV and a third in Stratum III, while they are absent in the intermediate Strata VIII, VI and V, so that the three fragments most certainly correspond to inclusions from older strata.

After considering that the earliest well-dated *Tipo Huelva* fibula, in Amathus tomb 523, and the 'Atlantic' *obelos* in the same tomb can be ascribed to Phoenician Ir1/2 transitional horizon, which Gilboa dates to the second half of the 10th century BC, she suggests that the potentially earliest Phoenician pottery at Huelva typologically (containers, almost exclusively jars) may belong to this horizon, though this cannot be substantiated. That is to say, like Fantalkin *et al.*, she does not reject the presence in Huelva of Phoenician ceramics prior to the end of the 9th century BC.

On our part, we have vindicated that some of the Phoenician ceramics at Huelva could broadly be dated between the second half of the 10th century and the first of the 9th. We have also tried to base an early Phoenician presence on other finds, such as those mentioned in the Amathus necropolis or the elbow fibulae from the Ría de Huelva hoard. The wood in six spears in this deposit yielded 14C datings giving preference to the 10th century BC.²¹⁶ If we attribute the problems with radiocarbon dating exclusively to the quality of the sample, there are just three possible explanations for dating the fibulae a century after the spear wood: a) the old wood effect, although it is difficult to assign a long life to thin wooden pieces in all six cases; b) excessive use or storage time of the spears; or c), assume that all fibulae were deposited in the same spot of the Ría de Huelva a century later than the six spears.

In Gilboa's article there are references to some Spanish authors that generally appreciate high 14C dates in the Iberian Peninsula compared with Israel. She also mentions some of the minority of authors who that sustain extremely low chronologies for Phoenician finds in Huelva. This last suggestion, already answered,²¹⁷ attempts to continue to ascribe Phase I of Cabezo de San Pedro to a 'pre-Phoenician Final Bronze'. The generic local pottery forms of this Phase – and within them, other more specific forms – were differentiated more than 30 years ago from 87 fragments amongst the 130 recovered, while some forms were distinguished from a single example.²¹⁸ A pre-Phoenician ascription for Cabezo de San Pedro Phase I is unsustainable because, although no Phoenician pottery was identified, a Phoenician wall made with ashlar was documented,²¹⁹ as well as a Tartessian or Phoenician inscription (according to different epigraphical interpretations) and Eastern decorations on some of the oldest local pottery found there.²²⁰

²¹⁵ Núñez Calvo 2008b, 19.

²¹⁶ Ruiz Gálvez 1995, 79.

²¹⁷ González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 650–53 and 667–70.

²¹⁸ Ruiz Mata in Blázquez Martínez *et al.* 1979, 32–55, 112 and 131–37.

²¹⁹ Ruiz Mata *et al.* 1981, 179–95, 310–16, and pls. III–XII.

²²⁰ González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 653 and figs. 2–3.

San Pedro's Phase II was defined by already evolved local ceramics and Phoenician ceramics of the second half of the 8th century BC, all of which is consistent with the appearance of Phoenician ceramics older than those found in San Pedro at MN/PM and C3, associated with local pottery similar to that of Phase I of the hillock. As we pointed out, the occupation of the San Pedro hill in that early phase was more likely to have been by local peoples as against what happened in the lower parts of the city. The same can be said about a vineyard system recently found at the La Orden-Seminario site, next to the city of Huelva. Although it has been identified as probably a local farming area, some *orientalia* and a Tyre type 9 ridged-neck jug, not explicitly mentioned, have appeared, undermining the pre-Phoenician interpretation of the planned vineyard system.²²¹

²²¹ González de Canales *et al.* 2010, 654.

TABLES

Table 1: Phoenician, Greek and Cypriot pottery description

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
I.1	3241	Tyre Plate 2	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
I.2	4792	Tyre Plate 2	10YR5/1 grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
I.3	5461	Tyre Plate 3	10YR3/1 very dark grey	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown
I.4	4976	Tyre Plate 3	10YR5/1 grey	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR8/2 white
I.5	4337	Tyre Plate 7	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown
I.6	3668	Tyre Plate 7	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/2 light grey	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey
I.7	4653	Tyre Plate 7	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR7/2 light grey	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey
I.8	3920	Tyre Plate 7	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR8/1 white
I.9	4354	Tyre Plate 7	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
I.10	3635	Tyre Plate 8–9	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
I.11	4708	Tyre Plate 8–9	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/2 white	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey. Rim 10YR8/2 white
I.12	4753	Tyre Plate 8–9	10YR5/1 grey	5Y8/2 white. Stripes 7.5YR7/6 reddish-yellow	5Y6/1 light grey–grey
I.13	5105	Tyre Plate 8–9	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown. Stripe on the rim 5Y8/1 white	10YR7/3 very pale brown
I.14	5709	Tyre Plate 10	7.5YR5/6 strong brown	7.5YR5/6 strong brown. Stripes 5Y8/1 white	10YR7/2 light grey
I.15	3872	Tyre Plate 10	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/2 light grey. Stripes 7.5YR4/4 brown–dark brown	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
I.16	3507	Tyre Plate 10	10YR4/1 dark grey	2.5Y8/2 white. Stripe under rim 5Y8/1 white	2.5Y8/2 white. Rim stripe 5Y8/1 white
I.17	3291	Tyre Plate 10	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown. Stripe on the rim 5YR5/6 yellowish-red	10YR7/3 very pale brown

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
I.18	3229	Tyre Plate 10	7.5YR7/8 reddish-yellow	7.5YR7/8 reddish-yellow	7.5YR7/8 reddish-yellow
II.1	4709	Tyre Plate 11	5YR4/1 dark grey	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR6/3 pale brown
II.2	4013	Tyre Plate 11	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR6/3 pale brown
II.3	3759	Tyre Plate 11	10YR5/1 grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey. Stripe 10YR7/1 light grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
II.4	3256	Tyre Plate 11	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
II.5	4658	Tyre Plate 12	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/1 white	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey
II.6	4773	Tyre Plate 12	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/1 white	2.5Y6/4 light yellowish-brown
II.7	5223	Tyre Plate 12	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown
II.8 (XVI.1)	6568	Tyre Plate 13	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/1 white	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown
II.9	5222	Tyre Plate 13	10YR5/1 grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
II.10	5225	Tyre Plate 13	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
II.11	4234	Tyre Plate 13	10YR8/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
II.12	3504	Tyre Plate 13	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
II.13	4231	Tyre Plate 13	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown
II.14	4233	Tyre Plate 13	10YR7/6 yellow	10YR7/6 yellow	10YR7/6 yellow
II.15	5192	Kition Plate 14	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/4 very pale brown
II.16	5686	Kition Plate 14	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR4/1 dark grey
II.17	3254	Kition Plate 14	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
II.18	5190	Kition Plate 14	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR8/2 white	Burned
II.19	5191	Kition Plate 18	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown. Traces 10YR8/2 white	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown. Traces 10YR8/2 white

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
II.20	4659	Plate Misc.	7.5YR7/6 reddish-yellow	10YR7/6 yellow	10YR7/6 yellow
II.21	6527	Plate Misc.	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
III.1	3245	Huelva FW 1	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
III.2	5046	Huelva FW 2	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR4/1 dark grey
III.3	4517	Huelva FW 3	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR8/1 white	10YR7/1 light grey
III.4	3207	Huelva FW 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/3 very pale brown
III.5	4418	Huelva FW 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
III.6	6585	Huelva FW 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white. Lowest part in reserve 10YR7/2 light grey
III.7	3945	Huelva FW 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR7/2 light grey
III.8	3505	Huelva FW 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white
III.9	3252	Huelva FW 4	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR7/3 very pale brown
III.10	6563	Tyre FW 3	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR6/3 pale brown
III.11	5213	Tyre FW 7	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
III.12	5738	FW Misc.	5Y5/1 grey	5Y6/1 light grey–grey	5Y6/1 light grey–grey
III.13	5119	Huelva Cover 3	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
III.14	4455	Huelva Cover 3	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR8/1 white
III.15	5189	Huelva Cover 3	7.5YR6/6 reddish-yellow	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
III.16	5483	Huelva Cover 4	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
III.17	5040	Huelva Cover 4	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
III.18	4509	Huelva Cover 4	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey	2.5Y6/2 light brownish-grey	5Y6/1 light grey–grey

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
III.19	5015	Cover Misc.	10YR5/1 grey	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
IV.1	4852	Huelva Bowl 1	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
IV.2	3762	Huelva Bowl 1	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR6/3 pale brown
IV.3	5247	Huelva Bowl 1	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR8/4 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
IV.4	6586	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR5/4 yellowish-brown	7.5YR7/8 reddish-yellow	7.5YR7/8 reddish-yellow. Lowest part in reserve 10YR7/3 very pale brown
IV.5	4240	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR8/3 very pale brown	10YR8/3 very pale brown	10YR7/6 yellow
IV.6	5032	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR3/1 very dark grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR8/2 white
IV.7	3867	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
IV.8	3648	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
IV.9	5178	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/2 light grey
IV.10	5030	Huelva Bowl 3	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
IV.11	5693	Huelva Bowl 3	5Y5/1 grey	5Y2.5/1 black	5Y2.5/1 black
IV.12	5033	Huelva Bowl 3	5Y5/1 grey	5Y2.5/1 black	5Y2.5/1 black
IV.13	6562	Huelva Bowl 4	5Y5/1 grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
IV.14	4654	Huelva Bowl 4	7.5YR5/6 strong brown	7.5YR8/6 reddish-yellow	7.5YR8/6 reddish-yellow. Slip traces 10YR8/1 white
IV.15	4872	Huelva Bowl 4	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR7/2 light grey
IV.16	5031	Huelva Bowl 4	5Y5/1 grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey. Slip traces 10YR8/1 white
IV.17	4238	Huelva Bowl 5	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR4/1 dark grey
V.1	4722	Huelva Bowl 6	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	5Y6/3 pale olive	5Y6/3 pale olive
V.2	4977	Huelva Bowl 6	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
V.3	3996	Huelva Bowl 8	5Y5/1 grey	5Y2.5/1 black	5Y2.5/1 black

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
V.4	3997	Huelva Bowl 8	5Y6/1 light grey–grey	5Y6/1 light grey–grey	5Y6/1 light grey–grey
V.5	3246	Huelva Bowl 8	5Y5/1 grey	5Y2.5/1 black	5Y2.5/1 black
V.6	6535	Huelva Bowl 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR6/6 brownish-yellow	10YR7/3 very pale brown
V.7	4469	Huelva Bowl 8	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
V.8	4276	Huelva Bowl 8	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR3/1 very dark grey
V.9	5208	Huelva Bowl 8	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/4 very pale brown
V.10	5204	Huelva Bowl 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
V.11	5207	Bowl Misc.	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
V.12	5827	Bowl Misc.	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown
V.13	3415	Mortar	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR8/4 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
V.14	5028	Mortar	10YR4/2 dark greyish-brown	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
VI.1	3262	Tyre Jug 7	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VI.2	3260	Tyre Jug 7	10YR4/2 dark greyish-brown	10YR4/2 dark greyish-brown	10YR3/2 very dark greyish-brown
VI.3	4331	Tyre Jug 7	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
VI.4 (XVI.2)	5214	Tyre Jug 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR8/1 white. Stripes 10YR5/4 yellowish-brown
VI.5 (XVI.3)	3240	Jug variety	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VI.6	5778	Jug variety	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
VI.7	5199	Tyre Jug 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
VI.8	5127	Jug variety	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/1 light grey
VI.9	6570	Jug variety	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VI.10	5047	Tyre Jug 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
VI.11	4332	Tyre Jug 8	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/1 light grey
VI.12	3239	Jug variety	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VI.13	4554	Jug variety	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
VI.14 (XVI.4)	4811	Tyre Jug 9	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/1 light grey
VI.15 (XVI.5)	5179	Heavy-walled Juglets	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VI.16	3264	Heavy-walled Juglets	10YR8/3 very pale brown	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/4 very pale brown
VI.17 (XVI.6)	6580	Tyre Juglet 2	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
VI.18	9176	Perfume burner or Chalice	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
VI.19	4336	Support	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
VI.20	5177	Wheel-turned Lamp	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR5/1 grey
VI.21	4819	Handmade Lamp	2.5Y3/2 very dark greyish-brown	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown. Burned
VI.22	4550	Phoenician copy of Greek Skyphos	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
VI.23	4551	Phoenician copy of Greek Skyphos	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR5/1 grey	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey
VII.1	3413	Tyre Bases 1–2	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.2	4749	Tyre Bases 1–2	10YR5/1 grey	10YR7/2 light grey Burned	10YR7/1 light grey Burned
VII.3	5682	Tyre Bases 1–2	10YR6/3 pale brown	10YR8/4 very pale brown	10YR8/4 very pale brown
VII.4	5093	Tyre Bases 6–7	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.5	4176	Tyre Bases 6–7	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown. Burned	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.6	4185	Tyre Bases 6–7	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VII.7	5065	Tyre Bases 6–7	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
VII.8	4199	Tyre Base 8	7.5YR6/6 reddish-yellow	2.5YR6/2 pale red	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VII.9	5408	Tyre Base 8	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white	10YR8/2 white
VII.10	4353	Tyre Base 8	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VII.11	3724	Tyre Base 8	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown
VII.12	3890	Tyre Base 8	10YR4/1 dark grey	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
VII.13	3516	Tyre Base 8	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown
VII.14	4198	Tyre Base 8	10YR6/1 light grey-grey	2.5Y7/2 light grey	2.5Y7/2 light grey
VII.15	5081	Tyre Base 8	10YR6/1 light grey-grey	5Y6/3 pale olive	5Y6/3 pale olive
VII.16	5791	Tyre Base 9	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR6/4 light yellowish-brown
VII.17	5096	Tyre Base 9	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.18	4783	Tyre Base 9	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown
VII.19	3723	Huelva FW Base 2	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VII.20	3515	Huelva FW Base 2	10YR8/2 white	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.21	4417	Tyre Base 11:3	10YR6/2 light brownish-grey	10YR7/1 light grey	10YR8/1 white
VII.22	4467	Tyre Base 15	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/3 very pale brown
VII.23	5285	Sarepta Base B-5A	10YR8/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR7/1 light grey
VII.24	4426	Wheel-turned Lamp Base	10YR7/3 very pale brown	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
VII.25	3757	Wheel-turned Lamp Base	7.5YR7/6 reddish-yellow	7.5YR7/4 pink	7.5YR8/2 pinkish-white
VII.26	3916	Handmade Lamp Base	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown. Burned	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown. Burned
VII.27	4312	Handmade Lamp Base	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown. Burned	2.5Y5/2 greyish-brown. Burned

Plate	Register No.	TYPE	CLAY	INTERIOR	EXTERIOR
VII.28	5486	Pedestal Base	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.29	3243	Pedestal Base	10YR6/1 light grey–grey	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR7/2 light grey
VII.30	3242	Pedestal Base	5YR5/8 yellowish-red	10YR8/1 white	10YR8/1 white
XV.1 (XVII.1)	5142	Greek Skyphos	7.5YR7/6 reddish-yellow	Stripes 10YR2/2 very dark brown on 5Y8/1–5Y7/1 white–light grey	Stripes 10YR2/2 very dark brown on 5Y8/1–5Y7/1 white–light grey
XV.2 (XVII.2)	5772	Greek Skyphos	10YR7/2 light grey	10YR2/2 very dark brown. Reserve stripes 10YR8/2 white	10YR2/2–7.5YR6/6 very dark brown–reddish-yellow
XV.3 (XVII.3)	5141	Greek Jug	10YR7/4 very pale brown	10YR7/4 very pale brown	Lowest part of the body and stripes 10YR3/3–5YR7/8 dark brown–reddish-yellow. Reserve 10YR7/4 very pale brown
XV.4 (XVII.4)	5536	Cypriot Black-on-Red	10YR8/3 very pale brown	5YR5/8 yellowish-red	5YR5/8 yellowish-red stripes 10YR2/1 black

Table 2: Concordance between drawings and register numbers of local and Sardinian pottery and Phoenician amphorae not shown in Table 1

<p><i>Local Pottery:</i> VIII.1 = 3100; VIII.2 = 5317; VIII.3 = 4143; VIII.4 = 3791; VIII.5 = 4706; VIII.6 = 3882; VIII.7 = 5153; VIII.8 = 5650; VIII.9 = 5449; VIII.10 = 5212; VIII.11 = 4327; VIII.12 = 5427; VIII.13 = 4695; VIII.14 = 5748; VIII.15 = 5755; VIII.16 = 5428; VIII.17 = 3604; VIII.18 = 4785; VIII.19 = 3600; VIII.20 = 4794; VIII.21 = 5596; VIII.22 = 4779; IX.1 = 6579; IX.2 = 3136; IX.3 = 3107; IX.4 = 6577; IX.5 = 6546; IX.6 = 3115; IX.7 = 5789; IX.8 = 5576; IX.9 = 6576; IX.10 = 4833; IX.11 = 3110; IX.12 = 4790; IX.13 = 5211; IX.14 = 3895; IX.15 = 3897; X.1 = 3601; X.2 = 3788; X.3 = 4719; X.4 = 4472; X.5 = 3784; X.6 = 3671; X.7 = 3874; X.8 = 5787; X.9 = 3901; X.10 = 4456; XI.1 = 3205; XI.2 = 4772; XI.3 = 3658; XI.4 = 3004; XI.5 = 5597; XI.6 = 3037; XI.7 = 4813; XI.8 = 4576; XI.9 = 3775; XI.10 = 5263; XII.1 = 3616; XII.2 = 5680; XII.3 = 3780; XII.4 = 5184; XII.5 = 4678; XII.6 = 5653; XII.7 = 3496; XII.8 = 6581; XII.9 = 5628; XII.10 = 3795; XII.11 = 3793; XII.12 = 5448; XII.13 = 5642; XII.14 = 5210 + 5447; XII.15 = 3086; XII.16 = 5116; XII.17 = 5183.</p> <p><i>Sardinian Pottery:</i> XIII.1 = 5201; XIII.2 = 5202; XIII.3 = 4511; XIII.4 = 5101; XIII.5 = 3263; XIII.6 = 5577; XIII.7 = 4854; XIII.8 = 5260; XIII.9 = 6172; XIII.10 = 5578; XIII.11 = 3584; XIII.12 = 3887; XIII.13 = 6552; XIII.14 = 6151; XIII.15 = 6587; XIII.16 = 6590; XIV.9 = 3624; XIV.10 = 4222; XIV.11 = 4780; XIV.13 = 3785; XIV.14 = 4548; XIV.15 = 3715; XIV.16 = 3848; XIV.17 = 4836.</p> <p><i>Oriental Phoenician Amphorae:</i> XIV.1 = 5697; XIV.2 = 4274; XIV.3 = 5181/51822; XIV.4 = 3596; XIV.5 = 5698/5777; XIV.6 = 5226; XIV.7 = 3272; XIV.8 = 6584.</p> <p><i>Phoenician Amphorae made in Málaga:</i> XIV.14 = 3773.</p>
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A FUNERARY RELIEF OF A 'BARBARIAN' FROM SOUFLI IN THE ALEXANDROUPOLIS COLLECTION (GREECE)*

DIMITRA ANDRIANOU

Abstract

Relief no. 4 from the Alexandroupolis Collection is an exceptional relief in many ways. It is part of a register-stele (*Stockwerkstele*), now partially preserved. The lower and better preserved register depicts a rider hunting in the heroic fashion; a smaller figure stands above the legs of the horse. Certain details allow us to identify the rider as a soldier in the Roman *auxilia* and the smaller figure as his clerk. The relief is important not only for its iconography, but also because it provides evidence for the presence of *auxilia* in the Hebros region in the late 2nd or 3rd century AD.

Aegean Thrace, a modern, conventional designation, is the south-western and smallest section of ancient Thrace, bordered by the Nestos river to the west, the Hebros river to the east, Mt Rhodope to the north and the Aegean Sea to the south, all natural borders.¹ Being a fruitful plain, it was already inhabited in the Palaeolithic period and according to the literary sources and the rapidly emerging archaeological evidence, various Thracian tribes dwelt in the area before Greek colonisation and lived side-by-side with the Greek colonists. The literary sources clearly state that Thracians resided on Thasos and Samothrace before the arrival of the Greeks and were their adversaries at Abdera and in the Strymon valley.²

The first Greek settlers arrived before the middle of the 7th century. They came from Clazomenae, on the Asia Minor coast, and founded Abdera.³ Around 680 BC,

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¹ Aegean Thrace encompasses the modern prefectures of Xanthi, Rhodope and Hebros. The Ephorate of Antiquities of Thrace was founded in 1942 and included two of the three prefectures, namely Rhodope and Hebros. The prefecture of Xanthi was, until 1973, part of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Kavala. Consequently some of the funerary reliefs are still stored at the Museum of Kavala. In 1973 all three prefectures came under the aegis of the same Ephorate, based in Komotini, and the geographical boundaries followed the historical and archaeological unity of south-western Thrace.

² Damyanov 2015, 297. Herodotus (7. 108–111) locates Paitoi, Kikones, Bistones, Sapaioi, Der-saioi, Edonians and Satrai between the Hebros and Strymon rivers.

³ *IThrAeg* 126; Skarlatidou 2010, 31–32.



Fig. 1: Relief no. 4 (Alexandroupolis Collection).

the Parians colonised the neighbouring island of Thasos. Between the end of the 7th and the 5th century BC the Thasians crossed over to the coast of Aegean Thrace to settle the Thasian *peraia* (between the Strymon and Nestos rivers), becoming the island's easternmost colony. Before the middle of the 7th century, the Chians colonised Maroneia, located on the shores of a territory belonging to a Thracian tribe known as the Kikones. In the 7th century, Aeolians from Alopekonnesos, Mytilene and Kyme established a colony at Ainos, on the south-eastern coast of Thrace.⁴ Not long after, in the second quarter of the 6th century BC, the Samians settled Samothrace.⁵ As a consequence of all this activity, Aegean Thrace soon became a melting pot of Ionian and Aeolian influence.⁶

Of particular interest are the inscribed and uninscribed figured tombstones from the time of the Greek settlers to the 3rd century AD because they provide a reflection of this multifaceted melting pot. The relief under discussion here (Fig. 1) is part of a larger, synthetic study on the figured tombstones unearthed in Aegean Thrace during these nine centuries.⁷ The relief, now housed in the storerooms of the Museum of Komotini, first appeared in the *Archaiologike Ephemeris* of 1973 with only a brief mention by Evangelos Pentazos as part of the archaeological research conducted in Thrace in 1969.⁸ Lacking a proper museum, the sculptural pieces from the Hebros region were gathered in the town hall of Alexandroupolis, where a special room was dedicated to the storage of antiquities. As Pentazos notes, antiquities that had been stored in the town hall of Soufli and the elementary school of Kornofolea were recorded by the school's director Angelos Poimenidis.⁹ Our stele is referenced as no. 4 in the short list of antiquities from the 'Alexandroupolis Collection' provided by Pentazos in the *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, and is said to have been transported there from Soufli. This is all the information that we have regarding the stele's origin.

Stele no. 4 is an exceptional relief in many ways.¹⁰ It belongs to the group of *Stockwerkstelai*¹¹ with two superimposed and well defined registers. This type is known in north-western Asia Minor since the early 3rd century BC and echoes the

⁴ Homer *Iliad* 4. 520; Herodotus 7. 58; Başaran [2012], 19; Damyanov 2015, 300–01.

⁵ Graham 2002, where the author outlines all the evidence and previous interpretations of the evidence pertaining to the colonisation of Samothrace.

⁶ For a recent overview of the colonisation, see Damyanov 2015, 297–301; the introductory chapters of the cities on Aegean Thrace in *IThrAeg*; Isaac 1986.

⁷ Andrianou forthcoming.

⁸ Pentazos 1973, 30, no. 4, pl. IΘα.

⁹ School educators often filled in when the Ephorates of Antiquities were short-staffed.

¹⁰ Dimensions: 0.635 m (W) × 0.74 m (H) × 0.105 m (Th). Assuming that the stele is two-registered and that we have the lower half of the stele, the original height would have been considerable.

¹¹ The term was first used by Möbius in his article in *AA1971*.

early 5th-century Greco-Persian stelai that have their roots in the art of the Achaemenids.¹² The type is especially popular in north-western Asia Minor (Kyzikos in Mysia and particularly Prusa in Bithynia, both areas with Thracian populations), upper Italy and Illyria, where stelai of considerable height with two to four superimposed iconographic panels are found, but is almost unknown in other areas, such as the Cyclades. Register-stelai are also known in neighbouring Macedonia, though not encountered frequently.¹³ Such stelai continued to be produced in the Roman period, adopting local characteristics in the centres where they had survived (such as Attica and Beroia).¹⁴ *Stockwerkstelai* were, for the most part, not encased in an architectural framework, despite their dimensions. Evidence for this assertion comes from Macedonia (Beroia), where a stele with a tang for placement in a separate base is preserved.¹⁵

Our stele is broken on the top (Fig. 2) and bottom (Fig. 3). Part of a narrow frame is visible on the right and left edges (Figs. 4–5). The back side is worn smooth (Fig. 6). Five rectangular cuttings can be seen on the back, four in the lower part of the stele and one on the left, close to the frame. The irregular placement of these cuttings probably denotes a second use. Two modern holes were bored into the bottom of the stele for the placement of iron rods to secure it to a modern base. Traces of paint are visible on the surface of the relief (see below).

This relief was included in a separate study along with a number of reliefs from the Museum of Komotini and the Archaeological Collections at Maroneia, conducted by Prof. Lorenzo Lazzarini (Laboratorio di Materiali Antichi, Venice), to identify the source of their marble.¹⁶ The isotopic analysis showed that the same stone fabric was used in another *Stockwerkstele* housed at the Museum of Komotini and found in modern Maximianoupolis (ΑΓΚ 25). More specifically, the fabric of our stele is described as a mosaic with large porphyroblasts, while the stele from Maximianoupolis is described as a mosaic with well interlocked crystals. The precise location of the local quarry from which the stone originates has yet to be identified.

¹² Möbius 1971, 454; von Moock 1998, 54; Lymperopoulos, 1985, 96; Cremer 1991, 17 with earlier bibliography.

¹³ They are known in Beroia since the 1st century AD (Allamani-Souri 2008, 55) and there is one known example from Eordaia (Kardia, see Karamitrou-Mendessidi 1984, 99–105). For earlier register-stelai, see Kalaitzi 2016 (Rhyaki 13, Kardia 12, Notia 119).

¹⁴ For the latest *Stockwerkstelai* known in Attica and Beroia, see von Moock 1998, 54, no. 242, dated to the Antonine-Severan period; Allamani-Souri 2008, cat. nos. 82 (with standing figures, dated to the first half of the 2nd century AD), 137 (dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD) and 178 (with busts, dated to the 2nd century AD).

¹⁵ Allamani-Souri 2008, cat. no. 82. Two more stelai bear marks that indicate they stood in bases, but they are both reported to be re-used stelai (nos. 137 and 178). Beroia in particular is thought to have had strong connections with Mysia and Bithynia (Allamani-Souri 2008, 43).

¹⁶ Andrianou and Lazzarini 2015.



Fig. 2: Top side of stele.



Fig. 3: Bottom side of stele.



Fig. 4: Right side of stele.



Fig. 5: Left side of stele.

Iconography

On the lower and better preserved register, the relief depicts a bearded rider with a lance held aloft in his right hand and spearing a boar which is under attack by two hunting dogs. Two additional male figures appear in the scene, one behind the horse (in the position one would expect to find a servant) and another, rendered at a smaller scale, above the head of the horse.

The rider faces front; his head is proportionately larger than his body and he has shaggy hair (Fig. 7). His eyes are oval shaped with a swollen lower eyelid which is accentuated by the black eyeliner and a (possibly) defined iris. The eyes are eccentric, the left being smaller than the right.¹⁷ He is dressed in a short, sleeved tunic, a cloak fastened on his right shoulder and pointed boots (possibly a kind of ἐνδρομίδες, preferred for speed and ease of movement) with overhanging boot-liners (πίλοι), in an Eastern fashion (Fig. 8).¹⁸ Ἐνδρομίδες have a distinctive, pointed toe and laces which, in our case, would have been painted on. He wears a twisted bar with a bell-shaped pendant around his neck (Fig. 9). The horse's head is adorned and its mane is elaborately depicted (Fig. 10). It wears a bridle (part of the περιστέμιον is visible) and possibly a bit,¹⁹ and is led by reins.²⁰ The rest of the bridle may have originally been painted on. The hair of its mane is curly and is embellished with a decorative headpiece in the shape of a tuft²¹ with small hanging acorns(?), strapped onto its head without a chamfron.²² Written sources testify that luxurious harnesses (πάγκραλα φάλαρα according to Xenophon: *Hellenica* 4. 1. 39), were quite costly but desired by everyone who owned a horse, not only the elite. Opulent harnesses appear on reliefs from Bulgaria (Targovishte, Abrittus, Sexaginta Prista, Nicopolis ad Istrum, Novae) and, less often, on reliefs from the colonies

¹⁷ A 'portrait' from a fragmentary funerary relief from Sandanski, dated to 'not earlier than the 3rd century AD' bears comparable facial characteristics to our rider (Dimitrov 1939, 29, no. 23, fig. 37).

¹⁸ For the depiction of Thracians in art, see, for instance: Desbals 1997; Lissarrague 1990, 217–31; Raecq 1981, 68–70; Tsifakis 2002. For the specific kind of footwear, see Morrow 1985, 20–21.

¹⁹ When there is a rider on the horse the bit is necessary. The bridle can appear without a bit when the horse is led by someone other than the rider.

²⁰ For the terminology of the various parts of a horse's harness and their uses, see Faklaris 1986. For luxurious harnesses from Macedonia and the written testimonia, see Stamatopoulou 2010; on the various parts of excavated harnesses, see Faklaris 1986, with earlier bibliography; on Thracian harnesses, see Marazov 1998, 165–69. Nine 'button-shaped' items found in a double-thalamos tomb in Katerini might, in fact, have been elements of a horse's forehead decoration (Stamatopoulou 2010, 236 δ, MΘ 7484). For another richly decorated horse on a funerary marker from the western provinces (Germania), see Noelke 1998, fig. 4, dated to the Flavian period. For different types of headpieces, see Kazarow 1938, 10.

²¹ Cf. Kazarow, 1938, nos. 321, 326, 333, 389, 412, 565, 706, 765.

²² For chamfrons, see Bishop and Coulston 1993, 105.



Fig. 6: Back of stele.



Fig. 7: Detail of the rider.



Fig. 8: Detail of the rider's right boot.



Fig. 9: Detail of the torque.



Fig. 10: Detail of the horse.



Fig. 11: Detail of the servant.



Fig. 12: Detail of the 'clerk'.

around the Black Sea.²³ Actual fragments of similarly luxurious harnesses have been found in excavations of various areas in Thrace.²⁴

The figure we identify as the servant behind the horse stands on the same level as the horse (Fig. 11). He is dressed in a short tunic and holds a lance in his left hand.²⁵ Although his face is now broken off, the rest of his body is better preserved and he clearly grasps the horse's tail *wrapped* around his right hand, a detail seen in many Thracian reliefs.²⁶ The male figure depicted above the raised front left leg of the horse is depicted in civilian garment in an awkward perspective: he stands on a higher level than the horse and, in fact, it looks as if he is stepping on its left leg (Fig. 12). His hair is thick and curly,²⁷ his face is broken, but enough remains of his clean-shaven right cheek. He wears a chiton and himation and holds its edge, which ends in a weight over his left hand. He wears boots with rounded toes. He holds a stylus in his raised right hand between his thumb and index finger, and a *theca* with three styli between his index and middle fingers (Fig. 13). His left hand, which projects from under the himation, clasps a cylindrical object, probably a book roll. The significant features of this iconography are discussed at length below.

Three animals are involved in a struggle under the horse: one boar is being attacked by two dogs (Fig. 14). Hunting dogs are considered the animal partners that provide a measure of safety.²⁸ Their role in hunting was to flush out and snatch

²³ For instance, *CCET* 2.2, nos. 484, 487, 559, 565, 589, 633.

²⁴ See, for instance, Marazov 1998: 160–70 for appliquéés from the Letnitsa Treasure, believed to be the work of a Greek craftsman but in the spirit and tradition of Thracian metalwork; 104–13 for appliquéés from the Dolna Koznitsa Tumulus (Strymon valley). See Venedikov 1957: 156, fig. 6b for a bit from Gornjani (south Bulgaria); 159, fig. 11 for a fragment of a bit from Strelca (south-east Bulgaria). For the bit from Vergina, see Faklaris 1986 (with more examples from Greece proper). I do not know whether the smaller appliquéés with two loops at the back might have been suspended from the horse's forehead, in the way they are depicted on our relief. Appliquéés with one loop are more plausibly parts of such a decoration, such as the 36 appliquéés from the Kravevo Tumulus (Turgovishte District) in the shape of small fluted jugs, the feet of which are marked by horizontal flutes and terminate in a stylised vegetal ornament (Marazov 1998, 120, no. 41).

²⁵ By AD 219 horsemen throughout the Roman army had servants whom the government fed and housed (Speidel 1989, 242, n. 18).

²⁶ Kazarow 1938, 10, figs. 11 (no. 16), 26 (no. 71), 179 (no. 323), 198 (no. 364 = *LIMC* 6, 599), 215 (no. 389), 237 (no. 427), 285 (no. 556), 296 (no. 592), 297 (no. 598), 301 (no. 603), 306 (no. 610), 309 (no. 614), 315 (no. 622), 331 (no. 651), 342 (no. 678), 354 (no. 712), 409 (no. 821), 445 (no. 906), 461 (no. 953), 464 (no. 957), 477 (no. 987), 502a (no. 1029). On no. 114 (fig. 47) the tail of the horse is held by two women. It is not common on Greek reliefs to see the horse's tail *wrapped* around the servant's hand.

²⁷ Cf. the hairstyle of the rider on the relief from Thessaloniki (Despinis *et al.* 1997, 125), dated to the age of Caracalla (early 3rd century AD).

²⁸ For the meaning of 'animal partners' and the true role of dogs in hunting, see Allsen 2006, 53. Xenophon in his *Cyngeticus* of the 5th century BC knew only horses and dogs as helpmates. For hounds in ancient Greek hunting, see Hull 1964.

the prey that the dog and hunter had tracked and to keep it in place until the hunter arrived for the kill. On our relief, both dogs are depicted claiming their prey: the dog to the left has snatched the boar's back leg,²⁹ whereas the dog to the right is shown in contesting posture, with bent forepaws and lowered tail. The boar is in the middle, between the two dogs. His long bristles stand erect along the ridge of his back, indicating his agitation as he turns his head and looks at the spear of the rider. The sculptor has quite faithfully portrayed this moment of animal combat and competition when the hunted animal recognises its defeat.

Traces of colour appear all over the figured panel: red on the himation and right boot of the rider, the mane, the eye and the reins of the horse as well as the himation of the smaller figure; black paint on the contour of the rider's eyes, his hair, beard and neck-ring and on the boots and hair of the smaller figure; orange paint covered the background between the front legs of the horse and brown paint was found on the face of both figures.

Traces of colour are also visible on the fragmented upper register (Fig. 15). On the right, all that remains of the original register are the feet of two female figures wearing chitons and (probably) himatia and, to the left, the left foot of a male figure wearing a sandal. All of these figures were probably standing.

Discussion

The Rider (Fig. 1)

The main figure of the composition is the rider who, shown hunting in the heroic fashion, is directly associated with cavalrymen: he holds a spear, his servant carries spare missiles, and his horse is appropriately decorated. This iconography evokes the so-called *Heros Equitans* type but without the symbols of the altar, the snake-entwined tree and the 'Heroine', often seen on reliefs with similar subject matter from mainland Thrace.³⁰

²⁹ Compare hound 'δ' on the hunting scene of Vergina (Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 80–84).

³⁰ *Heros Equitans* is an iconographic type exemplified by a rider on a horse, turned to the right (seldom to the left), walking, galloping or standing still, a theme commonly seen on votive and funerary reliefs from mainland Thrace. Scholars also use the term 'Thracian Rider', or 'Thracian Horseman', a term never used in antiquity, but introduced by Dumont 1876 as a *terminus technicus*, 70. The term was first applied to representations of horsemen on *votive* tablets found in ancient Thrace. About two-thirds of the inscriptions accompanied by this iconography are votive. However, the ethnic definition 'Thracian' should not be applied lightly to reliefs from Greek territory or Greek colonies of Thrace, or where the accompanying inscriptions consist of Greek names, unless other features (namely the garment of the rider) are suggestive of his ethnic origin. Even then, 'Thracian' may include horsemen from several areas, such as Scythians, Celts, etc. Therefore, we have chosen to use the neutral



Fig. 13: Detail of the writing tools.



Fig. 14: Detail of the animals.



Fig. 15: Upper register.

In Asia Minor and the areas influenced by it, the rider is presented as a *hunter*, when animals occur in the scene, and is connected to Classical hunting scenes with many variants that originate in the iconography of royal hunting scenes in the Eastern tradition.³¹ The link between hunting scenes and military virtue is well established: hunting was considered the best preparation for the army since the hunter becomes 'fortified, hardened, accustomed to courage, cunning methods and perseverance; he becomes addicted to virtue... he exercises his spirit of judgment and initiative in difficult situations... all that makes him an elite soldier'.³² Typically the hunter, on his way to hunt or during the hunt, carries a spear and is accompanied by a hunting dog. The quarries (hare, deer, boar, lion) are usually depicted under the horse. The motif crystallises in the Roman period with the rider on horseback holding a lance in his elevated right hand, hunting a boar, with the assistance of hunting dogs, all depicted under the hooves of the horse.³³ The props (altar, snake-entwined tree, animals), when shown, are in smaller scale. In mainland Thrace the motif appears quite late, around AD 200,³⁴ and Philippopolis seems to

term *Heros Equitans* throughout the present study. The motif of the horse rider is known from the Iberian Peninsula to Asia, from Middle Europe to North Africa (*LIMC* 6, 1065). For the use of the term, see Voutiras 1990, 145, n. 81. The bibliography on the *Heros Equitans* is quite extensive. An informative synthesis is presented in *LIMC* 6, 1019–81 (*Heros Equitans* [votive and funerary]); Boteva 2000, a response/addition to *LIMC* for votive reliefs; Dimitrova 2002; Schleiermacher 1981; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, 310–14 ('Reiter'); Ivanov 2006, 71–79; Woysch-Méautis 1982, 57–60 (for the meaning of the hunting scene and the presence of the dog). For the symbolism of the hero-rider, see Langefass-Vuduroglou 1973; for the hero-rider motif in Thrace, see Kazarow 1938. For a discussion of the initial impetus for the rider on Roman military tombstones, see Hope 2000, 169; Schleiermacher 1981, 72–87.

³¹ *LIMC* 6, 1070; Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, 312–13; Mercky 1995, 88–92. The motif is known since the 6th century BC in Greece, especially in areas with Ionian influence. The boar-hunt is a popular theme in minor arts both in Thrace and in Achaemenid Anatolia (Vassileva 2015). Vassileva points, however, to an interesting detail: the boar is already wounded in the Thracian examples, unlike the Persian representations where a spear is aimed at the boar (as in our example). For royal hunting scenes, see the most recent study by Allsen (2006). For different types of hunters in iconography, see the discussion on the Vergina wall-painting and the earlier cited examples by Saatsoglou-Paliadeli (2004, 100–06). Six more reliefs with the *Heros Equitans* iconography are known from Aegean Thrace (Andrianou forthcoming).

³² Woysch-Méautis 1982, 58; Xenophon *Cyropaedia* 1. 2. 10, 8. 1. 34.

³³ The earliest known depiction of the heroisation of the deceased through boar hunting is on the stele from Çavuşköy (north-western Asia Minor) and dates to the second half of the 5th century BC (Vassileva 2010). The boar hunt becomes, however, especially popular in the 2nd century AD with the theme of Meleager and its symbolism of the destruction of every malicious power and the veneration of the dead. For boar-hunting in literary sources, see Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 10. 1–23. For the subject in iconography, see *LIMC* 6, 1071–72; Fink 1969, especially 248–50; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004, 99–100, 107 for earlier examples. Our relief, like the 4th-century BC Vergina wall-painting, shows the boar immobilised by the hounds and not still combatant. For votive reliefs with boar hunting scenes, see *LIMC* 6, 1052–55.

³⁴ *LIMC* 6, 454–56. For the boar-hunting: Xenophon *Cynegeticus* 10. 1–23.

be especially keen on the depiction of the rider throwing his lance. In Aegean Thrace the earliest inscribed example of a hunter is dated to the 4th century BC,³⁵ and in Macedonia the type is known on coins from the turn of the 6th/5th centuries until the 3rd century BC.³⁶

Cavalry scenes on the tombstones of cavalymen from the Roman provinces are associated with auxiliaries, never with legionary horsemen.³⁷ The legionary was a Roman citizen, recruited from Italy or a highly Romanised area of the empire, whereas the auxiliary was a non-enfranchised provincial excluded from service in the legions.³⁸ The latter had to serve for a longer period of time than the legionary and may have received less pay.³⁹ From the reign of the emperor Claudius onwards, the auxiliary soldier received citizenship on discharge.⁴⁰ It is possible that the choice of scene, a boar-hunt, was made because it was in a pictorial language already familiar to those men recruited from recently conquered areas of the eastern empire, as in the case of our rider.⁴¹ In Valerie Hope's words, '... the groom, the horse, the weapons and the conquering behaviour (the fallen enemy in the case of the

³⁵ *IThrAeg* E 80 confiscated at Porto Lagos.

³⁶ *LIMC* 6, 1069. In particular, Philip II's coinage depicting a rider has inspired many interpretations. On the various views, see Le Rider 1977, 364–66 (who identifies the rider with the king himself); Picard 1986, 66–76 (who claims that the rider on the Macedonian coins cannot be identified either as a royalty, deity or *heros*, but rather as an illustration of aristocratic values *par excellence*); Prestinianni Giallombardo and Tripodi 1996 (who conclude that the mature type of the rider is an image of royalty and not of the king); and Caccamo Caltabiano 1999 (who also sees the rider as the king and his gesture as 'a charismatic gesture of the king's benevolence, protection and maiestas' [p. 199]).

³⁷ Although legionary and auxiliary troops were equals, there are certain differences in their depictions on tombstones (Hope 2001, 41–43; 2000, especially 171–77). At Mainz, legionaries seem to have preferred tombstones with portrait busts and few attributes of military life. The same contrast between depictions of legionaries and auxiliaries is met with at Cologne during the 1st century AD. Similar distinctions are noted in Carnuntum (Pannonia), Roman Britain and Rome (Hope 2001, 43). For depictions of auxiliaries on tombstones, see Holder 1980, 166.

³⁸ However, it was not impossible for a freeborn Roman citizen to join the *auxilia* (Holder 1980, 49–50). For auxiliary units in the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD, see Strobel 2007, 278–79.

³⁹ Speidel 1992; Alston 1994; Hope 2000, 167; for a different opinion that sees auxiliaries as being complementary to legions see Gilliver 2007, 193. However, cavalymen were the elite among *auxilia* units since they received more pay to support the horse and the servant (Speidel 1989, 239–47).

⁴⁰ Holder 1980, 47–48.

⁴¹ According to Schleiermacher (1984, 60–65), the earliest Roman cavalry stelai were commissioned in the region of the Rhine and commemorated men from units recruited in the west of the empire rather than the east. In the case of the western provinces of the empire, it was through Rome and the west that the cavalryman design appears to have entered the military pictorial vocabulary via the early imperial triumphal reliefs. This is not the forum to elaborate on this disputable issue, but one thing is certain: our relief is within the Eastern tradition of royal hunting scenes.

tombstones from Mainz) were all attributes of status, blatantly displayed in death by auxiliary cavalrymen'.⁴²

Cavalrymen are generally shown armoured in the plain convention, with a shafted weapon, often accompanied by *calones* (military servants) holding spare missiles, a provision that suggests their ability to skirmish, or to direct fighting. Greater care is often taken in depicting the horse's harness and saddle.⁴³ The sculptors of these gravestones were probably familiar with military equipment as it is likely that a significant proportion were concurrently serving as soldiers or were veterans. Thus, M. Bishop and J. Coulston rightly warn that 'the knowledge of artist and client could itself engender mutually understood conventions which mislead modern observers'.⁴⁴

Our rider proudly carries an 'ethnic' signifier that may allude to his origin. He wears a twisted neck-ring around his neck, a torque (Lat. *torquis*), an identifier of La Tène culture.⁴⁵ His torque is of the ribbon type with a bell-shaped pendant.⁴⁶ Torques were worn in antiquity by a variety of peoples,⁴⁷ primarily Celts, but also other tribal *ethne*, such as the Scythians, Illyrians⁴⁸ and possibly Thracians, if we

⁴² Hope 2001, 42; also Hope 2000, especially 165–67.

⁴³ For excavated evidence of Roman cavalry equipment, see, for instance, the Thracian burial of a *cataphractarius* at Čatalka, in Bulgaria (Bujukliev 1986), where swords, scabbard-fittings of various designs, a quiver of arrows, spearheads, shield bosses, a helmet, a plate-armour gorget, sections of scale and mail corselets, and full-length splint armour for the legs have been unearthed. The burial is dated to the 1st–2nd centuries AD.

⁴⁴ Bishop and Coulston 1993, 25.

⁴⁵ La Tène culture (the European Iron Age period that is generally dated from 450 BC to the Roman conquest) was stylistically characterised by inscribed and intricate inlaid spirals and interlace on fine bronze vessels, helmets and shields, horse trappings and elite jewellery, especially torques and elaborate fibulae. Torques were made of bronze or gold (and rarely silver), and are known since the mid-5th/late 4th century BC (for instance, Miller 1997, 57 for the torque worn by Persians and Medes, and the Iranian nobles on the Persepolis reliefs). The idea of the torque was borrowed from the East and certain 'Celtic' specimens suggest, ultimately, Persian exemplars. Bronze torques are known from warrior graves of a humbler kind, doubtless ordinary fighting men of free status, as T. Powell asserts (Powell 1959, 70–73). For a torque with a silver-plated pendant (or 'Bommel'), see Megaw and Megaw 2001, 262, fig. 440. For the definition of the word 'Celt', see Megaw and Megaw 2001, 9. For an iconographic parallel, see the figure on a phalera (photographed inside a hemispherical bowl) from the Bohot Treasure (Pleven District) in Venedikov 1976, nos. 411 (bowl) and 417 (phalera).

⁴⁶ An earlier ribbon torque from Belfast, for instance, exhibited at the National Museum of Ireland in Dublin, was created by beating an ingot of gold into a strip of about 1 mm. and twisting it to achieve the desired effect. The surface was then shallowly and elegantly fluted. The gold ribbon narrows towards the ends, where it is worked on both sides into rods that interlock to form hooks. The hooks are capped with small, unadorned knobs <<http://www.unc.edu/celtic/catalogue/torc/Torcs.html>>.

⁴⁷ For the wide use of torques throughout antiquity, see *RE* VI.2², 1800–05 (Schuppe); Bonfante 2004, 144, n. 98.

⁴⁸ Wilkes 1992, 233.

take into consideration the funerary offerings sporadically found in the greater La Tène area from around the 8th century BC to the 3rd century AD.⁴⁹ The famous Hellenistic statues of Celts, known through Roman marble copies, were portrayed with distinctive ethnic attributes by which they could be recognised: the males had thick and wild hair, moustaches, muscular bodies, and torques.⁵⁰ Consequently, torques in Greek art signify the 'other,' the defeated barbarians, either Celts, as in the case of the Pergamene Gauls and the associated copies, or Persians, as in the case of Darius in the Alexander Mosaic in Pompeii.⁵¹

However, torques belong to the La Tène culture and cannot be attributed to a unified people, let alone used to distinguish tribes.⁵² Mercenaries originating in the La Tène culture fought in Sicily, Greece, Egypt and Asia Minor, but there are only scattered objects in the archaeological record to mark their presence and these are usually interpreted collectively as 'Celtic' finds. The problem with this interpretation begins with the literary sources that associate Celts with torques more than once.⁵³ We read that for a Celt the torque served as a symbol of strength, power, and royalty.⁵⁴ When worn in battle it was believed to have protected the warrior from defeat as an object of intimidation. On the other hand, there are no known

⁴⁹ Lacking a more synthetic study of these finds, we should note that even excavated torques are hard to characterise ethnically if the rest of the context is not taken into consideration. Even then, a torque as a funerary offering does not automatically signal a 'Celt.' To illustrate the problem, see Theodossiev 2005 for the torque found at Gorni Tsibar in north-western Bulgaria, for instance. For Thracian torques, i.e. torques found in Thracian tombs, see Venedikov 1976, 59, no. 253 (from Tsibur Varosh, dated to the 4th century BC) and 44, no. 165 (from Duvanli, dated to the 5th century BC). Similar torques made of silver are often found in Thrace. For Celtic torques in Thrace, see Venedikov and Gerassimov 1975, 116 (gold torque) from Archar. According to Venedikov, 'this torque no longer has the baroque character of the motifs of Celtic gold working, as these are known from Celtic homelands... it looks more like Thracian jewellery.' Along the same line of thought, see Cunliffe 2011, 206, where it is stated that '...there is a huge acceptance of design systems – what we crudely label as Celtic art – within which are embedded levels of meaning. This art spread throughout Gaul to be embraced, interpreted and reproduced in a variety of local contexts.'

⁵⁰ For the famous sculptures at Pergamon, see Hannestad 1993; most recently Winkler-Horaček 2011, with further bibliography.

⁵¹ Cohen 1997; Stähler 1999; Andreae 1977.

⁵² For the different meanings attached to the concept of Celts from Classical sources, linguistic studies and archaeology, and the misconceptions surrounding the concepts of 'the Celts,' see Cunliffe 2011, 190–210. La Tène art is quite diffuse. In Turkey, for instance, Middle La Tène or La Tène C brooches of the 2nd century BC are found (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 123). In the Hellenistic chamber tomb of Mal Tepe at Mezék, on the Bulgarian-Turkish border, the remains of a Celtic chariot with bronze fittings were uncovered.

⁵³ *RE* VI.2², 1800–05 (Schuppe); Bonfante 2004, 144, n. 98.

⁵⁴ Strabo (4. 4. 2) considered Celts to be the most skilful riders and their numbers in the auxiliary troops amounted to almost half of the total auxiliary cavalry.

depictions of Thracians wearing torques from the period of time under consideration.

In the Roman period, the torque (first depicted as booty and later as a sign of victory) was adopted by the Romans as a military decoration.⁵⁵ However, Roman soldiers did not wear their torques in the traditional 'barbarian' fashion around the neck: torques awarded as *dona militaria* were normally depicted in pairs, more often as separate decorations on gravestones or attached to the soldier's uniform, as in the case of Q. Sertorius L. f. Festus, centurion of *Legio XI Claudia*⁵⁶ and Marcus Caecilius, centurion of *Legio XVIII*.⁵⁷ Auxiliary soldiers, however, continued to be allowed to wear their native ornaments. Evidence of this is provided by a certain Flavinus from the *ala Petriana* near Corbridge in Northumberland, dated to the 1st century AD, who is depicted on his inscribed tombstone wearing a torque around his neck.⁵⁸ Unfortunately no ethnicity is indicated epigraphically, possibly because it was obvious to an ancient viewer. In any case, a torque, possibly as an ethnic identifier, could still be worn by an auxiliary.

The cloak fastened on the right shoulder of the cavalryman on our relief is actually a *sagum*, a draped military cloak fastened on the right shoulder with a fibula.⁵⁹ The cloth of the *sagum* was originally knee- or calf-length, woollen and worn over a tunic or a toga;⁶⁰ it fell open to reveal the right side of the body of the wearer. Cicero uses the term *lacerna*, instead of *sagum*, and condemns it along with 'Gaulish' shoes in the *Philippic*.⁶¹ It became a popular item of clothing in the Roman empire and was made of lighter materials and colours, even purple (Juvenal *Saturae* 1. 27; Martial *Epigrammata* 8. 10. 1–2 and 14. 131). The colours that are attested in the literary sources for this type of garment are brown and red in different hues.

⁵⁵ The earliest attested example dates to 89 BC on a plaque that records the grant of Roman citizenship and *dona militaria* to the *turma Salluitana*, a troop of Spanish cavalry (*CIL* 6, 37045): Maxfield 1981, 86–88.

⁵⁶ Keppie 2003, 46, fig. 15; *CIL* 5, 3374.

⁵⁷ *CIL* 13, 8648/ *ILS* 2244; Carroll 2006, 143, fig. 49. According to Sidonius, the torque was also worn by triumphant circus contestants and is attested on a relief from Miletoupolis (MiK 6), dated to the 3rd century AD (Cremer 1991, 106–07). On this relief, Anthion, the winner of such a contest, presents the torque on his neck with pride.

⁵⁸ Collingwood and Wright 1995, no. 1172, pl. 17.

⁵⁹ The *sagum* replaced the *paenula* (the cape put on over the head, common on 1st-century AD tombstones) in the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. For the change from *paenula* to *sagum*, see Bishop and Coulston 1993, 119. For *sagum*, see Bishop and Coulston 1993, 100 and 153.

⁶⁰ Cf. the centurion from Padova, Bishop and Coulston 1993, 50, fig. 20.

⁶¹ Cicero *Philippic* 2. 30: *nullis nec gallicis nec lacerna*. The distinction between *lacerna* and *sagum* is hard to make based on current literary evidence. It seems that the terms changed over the years. For *lacerna*: Velleius Paterculus 2. 70, 80; Ovid *Fasti* 2. 746; Propertius 4. 3. 18; Suetonius *Claudius* 6. For *sagum*: Virgil *Aeneid* 8. 660; Strabo 4. 4. 3. Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies*) identifies *sagum* as a coarse woollen mantle and *lacerna* as a fringed cloak.

True purple was a less common dye than the cheaper madder-based substitutes.⁶² The garment in our relief was once painted red. The *sagum* replaced the *paenula* (cape) around the first quarter of the 2nd century AD and thus provides a benchmark for our relief.

The spear depicted on our tombstone is most probably a *gaesum* (γαῖσος), a throwing spear of Celtic origin,⁶³ a traditional weapon which continued to be used by Celts well into the Principate, and which Valerie Maxfield associated with the *hasta pura* of Varro.⁶⁴ The *hasta* was longer than a sword so it could be used to attack the enemy from a farther distance; it was not thrown but used for thrusting (the prey in our case). It was six and a half feet long, with a shaft made of ash. The head was made of iron and had a sharp point. Roman soldiers who carried spears were called *Hastati*. *Hastae* were the main weapon in ancient Rome and probably the most effective; it was typically held by auxiliary units, whereas legionaries held the *pilum*, a short-range, armour-piercing, shock weapon.⁶⁵

It is true that spears are ubiquitous in any period and notoriously difficult to classify, let alone date. Pictorial evidence is also unreliable both in terms of size (the weapon was scaled down to fit within the physical limits of the relief) and shape of the spearhead (usually nondescript). The range of forms for spearheads suggests that

⁶² Bishop and Coulston 1993, 153, n. 74, 181.

⁶³ Occasionally Celts seem to have produced metal items specifically for the Roman legions and such products are found throughout the Roman world (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 238). Interaction with the Celts had a profound effect on Roman military equipment for a long period of time, at least until the 3rd century AD. They were the originators of most of the forms of helmets used by the Romans in the Late Republic and Early Empire and they invented the ring mail armour and long sword used by auxiliary cavalry (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 204).

⁶⁴ Maxfield 1981, 85. Good evidence for pairing the term with the depiction in our relief is provided by another gravestone where the spears are labelled (Maxfield 1981, pl. 5a). The earliest reference to the use of the spear as a formal military award is by Polybius who states that 'it was given to the man who had wounded an enemy not in the heat of the battle or at the storming of the city, but only when single combat had been entered into voluntarily, in circumstances in which danger could, if desired, have been avoided' (Maxfield, 1981, 84; Polybius 6. 39. 3–4). The spear was later awarded to Roman citizens as a *donum militarium*. A cavalryman who slew and stripped an enemy had originally also been awarded a spear. This award is roughly dated to the early Principate and it is depicted on funerary reliefs in the same way as the torque and the corona, as badges not worn by the honouree. Reliefs of an individual soldier holding a *hasta* are found at Perinthos (Slawisch 2007, P 23, 24, 26, dated to the 3rd century AD).

⁶⁵ On the interesting question of whether we can identify auxiliaries from the way they are depicted on (mainly) tombstones according to their military equipment, see Bishop and Coulston 1993, 208. The auxiliary was 'adaptable to a variety of combat scenarios... supplied screening and flanking forces, as well as missile support'. The same writers caution us against literary sources and terminology since Roman writers seem to use them interchangeably all too often (Bishop and Coulston 1993, 69).

they were produced according to the individual smith's own taste.⁶⁶ In our case, however, the spearhead is clearly triangular and is widest near the socket. It has a long shaft and is of the type used most probably for thrusting, with ease of withdrawal a priority.

Smaller Figure (Fig. 12)

The importance of this stele is not confined to the depiction of the horseman alone: the smaller male figure to the right, who is depicted on a different level, directly over the leg of the horse, is equally intriguing.⁶⁷ He is dressed in a chiton and himation with one end wrapped across the front of his body and draped over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a stylus between his thumb and index finger and a *theca* with three styli between his index and middle fingers.⁶⁸ In his left hand he holds a book-roll.

Styli, feathers, wax tablets and *thecae* are attributes of clerks, such as *cornicularii*, *actuarii* or *librarii*,⁶⁹ three titles of clerks attested in the auxiliary cohorts,⁷⁰ especially in 3rd-century AD Dura Europos, and studied in great detail by Jacqueline Austin. The *cornicularius* oversaw and directed the work of the entire clerical team, monitored work assigned to his staff and bore the responsibility for its contents, checked and ordered the necessary supplies for his unit, checked and verified the documents and the copies of documents his office produced. The *acturius* was a clerk with duties similar to the *cornicularius*. He was responsible for the regiment's supplies, for the production of the unit's annual report to the headquarters, and he might have been, on occasion, a shorthand- or speed-writer. In the civilian and private spheres, the *acturius* is occasionally cited as an accountant. The *librarius* is a junior assistant to the *acturius* and a step up from the *exactus*. One of his tasks was to copy the unit's accounts. In the civil sphere, a *librarius* is often a private secretary or, as his title indicates more precisely, a copyist (or seller) of books.⁷¹ In the military, copying and collating activities may also have been his main duty. Army *librarii* probably often served as personal secretaries to officers, but they also seem to have worked as general copyists, document writers and even language teachers.⁷² Since the term *librarius* is used as a non-specific cover term for a general clerk,

⁶⁶ Bishop and Coulston 1993, 202.

⁶⁷ The figure is depicted as if 'flying' over the horse. This is a Roman influence, also seen on a sarcophagus relief from Thessaloniki with a depiction of a funerary banquet (Herdejürgen 1981, 424, n. 35). This figure is unfortunately not visible in the published photographs to date.

⁶⁸ For excavated *thecae* from Cologne, see von Boeselager 1989.

⁶⁹ Austin 2010, chapter 6.

⁷⁰ The sub-categories of clerks in the Roman army are quite numerous.

⁷¹ Cicero *Epistulae ad Atticum* 4. 4. 1b. 1; Stauner 2004, 132–38.

⁷² Tarruntenus Paternus *Digest* 50. 6. 7 (cited in Austin 2010, 122, 124).

we may assume that he was a multifunctional, trained writer with the most widely varied duties of all the clerks. Some *librarii* at smaller camps also seem to have had responsibility for documents concerning personnel, logistics and accounts.⁷³

Clerical soldiers were mobile and accompanied units and *vexillationes* on campaigns, missions and manoeuvres.⁷⁴ Each century had its own small administrative department under the leadership of the centurion, all of whom would ultimately be under the command of the legionary or cohort commander. The total number of clerks at Dura Europos, where evidence abounds, is around 50, which is comparable with those from *Legio III Augusta* at Lambaesis, dated to the late 2nd century AD.

When it comes to iconography, it is hard to distinguish between the different kinds of clerks. Only the *cornicularius*, named after a small horn attached to his helmet, is discernible. Thus, the '*librarii*' identified on three stelai from Novae in Moesia Inferior could, in fact, be any of the three types of clerks involved with record-keeping.⁷⁵

According to good archaeological evidence dated to the 3rd century AD, scribes carried their styli in *thecae*, usually of leather,⁷⁶ and did not put them down while writing. This is established in a small number of funerary reliefs that depict scribes carrying this apparatus with a long looped handle,⁷⁷ or strapped onto their chests. The figure on our relief, too, is shown in this manner, holding a stylus and a *theca*, two attributes that denote his profession or employment. Depicting the profession of the figures in a relief is, in itself, a characteristic of provincial Roman art, unlike the style in Rome where such a direct association would have been avoided.⁷⁸ Moreover, the fact that the clerk in our relief carries a book-roll in his other hand testifies to the fact that both writing implements, feathers for ink on rolls and styli for wax tablets, were used simultaneously in the Roman period.⁷⁹ Additional evidence is provided by the funerary relief of Terentia from Teurnia (Austria).⁸⁰ Usually styli

⁷³ At Bu Njem a *librarius* even had law enforcement powers (Stauner 2004, 270–71, QNr. 87; Austin 2010, 117, n. 97).

⁷⁴ Stauner 2004, QNr. 378 and p. 27, QNr. 687 and p. 94; Austin 2010, 117, n. 97. For epigraphical evidence of a *tabularius* and a *commentarius* from Philippopolis, see Slawisch 2007, 133, Ph 19 and Ph 20. For vexillations, see also Gilliver 2007, 196.

⁷⁵ Conrad 2004, nos. 377 (dated to the last quarter of the 1st century AD, where the deceased was, according to the inscription, in *Cohors I Asturum* and later in *Legio I Italica*), 409 (dated to the second half of the 1st century AD) and 412 (to the middle of the 2nd century AD).

⁷⁶ von Boeselager 1989, 222.

⁷⁷ von Boeselager 1989: gravestone of Titus Statilius Aper, dated to the 2nd century AD (fig. 22), funerary relief from St Maria Saal in Hungary (fig. 18), a similar funerary relief from St Martin im Sulmtal (fig. 19).

⁷⁸ Langner 2003.

⁷⁹ von Boeselager 1989, 227.

⁸⁰ von Boeselager 1989, 229, fig. 16a–b.

and feathers are difficult, if not impossible, to tell apart when depicted in portable cases. On our relief, however, it is likely that the scribe is carrying styli in his case, since he is clearly holding one between his thumb and index fingers.⁸¹

The awkward, 'volant' depiction of this figure is found on a few reliefs of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD. A similar figure depicted behind and above the back leg of a horse on the 3rd-century AD relief of Ἀρήπυρος Γαλάτου (MΘ 1758) from Thessaloniki is rather interesting.⁸² The name Ἀρήπυρος has been variably called Galatian, Thracian or Greek.⁸³ The relief is dedicated to his son Διονύσιος and his, unnamed, wife. The small figure on the left of the relief is thought by Maria Lagogianni-Georgakarakos to be holding a cornucopia in his left hand and a club in his right hand. It is more probable that he is, instead, holding a case with javelins in his left.⁸⁴ On another relief of the 3rd century AD, from Styberra, a small figure behind the horseman, standing at the level of his head, is depicted with a club in his left hand (apparently a representation of Heracles).⁸⁵ A third contemporary example of figures shown in their entirety, but rendered in a smaller scale, is found on a relief with busts from Zeytinbağı (Miletupolis).⁸⁶ Fortunately there is an accompanying inscription which informs us that the figures who flank the busts in smaller scale are brother and sister and are responsible for erecting the monument. The same arrangement is seen on a stele from Stari Grad (near Veles, on the Axios river in modern F.Y.R.O.M.), also from the second half of the 2nd century AD.⁸⁷ Finally, on a late 2nd- or 3rd-century AD stele from Aiane (west Macedonia) the servant behind the horse is elevated and stands on a bulge of the stone's surface.⁸⁸ Depicting a figure in a relief on a different level than the rest of the composition for the sake of perspective, may be a characteristic feature of Roman provincial art of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD.

⁸¹ The way they project from the case is similar to the funerary relief from Teurnia (von Boeselager 1989, fig. 16 a–b).

⁸² Lagogianni-Georgakarakos 1998, no. 96, pl. 42. The relief will be included in the catalogue of reliefs from the Museum of Thessaloniki, vol. 4 (forthcoming).

⁸³ Psoma 2012, with earlier bibliography.

⁸⁴ Lagogianni-Georgakarakos argues that all three figures on this stele are meant to represent the same man (Ἀρήπυρος), but this is rather problematic. The relief is made for Arepyros' son and wife. We believe that the figure to the left is not Ἀρήπυρος himself, but his son, as is probably the case for the figure to the far right as well. In *LIMC* 6, 398 the figure to the right has erroneously been described as a girl.

⁸⁵ *LIMC* 6, 396.

⁸⁶ Cremer 1991, 110, stele MiKSt 9. The relief is illustrated in Schwertheim, *IK* 18 (*Kyzikos* I), no. 200, pl. XVII. The relief is dated to the third quarter of the 2nd century AD by Cremer and the second half of the 3rd century AD by Corsten (*IK* 32, no. 39).

⁸⁷ Grodzanova 2013, 624, fig. 6; Rüsche 1969, 157–58, R 28.

⁸⁸ Karamitrou-Mentesidi 1984, 105–10, fig. 3a.

From the Flavian period onward it was a common *topos* for men-at-arms to indicate their connection with letters, thus demonstrating their education. A Roman soldier with a servant holding a book-roll is apparently depicted on a lost stele from Junacite, dated on epigraphical grounds to the second or third quarter of the 3rd century AD.⁸⁹ Peter Noelke, writing about gravestones in the Gallic and German provinces, argues that in the Julio-Claudian period auxiliaries and legion soldiers are commonly presented in military action, as triumphant riders, when in the cavalry. In the Flavian era, however, soldiers preferred depictions that related to 'cultivated enjoyment' within the *vita Romana*, with depictions of funerary banquets.⁹⁰ On our stele, the cultured nature of the rider is declared through the presence of his *librarius*, who might have also served as his teacher in Latin or Greek and, consequently, as the person who might have fulfilled his last wishes for the erection of this monument through his will.⁹¹

Tombstones might have been expensive acquisitions⁹² but soldiers received regular pay and serving soldiers paid regular contributions to a burial club (Vegetius 2. 20). Furthermore, special circumstances forced soldiers to compose a legally binding will⁹³ as was most likely the case for our auxiliary cavalryman. The anonymous heirs and commemorators were most probably fellow soldiers or, generally speaking, men who shared the experiences of an army lifestyle (such as our accompanying clerk).

Upper Register (Fig. 15)

As mentioned above, the upper register of our *Stockwerkstele* is mostly missing but what is left preserves the feet of three standing figures. The figure on the left is a male and dressed in sandals; the other two figures are female. The figure in the middle is probably smaller than those flanking her judging from the proportions of her feet and garment. We very well might expect that a family is depicted here, as this is indeed common on Roman reliefs and it is a subject that would complete the 'virtues' of the main figure as both a family man and a formidable warrior. Examples of funerary monuments with family members shown standing in their

⁸⁹ Slawisch 2007, 138, PhUm 18, with a bilingual inscription; *IGB* 3.1, no. 1075. Cf. a relief from Selymbria, in which it is reported that the servant also holds a book-roll (Slawisch 2007, 89, Sel 5).

⁹⁰ Noelke 1998, especially 411; Hope 2001, 42.

⁹¹ The risks to life inherent in the soldier's profession with the added element of geographic mobility probably rendered the creation of *antemortem* monuments of auxiliaries inappropriate. An alternative method of anticipating death, as Valerie Hope notes, was through the last will (Hope 2001, 39). In a number of epitaphs from Mainz the expression *ex testament* or *testamentum fieri iussit* suggests this practice.

⁹² Duncan-Jones 1974, 79–80, 127–30.

⁹³ Champlin 1991, 57. For instructions on the military epitaphs from Mainz, see Hope 2000, 161.

entirety, occasionally with the deceased *in formam deorum*, are already known from the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD in Macedonia.⁹⁴

The combination, however, of the two themes (standing figures and *Heros*) is quite unusual. It is found on only three examples from the northern part of the Roman province of Macedonia (modern F.Y.R.O.M.): on a *Stockwerkstele* (three standing figures on the top register and a *Heros Equitans* in the bottom) from Dolni Disan-Kavadarçi, west of the Axios river, dated to the 2nd or 3rd century AD;⁹⁵ on a funerary altar from Styberra that depicts these two themes in reversed order, dated to the first half of the 3rd century AD;⁹⁶ and on a funerary plaque from Heraclea Lyncestis, dated to the 1st century AD, but which may be later.⁹⁷ The relief from Dolni Disan-Kavadarçi with the horse protome behind the standing figures draws from the Hellenistic Greek repertoire. Thus, the combination of these two themes (rider and standing 'family' members) on two registers and the dual representation of the deceased in order to underline various facets of his life seem to be a subject of Upper Macedonia in the 2nd or 3rd century AD.

Summarising the iconography of this exceptionally detailed relief, we may see the clerk – the small figure rendered above the legs of the horse – who is possibly of high rank (a *librarius* or *cornicularius*), as the person who took care of the erection of this monument (thus rightfully depicted on it) for a cavalryman with distinctive ethnic characteristics, a man-at-arms, whom the clerk might have taught Latin or Greek, in other words his *discens*.⁹⁸ Literate soldiers were regarded as men of trust in both private and institutional circumstances, and they enjoyed and claimed for themselves a certain special status.⁹⁹ Certain details indicate that the sculptor responsible for this piece of art was well acquainted with Thracian iconography and reliefs from Upper Macedonia.

⁹⁴ Grozdanova 2013, 635; Rüsç (1969, 102) cites five examples, three of which are the reliefs from Lete (Thessaloniki) and one from Laskarevo. For Macedonian reliefs and their Roman equivalents, see Kalaitzi 2007, 138–40. For the phenomenon of *formam deorum*, see Wrede 1981, 54–63. Unfortunately the area of the Strymon is excluded from Wrede's study (1981, 55).

⁹⁵ LIMC 6, 60; Grozdanova 2013, 635, fig. 13; Rüsç 1969, 70, 102 and 158–59, R 32, fig. 82. LIMC dates the relief to the middle of the 3rd century AD, and Sokolovska (1987, 107–08, 231, no. 18) to the early Hadrianic period, a date that seems more appropriate than the middle of the 1st century AD (by Rüsç). The upper register of the stele is considerably higher than the lower. Our stele was probably divided into two equal registers, as is typical in Asia Minor.

⁹⁶ LIMC 6, 396.

⁹⁷ LIMC 6, 557.

⁹⁸ On a gravestone of a *cornicularius* from Lower Pannonia the inscription reads *immunes et discent(es)* (ILS 2393).

⁹⁹ van Nijf 1997.

Date

With respect to the date of our monument, certain elements converge: the depiction of an auxiliary as a rider; the use of a *Stockwerkstele*, an architectural type which dies out after the 3rd century AD in north-western Asia Minor;¹⁰⁰ and certain details of the iconography (the use of a *sagum* instead of a *paenula*, the rendering of the figure to the right at a higher elevation, the juxtaposition of the two iconographic themes and their parallels). All these details place the date after the first quarter of the 2nd century AD or around the turn of the 3rd century AD.¹⁰¹ We would assume that an auxiliary, and especially a decorated one, would have been offered such a monument when auxiliary troops bore the brunt of the fighting in the frontier wars and under the *Constitutio* enjoyed awards as Roman citizens.¹⁰² Further research on the many horse trappings from graves in the Hebros prefecture may shed additional light on the route auxiliaries took to and from southern Thrace.

Thracian, Celt or Thraco-Galatian?

Without an inscription or context it is impossible to approach the ethnicity of our rider any closer and however futile such an effort might be for an uninscribed relief, a couple of thoughts could be proposed, taking into account contemporary iconographic and historical evidence. It is by now established that the facial characteristics of our rider do not conform with Roman portraits, so similarities should be sought elsewhere.

If our rider is indeed of Celtic origin, this relief would be one of the rarest depictions of such in stone.¹⁰³ We know of very few 'portraits' of Celts and the question of how to identify a Celt in non-Celtic art is open-ended. The description of 'characteristically Celtic oval eyes' is often reiterated¹⁰⁴ and, as mentioned above, physical appearance that complies with the ancient literary sources is often cited as the only evidence for Celts in Greek art.¹⁰⁵ The famous copies of the Pergamene statues of

¹⁰⁰ *Stockwerkstelai* are known to exist until the 3rd century AD in north-western Asia Minor (Cremer 1992, NK 14 [of the end of the 2nd century AD], O2 [of the middle of the 2nd century AD]), B20 [of the 3rd century AD] and B23 [of the 3rd century AD]); Upper Italy and Illyria (von Moock 1998, 54); Beroia (Macedonia) (Allamani-Souri 2008, nos. 82 [of the first half of the 2nd century AD], 137 [of the 2nd–3rd century AD] and 178 [of the 2nd century AD]); and Attica (von Moock 1998, no. 242 of the *Stockwerkstelai* type, dated to the Antonine-Severan period). New architectural details are introduced by local artists.

¹⁰¹ For dating inscribed tombstones of auxiliaries, see Holder 1980, 144–66, especially 158.

¹⁰² For the 'expandability' of *auxilia*, see Hope 2000, 167; Kraft 1951, 22–24.

¹⁰³ For Celtic sculpture, see Megaw and Megaw 2001, 166–73, 270 for a Celtic lady on her funerary relief from Tács (Hungary), dated to the 2nd century AD.

¹⁰⁴ Megaw and Megaw 2001, 172 for a wooden statue from Chamalières, France.

¹⁰⁵ For instance, Künzl 1971, 6–7; Wenning 1978, 1; Rankin 1987, 45–48. Greek and Latin authors frequently commented on Celtic military courage and physical appearance. The historian

Gauls commissioned by Attalos I in celebration of his and Eumenes II's victory over the Gauls after 240 BC are far from unwavering.¹⁰⁶ A contemporary example of a Celt in Celtic art is, however, a much different matter.¹⁰⁷

Celts are not common in the iconography of the funerary monuments in the area of Thrace and, additionally, nothing suggests that an established iconography of Celts developed in the greater part of Greece after their powerful invasion in the 3rd century BC.¹⁰⁸ A relief from Kyzikos dated on epigraphical grounds to 277/276 BC is probably the earliest surviving evidence for the rendering of a Celt in Greek art.¹⁰⁹ Of the sculptures from Delos, where Attalos I also erected a monument to advertise his victory over the Gauls, only a single head found in the Agora of the Italians may, on stylistic grounds, be identified with some certainty as a Celt.¹¹⁰ Two examples are noted from Lower Moesia, but the iconography on these two stelai is not distinctive.¹¹¹ The ethnic origin of these persons is, instead, secured by the names on the inscriptions. Another example comes from Oescus in the form of a limestone leaf-medallion with a young man's bust, dated to the middle of the

Ephoros mentions them as living in western Europe and comments on their military abilities and absolute fearlessness (*FGH* 70, frg. 30; 131–32). Plato describes them together with other barbarians as both warlike and excessive drinkers (Plato *Leges* 1. 637 d). Aristotle also speaks of their military strength (*Politics* 7. 2. 5, 7. 17. 2; *Ethica Nicomachea* 3. 10. 7; *Ethica Eudemia* 3. 1. 25). Polybius, writing in the 2nd century BC and probably using earlier material, remarked on the terrifying sight of well-built Gaulish warriors, but more explicit accounts are left in the writings of Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Pliny. Their height, fair skin, muscularity, blue eyes and blond hair are noted by the same authors. Flowing moustaches and wild backward-swept hair give some direct evidence as to ideal facial appearance amongst Celts, already known in La Tène art. Characteristics of 'Celtic' faces, based on artistic pieces believed to have been made for or by Celtic craftsmen, are thought to be the oval, ridged eyes, the straight mouth and the stylised curls of the hair. The colourful appearance of Celtic dresses is noted by Diodorus, Pliny and others.

¹⁰⁶ The exact date of the event is not known. Mentioned in the literary sources by Pliny *NH* 34. 84; Pausanias 1. 25. 2. For the reliefs, see Wenning 1978; Hannestad 1993, 21–25; and most recently Papini 2016, 42 (with nuanced evaluation of the preserved monuments). Celts were at first invited to Asia Minor by king Nikomedes of Bithynia and by 270 BC were settled on the Anatolian plateau near Ankara. These Celts were named Galatae (Gauls) by the Greeks.

¹⁰⁷ See, for instance, the ragstone head found outside a square enclosure, typical of a Late La Tène cult site, at Mšecké Žehrovice near Prague (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 124, fig. 178).

¹⁰⁸ Hannestad 1993, 18–19; Strobel 1996 for the appearance of the Celts in the Hellenistic world and the formation of their state in Asia Minor.

¹⁰⁹ Launey 1944; Wenning 1978, pl. 1, 1. The origin of the fallen Celt on the relief is drawn from the oblong shield and the sword scabbard hanging on his right side in a belt.

¹¹⁰ Courby 1910, 496–500, figs. 6–7; Wenning 1978, 28, pl. 12.4. The head from Delos is of the same marble as the so-called Warrior from Delos (Wenning 1978, pl. 13.1) and was found in the Agora of the Italians. This head is dated to the 1st century BC by Hannestad (1993, 27).

¹¹¹ Conrad 2004, nos. 425 (from Utus, dated to the middle of the 1st century AD) and 485 (from Augustae, dated to the same period). For the discussion, see Conrad 2004, 78.

1st century AD.¹¹² In this last case the identification of a 'Celt' is based upon two major points: the bust does not recall the known Roman-Italian portraits and the postulate of a 'Legion-style' is not sufficient to explain its facial characteristics. Thus, iconographic parallels and the fact that the bust was found in the mid-Danubian area, led Sven Conrad, among others, to associate it with 'Celtic' sculpture.¹¹³ At the same time, the male bust on a *phalera* (or a medallion)¹¹⁴ dated to the 1st century BC in the exhibition catalogue of Thracian Treasures from Bulgaria at the British Museum bears similar facial characteristics to our relief. He is merely described as a 'bearded man in high relief' in the catalogue entry. Around his neck three folds are placed one above the other and are reminiscent of torques. No ethnic identity or origin has been proposed.

Thracian 'portraits' are equally not 'established' in scholarship. Like the Celts, the Thracians also fed the Roman army with *auxilia* cavalrymen and they too were war people who shared a culture centred upon horses (Homer *Iliad* 13. 4, 13. 576, 23. 808) and achievement in battle, were famous for their weapons (Hipponax frg. 39 [42]), and, when mentioned in literature or depicted in (Classical) art, were made to look ferocious. In the extant literary sources an 'ethnographic' picture of Thracians includes their physical appearance, confirmed by their representation in Athenian vase paintings (Xenophanes of Kolophon frg. 16). Pointed beards, fair hair and foreign costume are typically used to denote Thracians, but also Scythians and Persians.¹¹⁵ Elaborate dress and physiognomy are again the key points of distinction.¹¹⁶ However, in the period we are interested in, Thracians were intermixed with Illyrians and Celts (Scordisci) near the Danube and with Celts in Asia Minor, and, as a result, their image is far from clear.

Thracians and Celts had met in the 4th century BC.¹¹⁷ In the 3rd century BC, Celts penetrated Thrace in tribal groups, proceeded along the Hebros valley, reached

¹¹² Conrad 2004, 84, no. 459.

¹¹³ Conrad believes that there might have been Celtic sculptors active in the Donau from the 1st century AD onward.

¹¹⁴ The find is published in *MetMusB* 35.1 (Summer 1977) and in Venedikov 1976, nos. 411 and 417. In the former it is described as a medallion inside a bowl, in the latter as a *phalera*. It comes from the treasure of Yakimovo, Mihailovgrad District, and dates to the 1st century BC.

¹¹⁵ Tsiafakis 2000, 372, n. 38.

¹¹⁶ For the 'symbols' that serve as Thracian identity as opposed to the Greeks (Athenians), see Tsiafakis 2000, 367–68.

¹¹⁷ The earliest meeting of 'Celts' and 'Thracians' attested in the literary sources was during a Celtic delegation to Alexander the Great while he was on campaign against the tribe of Triballoi in 335 BC (Arrian *Anabasis* 1. 4. 6–8; Strabo 7. 3. 8). Literary sources mention 'Celts' occasionally in the history of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC in terms of contacts between the Macedonian kings and 'Celtic' delegates, Cambaules' raid on Thrace, the sack of Delphi in the early 270s BC, and the crossing of Celtic tribes over to Thrace and Asia Minor under the leadership of Leonorius and Lutarius.

Propontis, crossed into Asia Minor and founded the renowned Galatian Kingdom in Phrygia (Thracο-Galatians);¹¹⁸ others settled in Thrace proper and formed their kingdom around their capital Tyllis, the location of which is still unknown due to lack of firm evidence.¹¹⁹ It is in this region that they came into contact with the culture of the Scythians.¹²⁰ The sculptor of our relief was certainly familiar with the details of similar funerary reliefs from Asia Minor and Thrace as is evidenced from the form of the stele (*Stockwerkstele*), the iconographic theme with the boar hunt and the depiction of the servant holding the tail of the horse *wrapped* around his hand.¹²¹

Recent scholarship has identified a number of specific factors that contributed to both the *diffusion* of cultural traits or La Tène ‘cultural templates’ in, primarily, Hellenistic, and later Roman Thrace and to their modifications in the local milieu. Scattered finds, mainly in the funerary sector, in southern and north-eastern Thrace, dated to the 2nd century BC, already speak for an *amalgamation* of La Tène and local art. As Julij Emilov asserts, the interactions of Celts and Thracians gradually become more ‘visible’ after the 1st century BC and suggest ‘sophisticated networks of interrelations involving mobility and exchange in central and south-eastern Europe’.¹²² If this line of thought is correct, and the only way to tell is the re-examination of the archaeological evidence in detail, then the question of the origin of our rider takes a secondary role.

Our barbarian, an auxiliary in the Roman army, celebrated service honourably completed in the Roman army on a type of funerary relief common in Asia Minor and through iconography that expresses bravery and virtue in the same region.¹²³ He chose to be shown wearing a torque, *once* a strong ethnic identifier, to underline his distinct identity, probably as a ‘Thracο-Galatian’, in order to distinguish himself from the Romans. He fought bravely in the Roman army as an auxiliary and

These raids end with the foundation of the Thracο-Galatian kingdom (βασιλειον) near Tyllis (Polybius 4. 46. 1–3; Vagalinski 2010).

¹¹⁸ The original Celts who settled in Galatia came through Thrace under the leadership of Lutarius and Leonorius in 270 BC. In 64 BC, Galatia became a client state of Rome, incorporated into the empire by Augustus in 25 BC to become a Roman province. Few other provinces proved more enthusiastically loyal to Rome and provided Rome with such an important source of recruits (*auxilia*). For Galatians, see Rankin 1987, 188–207.

¹¹⁹ Vagalinski 2010.

¹²⁰ Rankin 1987, 188.

¹²¹ This detail seems especially common on *Heros Equitans* reliefs found in modern Bulgaria (Andrianou forthcoming).

¹²² Emilov 2015, 375.

¹²³ For a comparison of ‘Greekness’ and ‘Eastern-ness’ on the occasion of the discussion of the wall-paintings from the 4th-century BC Alexandrovo *tholos* tomb, and particularly of a boar-hunt scene, see Vassileva 2015.

was, possibly, interred in an area where he was given land to cultivate when discharged.

Roman Funerary Monuments from Hebros

If the whereabouts of our relief are indeed close to modern Soufli, where it is reported to have been brought from,¹²⁴ then we may associate it with the *chora* of Plotinopolis, to which neighbouring Kornofolea belongs and from which another relief, which was once part of the same collection, originates.¹²⁵ According to the authors of *IThrAeg*, the *chora* of Plotinopolis probably extended to the west bank of the Hebros river, in the Erythropotamos valley, and possibly as far as Kepoi and Poros. In the area of Kornofolea and the neighbouring villages of Dadia and Lykofos (not far from modern Soufli, where our stele was reportedly found) one should probably place the station of the Via Egnatia known as *mutation Zervae* or *Zurbae*.¹²⁶ Plotinopolis (located at Ag. Petra mount, modern Didymoteicho) was founded by Trajan in honour of his wife Pompeia Plotina on a Thracian settlement and in an area that controlled the access routes from the shore of the North Aegean to the interior of Thrace via the Hebros river.¹²⁷ Neither Traianoupolis nor Plotinopolis endorsed Roman institutions, but the few inscribed funerary tombstones from the area of Plotinopolis include two gladiators,¹²⁸ thus alluding to the Roman games in the arena, a few names of Latin origin,¹²⁹ and the sole bilingual inscription found in the Hebros prefecture.¹³⁰

In areas close to the Via Egnatia, it may not be surprising to find types of funerary monuments (portrait reliefs in our case) that are not typically found in the neighbouring, less accessible areas.¹³¹ Portrait reliefs and *imagines clipeatae* are, so far, unknown in Aegean Thrace and, interestingly enough, our only other examples of 'portraits' are the aforementioned heavily worn relief from Kornofolea and the unfinished relief from Elaia, Hebros (close to the modern borders between Greece,

¹²⁴ Pentazos 1973, 30, no. 4.

¹²⁵ *IThrAeg* 570–76 and 591. For the relief from Kornofolea, see Pentazos 1973, 30, no. 5 and Andrianou forthcoming. For an inscription from Kornofolea, see *IThrAeg* 591–92, E 477.

¹²⁶ *IThrAeg* 591, n. 4.

¹²⁷ *IThrAeg* 571.

¹²⁸ *IThrAeg* 584–85, E 466 and the recently published relief from Didymoteicho of the gladiator Maternos (Tsoka 2013–14).

¹²⁹ *IThrAeg* E 468.

¹³⁰ *IThrAeg* E 473.

¹³¹ See, for instance, Lychnidos, a village close to the Via Egnatia in Upper Macedonia, which presents a similar case based on the presence of medallions (Grozdanova 2013, 620–21). Portraits are common in the Strymon valley, an area inhabited by the Thracian tribe of Maedi (Milčeva and Bonias 2013).

Turkey and Bulgaria), where a female in *Halbfigur* is depicted.¹³² The facial features of the latter were not sculpted.

While the combination of the iconographic themes finds parallels in Upper Macedonia (Dolni Disan and Styberra, west of the Axios river),¹³³ the type of the stele conforms to those of Asia Minor. By the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, even though *Stockwerkstelai* are within the sphere of Roman artistic influence with portrait-busts, examples from Miletupolis, for instance, continue to present funerary banquets (the old theme) but in a much simpler way than before and set in reduced registers with thick frames.¹³⁴ Our stele, on the other hand, retains the entire width of the register for the pictorial theme (as was the case with similar, earlier stelai from Nikomedeia and Nikaia)¹³⁵ and was probably divided in two equal registers, unlike the stele from Kavadarçi. The fact that our relief finds stylistic parallels with reliefs from the Axios valley is hard to fully evaluate at the moment. However, one may hypothesise that our rider as an auxiliary may have originally served in *Cohors II Lucensium*, a Moesian cohort that was transported to Kabyle between AD 127 and 136 and by the time of Septimius Severus re-transported to Separava Banja (near Blagoevgrad, on the Strymon).¹³⁶ At that time, a network of roads centring on Kabyle was re-established on old foundations and connected Thrace to the Aegean, the Black Sea and the Thracian interior. The building of streets, bridges, ports and aqueducts, especially in the provinces, was among the duties of the Roman army. The military was also involved in quarries and tile factories, and military engineers were involved in other civilian constructions.¹³⁷ Another cohort involved in road-building and apparently operating in the north Aegean was *Cohors III Gallorum equitata*.¹³⁸ Whether a detachment (*vexillatio*) of *Cohors II Lucensium* or *Cohors III Gallorum* was sent to the Hebros river at some point for a construction normally undertaken

¹³² Andrianou forthcoming. On the stele, a female figure in *Halbfigur* holds a bird in both hands. A funerary stele with similar subject matter was found in Lakočere, in the Ohrid Region (Grozdanova 2013, 634, fig. 12).

¹³³ For the portraits of Upper Macedonia, see Grozdanova 2013. The same rendering is also observed on Roman Phrygian funerary reliefs (Masségliá 2013), also discussed by Rüsich 1969, 107 within the 'baroque' tendencies of Roman art in Macedonia, that reached portraits of northern Syria. For Phrygian influence in Otröia (Bithynia), see Cremer 1992, 69–73, especially 71–73 for a stele illustrated as a frontispiece (Geyve 1).

¹³⁴ Cremer 1991, 105.

¹³⁵ Cremer 1992, NS 1, NS 7, for instance.

¹³⁶ Roxan and Weiss 1998, 379–81, nn. 35–37. Actually, two camps are known from the area as they are reflected in the famous 3rd-century AD inscription from Skaptopara (Hauken 1998, 74–139).

¹³⁷ *CIL* 8, 2728 = *ILS* 5795; Pliny *Epistulae* 10. 41. 3 (cited in Herz 2007, 319).

¹³⁸ If this cohort is the same as the one noted in the 4th-century AD source *Notitia Dignitatum* Or. XL 45/46, its station is given as Ulucitra in the province of Rhodopa, which included the mountains of Rhodope and the North Aegean coast (Paunov and Roxan 1997, 276).

by the *auxilia*, is not known, but it stands as a feasible hypothesis.¹³⁹ Both rivers (the Hebros and the Axios) are important routes that connect the hinterland to the centres of the south¹⁴⁰ and each region accepted certain novelties or retained themes from previous periods by modifying or completing them according to taste.¹⁴¹ Stone could be transported on barges or floated on rafts with steering oars and there are excavated examples of installations intended for the unloading of construction stones and blocks for funerary monuments.¹⁴² It is certainly too early to speak of an artistic workshop in the Hebros region, but the presence of these reliefs lay the ground for future occupation.

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Abbreviations

CCET	<i>Corpus cultus equitis Thracii</i> (Leiden 1979–84).
CIL	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
IGB	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (Sofia 1956–97).
IK	<i>Inscripfen griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> : 18. E. Schwertheim, <i>Die Inschriften von Kyzikos und Umgebung</i> (Bonn 1980). 32. T. Corsten, <i>Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai</i> (Bonn 1987).
ILS	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> (Berlin 1892–1916).
IThrAeg	L. Loukopoulou, A. Zournatzi, M.-G. Parissaki and S. Psoma, <i>Επιγραφές της Θράκης του Αιγαίου</i> (Athens 2005).

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¹³⁹ Vexillations were commanded by *praepositi*, often equestrian prefects of auxiliary units (Gilliver 2007, 196).

¹⁴⁰ For the importance of the navigability of rivers and the transfer of artistic themes, see Slawisch 2007, 171; Velkov 1978, 433; most recently Campbell 2012.

¹⁴¹ For the Axios region, see Grozdanova 2013, 635–36.

¹⁴² Campbell 2012, 285, for the case of the river port at Montagne-Verte.

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SELECTING AN ASSEMBLAGE FOR THE DEAD: ATTIC POTTERY OF TWO RICH BURIALS IN BAZA (GRANADA)*

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Abstract

The article re-examines two burials in Baza (Granada), both of which have yielded a rich collection of Attic pottery (including painted). The pottery was initially studied from the point of view of the producers. Now, a contextualised analysis is offered so as to understand better the use, trade and integration of Attic vases into the Iberian world.

Increasingly the contextualised analysis of Attic pottery is helping us to understand better the use, life, trade and integration of such vases into the Iberian world.¹ Currently, in many instances, the investigation has passed the focus of analysis from the point of view of the producer to that of the consumer. It would be interesting to understand not only how these vases were produced, but also their distribution and consumption.² This interest is not only general but also individual: it affects the chain of exchange through which the Greek vase passes, the entire network of connections.³ In this paper, I shall reflect on two burials in the necropolis of Baza in Granada, a subject that I studied a long time ago,⁴ but wish to re-examine after many years, new finds and, above all, new points of view.

Both burial sites have remarkable characteristics in common: first of all, they are multiple burials with a rich assemblage of Attic pottery; second, the fact that these vases were completely new, without any indication of use, and were acquired deliberately for the tombs. Nevertheless, there are also notable differences. Tomb 43 (Fig. 1) stands out because of the quality of its pieces. The three bell-kraters that were found in the tomb are, without any doubt, of the highest quality in the entire necropolis and also the best that have appeared in the Iberian Andalusian world of

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¹ Recently, M. Picazo (2015) published a holistic study of the Attic vases from a house in Ullastret where it is suggested that they were possibly commissioned.

² Lynch 2011.

³ Williams 2013, 39; Carpenter *et al.* 2016.

⁴ Sánchez 1998; 2003.

the 4th century BC, next to those found in the tomb of Piquía (Jaén). The size, the careful execution and the originality of the pieces are astonishing, and they were probably very expensive, much more so than the more common productions of the 4th century BC that arrived in the Iberian Peninsula.

The second tomb, 176, is the richest one of the entire necropolis in the opinion of the Director of the excavation.⁵ It contained five bell-kraters, to which we must add six black-glazed bowls, five of them with a splaying and one with an inward rim, and an extremely rich grave assemblage that included a cart. Nevertheless, the size and quality of these vases are inferior to those found in tomb 43. The Attic vases of this second tomb were probably made some years after those in the first, as we shall see. In tomb 43 there are no Attic black-glazed vases, while tomb 176 lacks the most popular vases in Andalusia: the cups of the Vienna 116 Group.

Tomb 43

In this tomb three Attic bell-kraters were found, all of them large, over 40 cm in height. They contained, as F. Presedo has pointed out,⁶ the ashes of three cremations. The assemblage also included weapons, three red-figure cups of the Vienna 116 Group, a bronze brazier, seven Iberian urns of different shape, seven small imitations of column-kraters and seven 'bowls', two fibulae and two small gold earrings. All the pieces from the tomb are kept in the National Archaeological Museum of Madrid.

The three kraters repeat on their reverses the usual scheme of the 4th century BC, three young men wearing himatia in a typical scene of homosexual courtship. On the main side of the kraters, a Dionysiac scene, a banqueting scene and an Amazonomachy are represented. We have mentioned elsewhere that these are precisely the three most characteristic scenes on vases found in the Andalusian region.⁷

Bell-krater no. 1969/68/27 represents Apollo and Dionysos (Fig. 2). It is not a Dionysiac scene of use. The Oenomaos Painter, to whom this vase has recently been attributed,⁸ often chose peculiar subjects.⁹ On this vase, as on the krater from Baza, two beardless figures with a thyrsus are represented, who can be identified with Dionysos. We have also attributed to this painter the Hope vase with a curious

⁵ Presedo 1982, 229.

⁶ Presedo 1982, 69.

⁷ Sánchez 1997.

⁸ Attribution by García Cano in García Cano and Gil 2009 (see Sánchez 2014).

⁹ Regarding this painter, see Sánchez 2014.



Fig. 1: Reconstruction of tomb 43, Baza.



Fig. 2: Bell-krater of the Oenomaos Painter with the departure of Dionysos and arrival of at Delphi. Tomb 43. National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.



Fig. 3: Bell-krater of the Oenomaos Painter with banqueting scene. Tomb 43. National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.



Fig. 4: Bell-krater of the York-Reverse Group with Amazonomachy.
Tomb 43. National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.

Dionysiac scene. In the case of the vase in the British Museum¹⁰ the figure inside the Bacchic cavern has been identified as Iacchos,¹¹ while Dionysos appears seated at the left side of the scene. On our krater Apollo appears in the centre holding a laurel branch, and on the right there is a couple, identified by R. Olmos as Ariadne and Dionysos leaving the Delphic sanctuary.¹² The beardless youth on the left, very similar to the Iacchos of the Hope vase, remains unidentified.

To the Oenomaos Painter has also been attributed a second krater from this tomb (Fig. 3; inv. no.: 1969/68/28), decorated with a banquet scene. Here three pairs of youths, all beardless, chat animatedly reclining on *klinai*. At the centre, a hetaira seated at the foot of a bed, plays an aulos, while the two youths on either side of her play kottabos.

The third krater contains the representation of an Amazonomachy (Fig. 4; inv. no, 1969/68/29). It probably belongs to the York Reverse Group, a painter or group of painters of a later date than the Oenomaos Painter. This agrees with the slightly

¹⁰ This attribution has been established by Diana Rodríguez Pérez, to whom I am grateful for her collaboration and generosity, and me. For the Hope vase, see *LIMC* III, lám. 405; Bérard 1974, lám. 10, fig. 34; Metzger 1951, lám. 35; Tillyard 1923, lám. 26, no. 163.

¹¹ Bérard 1974, 103–05.

¹² Regarding this tomb, see Sánchez 1998, 37–48.

more elongated form of the krater. The same potter created the two kraters of the Oenomaos Painter. On this krater the same scheme of an Amazon on horseback fighting a Greek facing away from us is repeated. This is the same iconography that we find on a bell-krater of Enserune,¹³ and again in a bell-krater from Vienna,¹⁴ where the fight is also repeated. The scheme is identical to that on our Baza krater, down to the same *episemon* on the shield with a solar motif. The difference is that on the Vienna vase both Amazons look to the right; on ours the painter decided to confront both horses. When he changed the scheme of what was probably the original model, he drew the Amazon on the right with an impossible posture. The three vases copy a common motif that each painter resolves in a different manner, although without substantially changing the original, illustrating the way vase-painters worked in this period.

The Attic assemblage is completed by three cups of the Vienna 116 Group with similar exterior decoration: two youths wearing himatia facing each other, while the interior medallion of one of the cups (inv. no. 69/68/31) is decorated with a young nude athlete facing the right, with a schematic aryballos, and facing the *thermae* of the palaestra (Fig. 5.2); on another (inv. no. 69/68/30) a youth also faces right, but is enveloped by his himation and located in front of an altar, holding in his hand a very schematic disc (Fig. 5.1); and the third cup (inv. no. 69/68/32) shows again a youth in a himation facing right, disc in hand, an aryballos hanging from his wrist, probably in front of the *thermae*.

Outside the tomb, in an ustrinum (according to Presedo), two other red-figure cups were found from the same group. It is interesting to point out that in the cups located inside the tomb, the figures inside the medallion face right, unlike those on the two that were found outside.

Tomb 176

This sumptuous tomb, the most ostentatious in the necropolis for its assemblage, not only had weapons and bronze braziers, but also a cart and much Attic pottery,¹⁵ all of it preserved in the Durán Farrell collection. Five bell-kraters executed by the Black Thyrsus Painter were found (Figs. 6–9), five black-glazed bowls or paterae with splaying rims, a bowl with an inturned rim and two black-glazed skyphoi. Three of the bowls share the same incised palm print decoration as the other two.

¹³ ARV², 1455, 1, CVA Enserune, 18, lám. 10.2, 4; Beazley Archive no. 218266.

¹⁴ CVA Vienna, *Kunsthistorischen Museum* 3, 36–37, lám. 137; Beazley Archive no. 565.

¹⁵ The assemblage of tomb 176 is preserved in Premiá de Mar, in the Durán Farrell Collection. Among the Attic pottery that Presedo 1982, 237 cites and that I have been able to find, there is probably a skyphos cup that he calls 'black-glazed kylix of red paste'.

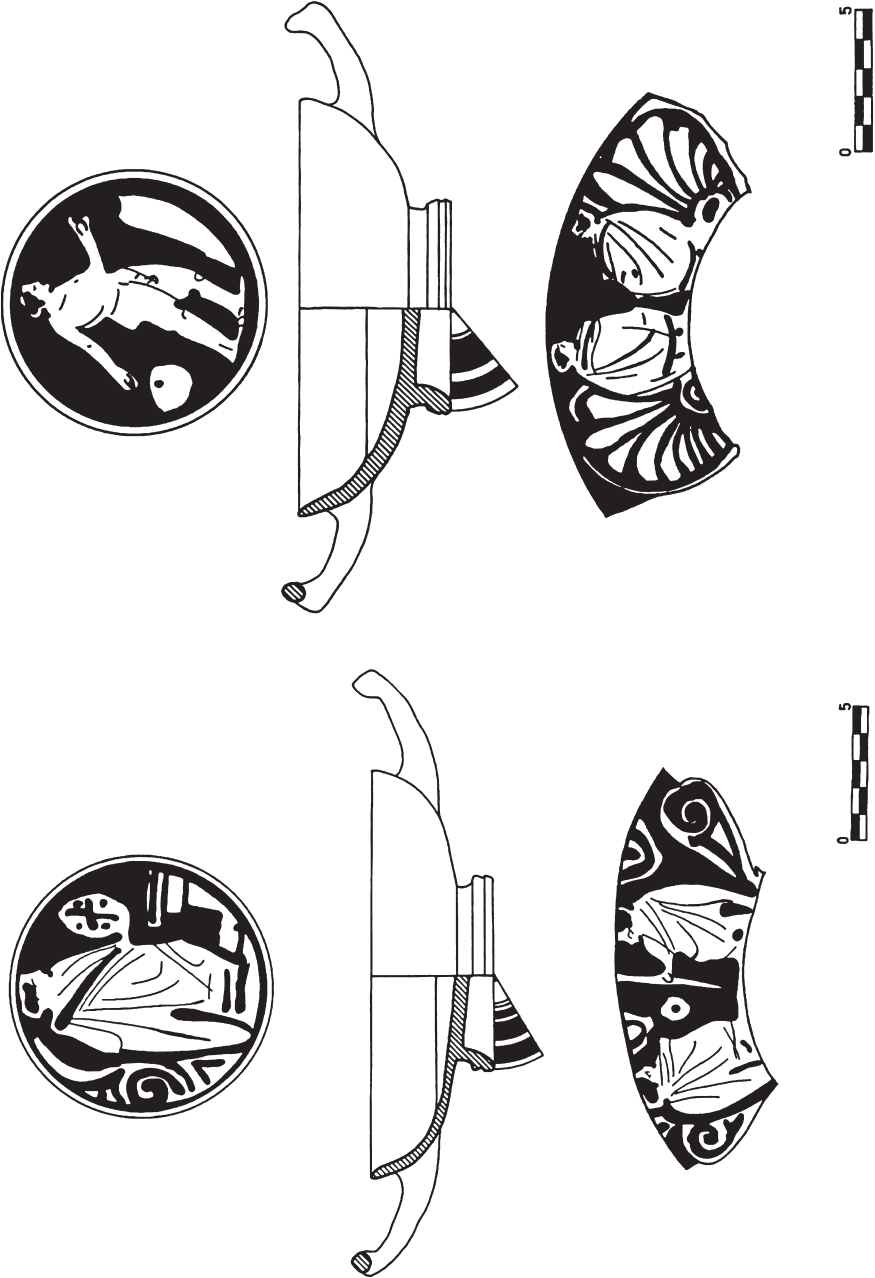


Fig. 5: Red-figure cup of Vienna 116 Group. Tomb 43. National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.

The only vases with figured decoration here are the kraters. It is interesting to note that these bases had never been used, even preserving the thin layer of milto on their undersides.

What is represented by these vases is very original, given the other mediocre and repetitive productions of this painter. Two carry a typical banqueting scene, a motif that we have already seen in the other tomb at Baza, and very frequently decorating vases imported to the Iberian world, but the iconography of the other three kraters is unique. On one of these, maenads and satyrs dance around a curious figure enclosed in a niche: an ithyphallic herm with a beardless head (usually, on herms, Hermes is represented with a beard) and long hair: an image of Dionysos? (Fig. 6). The herm and the niche stand out in white paint at the centre of the scene. The other two kraters are a matching pair. In both of them a thiasos of satyrs and maenads appear dancing around a white tripod placed on top of a column and decorated with ribbons. On one of the kraters there is an imposing nude Dionysos (Fig. 7), seated holding a thyrsus at the centre. On the other, there is a clothed woman, dressed in white, also in a sitting position but in the right side of the scene, certainly Ariadne, while the centre is occupied by a maenad in a Dionysiac ecstasy dance. Presedo recorded that two of the kraters contained ashes and remains of bone, which indicates that it could be a double burial. It would be very tempting to assume that these kraters carried representation of the dead man and the woman, but we will never know.

Considerations on Trade in Attic Vases

Bell-kraters are one of the most frequent shapes among Attic imports to the Andalusian world. It is increasingly clear that a particular preference for Attic production existed in certain areas, but not in others: for example, the well-known concentration of Castulo cups in the Iberian Peninsula during the second half of the 5th century BC and the first years of the 4th; the preference in Italy, especially in Sicily, for certain black cup-skyphoi with black-glaze or 'Morgantina cups' in the 5th century BC;¹⁶ the taste for calyx-kraters in Boeotia in the 4th century BC;¹⁷ the preference for the pelike in the area of the northern Black Sea, also in the 4th century BC. The list could go on, but I would like to emphasise the Andalusian preference for bell-kraters from the end of the 5th century BC, but especially in the 4th, next to red-figure cups (this is what Pierre Rouillard called 'Andalusian service'). As can be seen, there was clear selection of some forms but not others in particular regions,

¹⁶ Walsh and Antonaccio 2014, 52.

¹⁷ Garezou 1997.



Fig. 6: Bell-krater of the Black Thyrsus Painter. Tomb 176. Durán Farrell Collection.



Fig. 7: Bell-krater of the Black Thyrsus Painter. Tomb 176. Durán Farrell Collection.



Fig. 8: Bell-krater of the Black Thyrsus Painter. Tomb 176. Durán Farrell Collection.

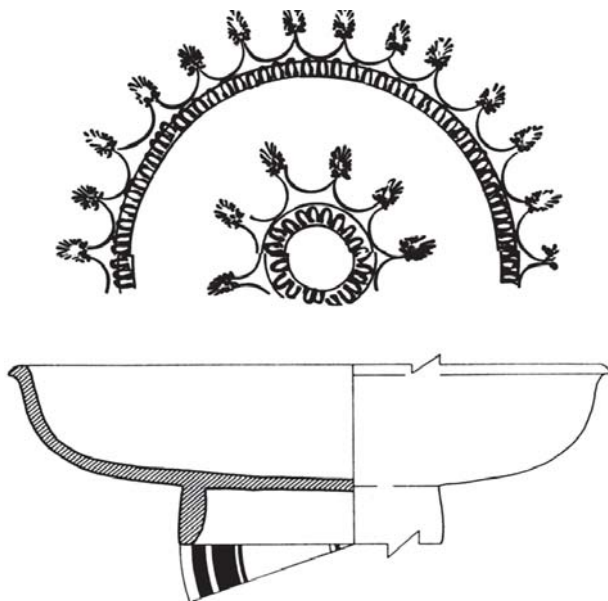


Fig. 9: Black-glaze bowl with outward rim. Tomb 176.
Durán Farrell Collection.

which makes the consumers something more than passive agents.¹⁸ The local selection of certain forms suggests local preference that would imply a system of feedback which informed the Attic producers of the tastes of their Western buyers.

Another fact that probably reveals the way that Attic pottery was traded, and which appears many times in the 5th but especially in the 4th century BC, is that several vases that are somehow related by their form, decoration or execution appear together in tombs or habitats, which might suggest that they were especially commissioned in Athens or its environs. M. Picazo points out several examples,¹⁹ among them, in the Iberian Peninsula, a batch of red-figure Attic cups found in Zalacaín Street in Granada, or the six plates decorated by the same painter from the necropolis of Alcocer do Sal in Portugal. The examples could be multiplied.

In Andalusia, five bell-kraters came to light decorated by the Toya Painter,²⁰ who took his name precisely from this site. There is no other vase by this artist in any other Peninsular site, and there is no such concentration of kraters by this painter in any other Mediterranean site. In the necropolis of Hermanite, in Bulgaria, nine

¹⁸ See Walsh 2013, 230.

¹⁹ Picazo 2015, 35.

²⁰ Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 431–32.

kraters by the Black Thyrsus Painter appeared in the same tomb.²¹ The shipwreck of Sec is another example where all the kraters were by the Black Thyrsus Painter.²²

In tomb 43 two kraters appeared, also decorated by the same painter and made by the same potter; and three cups were also found together, in addition to two others in the exterior of the tomb, all from the Vienna 116 Group. Tomb 43 is the only one in the necropolis where several red-figure cups from the Vienna 116 Group appeared; usually they appear singly.²³ Therefore, this association in tomb 43 presents a unique case for the necropolis.

In the case of tomb 176, the described five kraters by the Black Thyrsus painter, appeared together and there are no other red-figure vases; the rest of the assembly is decorated with black glaze: two skyphoi, which seems convenient for this double burial, and five bowls with out-turned rims (which echoes the number of kraters). These vases are very peculiar: first, because of their considerable size (there are no bowls as large as these found in the Athenian Agora), with a rim diameter between 30 and 32 cm, nor among the ones found at Baza or any other necropolis. Their size is extraordinary and their interiors are decorated with complex designs elaborated with various rows of interlacing palmettes beside a register of vertical egg-and-dart motifs, all of them incised. The underside is almost always painted with alternating glazed areas and reserved, and with a high base that connects at a right angle. Of the five bowls, a group of three and another group of two share the same stamp.²⁴ The sixth bowl found in the tomb, according to Presedo, has an inturned rim and is also decorated with palmettes and a meander pattern.²⁵ From 380 BC onwards there seems to have been a period of instability in the Athenian pottery workshops,²⁶ with a reduction in the number of potters after an exodus to South Italy and other Greek regions, and with the acceleration of a phenomenon that had already started towards the end of the 5th century BC: standardisation and lowering of prices of the products. In the workshops that used black glazes the rouletting was

²¹ Reho 1990, 50.

²² Arribas *et al.* 1987.

²³ So a single cup of the Vienna 116 Group as the only Attic item in tomb 128 (Presedo 1982, 174, fig. 146; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, no. 42), in tomb 82 (Presedo 1982, 125, fig. 95; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, 45) and in tomb 76 (Presedo 1982, 117, fig. 87; Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, no. 47), all of them in the Durán Farrell Collection, and another cup with a Punic graffito on the base, now in the National Archaeological Museum, Madrid, apparently from tomb 21, but never published by Presedo (Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, no. 50).

²⁴ Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, nos. 66, 67 and 69; and 68 and 70.

²⁵ Domínguez and Sánchez 2001, no. 64. This one shares the same origin as another bowl with an inward rim in the same necropolis (no. 63), of unknown source.

²⁶ MacDonald 1981, 164.

introduced, instead of the very elaborate egg-and-dart motif. It does not require as much artistic proficiency to create, saving time and effort. In addition, the under-side decoration was notably simplified and glazed bottoms and curved inner feet were now the rule.

In tomb 176, the five bowls with out-turned rims seem to belong to an earlier period than the bowl with an inturned rim decorated with rouletting and the small kraters of the Black Thyrsus Painter, which seem to be closer to his last products and must be dated to about the middle of the 4th century BC. These large bowls with elaborate motifs appear to precede the changes of *ca.* 380 BC already mentioned. But there is still another issue: the five large Baza bowls with out-turned rims 30–32 cm in diameter seem to be perfectly adapted as lids for the five small kraters made by the Black Thyrsus Painter, with a rim diameter between 27 and 33 cm.

In tomb 43, the two kraters of the Oenomaos Painter, dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, do not seem to coincide chronologically with the third krater from the York-Reverse Group and the three cups from the Vienna 116 Group dated to the second quarter of the century.

It is possible that tomb 43 could have been opened on two occasions or that the vases were treasured for a couple of years before they found their common destination, but in the case of tomb 176 it is difficult to believe that this could also have been the case.

I have already mentioned that these large bowls were never used, since they never lost their thin layer of miltos. This makes it difficult to think that they were kept safe for at least a generation. The fact that they fit so closely in their dimensions with the kraters seems to indicate that they were conceived as lids for the urn-kraters, an association that can be seen on other occasions in the Iberian tombs of Andalusia (for example, in the necropolis of Galera, also in Granada, in tombs 106 and 112). In my opinion, the bowls with out-turned rim could have been created deliberately in order to fit the dimensions of the kraters of the Black Thyrsus Painter, which would explain why there are no bowls with such large dimensions in Athens. And 'archaising' models were chosen for the Western market, where they were still being bought; for example, Castulo cups were seen there long after they ceased being sold in Athens.

One notable difference between the vases in both tombs is the size of the kraters: contrast the large kraters from tomb 43 by painters who do not belong to the Telos group (the same applies in the Piquía tomb) with the small kraters of the Black Thyrsus Painter in tomb 176. While we may think that a reduction in size would be appropriate for long-distance trade and the new funerary use for bell-kraters in Andalusia, we have to take into account the changes that occur in the *symposia* in

Athens from the late 5th century BC onward. M. Langner²⁷ relates the size of the kraters to their possible location in the andron of Greek houses, the change in the *symposion*, and the appearance in the 4th century BC of a room preceding the andron where kraters would be deposited during the feast. Changes in the *symposion* coincide with the removal of kraters from the centre of the andron but also with their reduction in size, abandoning the habit of mixing wine collectively in favour of each diner mixing his own.

Until now the panorama that we had of the Attic imports during the 4th century BC in the south of the Iberian Peninsula was dominated by the pieces produced by what J.D. Beazley defined as the Telos Group.²⁸ He called them krater-painters. But sometimes he also admitted that there was a close relationship between some groups, where different forms could have been decorated by the same painters, for example between the LG Group, the G Group, the FB Group and the YZ Group. Other have pointed to the similarities between the drawing of the G Group, for example, and the vases, mostly skyphoi, of the FB or Fat Boy Group.²⁹ In my opinion, it is very possible that the workshop of the Telos Group produced at the same time large vases such as bell-kraters and small ones such as cups or skyphoi, and most probably also black-glazed vases. This workshop distributed its products mostly in peripheral areas such as the Iberian Peninsula and the Black Sea, but their products also appear in Italy, especially in S. Agata de Goti near Naples, in Boeotia and in Macedonia.

In Spain, the products of this workshop, bell-kraters, are clearly concentrated in the south of the Peninsula where we repeatedly find them, decorated by the Telos Painter or by the Oxford Grypomachy Painter, originally the oldest painters of the group. These products could be dated to the first quarter of the 4th century BC, although they are very scarce. The opposite occurs with the two of the most popular painters of this group, the Retorted Painter (due to the faces on the reverses) and the Black Thyrsus Painter. The Toya Painter would have to be added to the Telos Group.

Usually in this workshop, painter and potter are the same person and it can be clearly seen how each artist moulds a slightly different vase. For example, the Retorted Painter tends to make stockier and squarer vases, while the oldest painters of the group, such as the Oxford Grypomachy Painter, prefer to create more stylised and larger vases. To the Black Thyrsus Painter, certainly the longest-lived of the

²⁷ Langner 2014, 395–97.

²⁸ Sánchez 2000; Cabrera and Sánchez 1998, 141–42.

²⁹ Robertson 1992, 274.

group,³⁰ Beazley has attributed 80 vases, while the Retorted Painter only had 53 on the list and the Toya Painter 17 vases, for example. The Black Thyrsus Painter begin by creating larger kraters and proceeded to make them smaller with a long process of miniaturisation.

Another characteristic of this group of painters is the distribution and adaptation of their production to the destination markets. This workshop adapted its forms (and sizes) with the purpose of being accepted by its and peripheral clientele. Thereby, in the Black Sea, for example, there are *pelikai* painted by the Black Thyrsus Painter that do not appear anywhere in the Mediterranean,³¹ and in the Iberian Peninsula what we find are (almost always) bell-kraters. But the Retorted Painter and the Toya Painter export pieces to Boeotia in the form of calyx-kraters – the only three calyx-kraters decorated by the Retorted Painter to survive come from Boeotia – and although the Boeotians created their own painted pottery in the 4th century BC, they continued to import calyx-kraters from Attica.³² The Boeotian preference for this shape has some connection with their funerary beliefs, since all examples have been found in necropoleis, in the same way that the Iberians of Andalusia prefer the bell-kraters as containers for ashes. So, decorated by the painters of this group, calyx-kraters arrive in Boeotia, bell-kraters in the Andalusian world and *pelikai* in the northern Black Sea.

The Oenomaos Painter, whose work we find in the two kraters of tomb 43, belongs to a group around the 'Plainer Group', a workshop connected with the Meleager Painter,³³ who worked towards the first quarter of the 4th century BC. To this group also belongs the London F64 Painter, to whom I have attributed the two kraters from the tomb of Piquía³⁴ (a third one also belongs to the Oenomaos Painter, and the other is one of the first products of the Black Thyrsus Painter). This group of painters worked together with a few potters and possibly with minor craftsmen in charge of subsidiary decoration. In the case of the tomb of Baza, the two kraters were moulded by the same potter, probably the B potter of the four distinguished by Kathariou.³⁵

³⁰ A strong correlation exists between the number of years that a painter was active and the quantity of vases attributed to him (see, for example, Sapirstein 2013).

³¹ For example, in Histria or in the necropolis of Tíramba (Sánchez 2003, 218).

³² Regarding imports to Boeotia, see, for example, Garezou 1997.

³³ Cf. Sánchez forthcoming a–b; Kathariou and Curti 2001.

³⁴ Rueda and Olmos 2015; Rueda, Olmos and Sánchez 2015.

³⁵ Kathariou 2002, 17 and 193. The vases of potter B or 2 are painted by the Amyclone Painter from Würzburg, the Painter of the Budapest Group, the Erbach Painter, the London F64 Painter, one in the Louvre G508 Group, Madrid 11016, Naples 3245, one by the Oenomaos painter, etc.

The two workshops, the one from the Plainer Group and the Telos Group, appear to be connected and in part their work overlaps.³⁶ From the beginning of the 4th century BC to at least mid-century, two Attic workshops sent their products to the Iberian market in the south of the Peninsula. In the beginning of this period the vases are scarcer, but towards mid-century production and consumption rise notably. Bell-kraters, cups and black-glazed vases were made for the market of the Iberians in Andalusia. Many of them, like those we have discussed here, were commissioned, probably conceived originally for a funerary celebration. The images that appear on these vases still need to be analysed in detail; at least in the case of the tomb of Piquía and tomb 176 at Baza, they are related to the nuptial world, with weddings and celebrations.

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Abbreviation

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VICTORIOUS AND DEFEATED: WARFARE, RITUALS AND FUNERARY PRACTICES AT THE END OF THE 3RD CENTURY BC IN PECH MAHO (AUDE, FRANCE)*

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Abstract

The coastal *emporion* of Pech Maho (Aude, France) suffered a brutal destruction just before 200 BC. Recent excavations allow us to reconsider what was previously interpreted as a simple 'war layer'. Two phases have to be distinguished: one related to an act of war, another related to a short reoccupation preceding the abandonment of the settlement. A set of ritual practices characterise the latter, with evidence of banquets preceded by animal sacrifice, and a collective funerary pyre. This ritualistic closure of the site is clearly linked to the very special conditions surrounding its destruction and the status of those who died there.

Introduction

It was clear from the earliest work on Pech Maho that the site had suffered a brutal ending during the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. Indeed, the site underwent a fairly generalised destruction providing a time-frozen snapshot of the last occupation phase. In the same horizon, the discovery of horse skeletons, human remains and elements of weaponry had suggested that this was a genuine 'war layer'.¹ It thus seemed logical to link this episode to when Hannibal and his troops crossed the region in 218 BC, as recounted by ancient authors (Polybius *The Histories* 3. 4. 8; Livy *History of Rome* 31. 5. 21–24).

This image of the site was undisputed for some time, especially since the archaeological data from these early excavations remained unpublished. Yet the re-examination of this documentation, supplemented by new field data, has led to the reconsideration of several points related to our understanding of the site, and particularly to the last period of its history. Although a violent episode associated with destruction really did occur at the end of the 3rd century BC, the unique nature of this sequence, and the interpretation of this horizon as a simple 'war layer' must now be challenged.

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¹ Solier 1963.



Fig. 1: Map of the Gulf of Lion showing the location of Pech Maho and other major Iron Age settlements (sites mentioned in the text are shown in white).

The Geographical and Archaeological Context

The Pech Maho (or Pech de Mau) *oppidum* is located in the town of Sigean (Aude, France), on the right bank of the River Berre, about 10 km west of the present-day shoreline of the Gulf of Lion and about 20 km south of Narbonne (Fig. 1 a–b). The site was occupied from the middle of the 6th century BC at a time when colonial trade, largely driven by the Greek towns of *Massalia* (Marseille) and *Emporion* (Ampurias), was developing in this region. This heavily fortified, small coastal settlement (with a 1.5 ha surface area) operated in this way for little more than three centuries, as both a landing place and a particularly active place of exchange at the interface between the native and the Mediterranean worlds. It maintained privileged

relations with Roussillon, the Greek colony of Emporion and more generally, with the Iberian world.

Pech Maho overlooks a former lagoon, which is now the site of the Bages-Sigean ponds. During the Iron Age, this body of water occupied a much larger surface area than today and the alluviums transported by the river would have considerably modified the landscape, particularly during the mediaeval and modern periods. This resulted in the accumulation of several metres of sediment on the Plaine du Lac, progressively shifting the Berre delta towards the north-east (Fig. 1c).

In the area of Sigean, the Corbières *massif* approaches the sea and forms a bottleneck marking the end of the Languedoc Plain. This topography strongly influences the route linking the Roussillon Plain to the south. This area coincides with a limit between two geographical domains, occupied by different tribes during the second Iron Age. More precisely, the site holds a strategic position near a ford crossing on the Berre – an unavoidable thoroughfare between north and south, which was reused during the Roman period by the *Via Domitia* linking Italy to Spain.

The favourable location of Pech Maho owes nothing to chance. The creation of this *emporion* is part of a rational appropriation and networking of the coastal zone by the native society during the 6th century BC.² The foundation of the *oppidum* of Montlaurès, at Narbonne (Aude), thus takes place towards the middle of that century. Montlaurès is a large *oppidum* for the region (around 10 ha), founded on the outlet of the Aude–Garonne axis linking the Mediterranean and Atlantic regions. It is a major site commonly identified as the early Naro or Narbo, mentioned by ancient sources as the capital of the Elisyces tribe occupying the region at the time.³

On the southern fringes of a structured territory on the lower course of the Aude, Pech Maho is also a territorial marker where a certain number of economic, symbolic and even political functions were concentrated. The morphology of the site during the course of the PM III phase (325–200 BC) (Fig. 2) is now well established. The existence of public buildings (civil or religious) from the middle of the 5th century BC onwards or the abundant evidence of worship and trading activities, point to a territory controlled by native powers where Pech Maho played a decisive role. The resolve to endow the site with ostentatious attributes, in particular the fortification, is evident from an early period. This rational preoccupation with protecting goods and people is combined with a symbolic dimension, as the fortification of the site is characterised by its ‘excessive nature’ and linked to the existence of ritual practices.⁴

² Gailledrat 2014.

³ Barruol 1973.

⁴ Gailledrat and Solier 2004.



Fig. 2: Plan of Pech Maho during phase PM III.

A Brutal Destruction at the End of the 3rd Century BC

In spite of a powerful system of defences,⁵ the settlement bears the scars of a violent and pervading event. The material data, including pottery typical of the very end of the 3rd century BC and dominated by reliable markers such as Graeco-Italic amphorae, fine black-glazed pottery from the Rhode workshop (Roses, Spain) and early Campanian A vessels, indicate the exact age of this event. Although certain buildings escaped the flames, all the sectors explored up until now were affected by the fire, including the main entrance where the wooden door was burnt.

⁵ Gailledrat and Beylier 2009.

There is no doubt that this fire was intentional and the hypothesis of an accidental blaze spreading from house to house is highly doubtful. All the storage areas or warehouses, as well as all the public buildings were burnt, proving that all the vital areas of the agglomeration were deliberately destroyed. Moreover, evidence of plundering or intentional destruction preceded this fire. Containers such as amphorae or dolia were found *in situ* in some places, and in others they had been taken out of the cellars and broken in the middle of the courtyards or neighbouring streets. This would appear to indicate that the attackers hastily took all that they could carry, looking for precious objects or coins hidden at the base of these recipients, then destroyed the rest before setting the site on fire.

The presence of offensive weapons linked to the use of siege engines is another decisive argument associating the destruction of Pech Maho with an act of war. Indeed, this raises the question of the identity of the assailant and the exact nature of those events.

Four ballistic projectiles or *lithobolos* as well as an iron-head catapult projectile were discovered in the destruction levels. Similarly, the early excavation interpreted the presence of many pieces of offensive or defensive weapons as explicit evidence of combat. However, due to the types of objects unearthed, and to their stratigraphic position, we now need to adopt a more qualified view. Interestingly, apart from the artillery pieces mentioned above, all these objects are typical of a native context of the 3rd century BC: the individual weaponry discovered at Pech Maho (swords, spears and shields) is generally Celtic in type, apart from several pieces similar to those from the Iberian Peninsula. In other words, we have no further evidence of the involvement of a Hellenistic army, the only one likely to have access to siege engines and artillery.

Former research carried out at the site noted that human and horse remains were often associated with this weaponry, and assumed that men and animals were killed during combat and that their remains were consequently scattered by scavengers, implying that a troop of horsemen would have attacked the site. Among the human remains, the skeleton of an adult exhumed in front of the main door and trapped under the collapsed mud-brick walls of the rampart, was interpreted as the body of someone killed in combat, or even as a propitiatory sacrifice victim in the light of the imminent assault.⁶

Whatever the case may be, there is no doubt whatsoever as to the reality of the attack and the question of the identity of the assailants is of the utmost importance, as the circumstances of this event may have, at least partly, influenced the practices carried out later. The middle of the second Iron Age in southern Gaul was a period

⁶ Solier 1963.

marked by considerable developments, some of which could have given rise to tensions.⁷ On a wider scale, this context was characterised by pressure from the Celtic world and it would be tempting to opt for the hypothesis of an internal conflict among native populations. Given the data presented above, the theory that the destruction of Pech Maho was the simple consequence of a fight between neighbouring tribes or communities, or even of a wider scale event only involving local or regional players, can be ruled out.

It is thus relevant to question the broader context, which is none other than the second Punic war. The first excavations had already advanced the hypothesis that the tragic event could have been related to Hannibal crossing the region in 218 BC.⁸ Effectively, we know that the Carthaginian general chose to attack Italy by land, fearing the Roman fleet. He thus left Spain at the head of a powerful army, passed the Pyrenees and sought conciliation with the Gauls before crossing the Alps and continuing towards Italy. The Latin historian Livy mentions his arrival in Roussillon and a meeting with the local chiefs at *Ruscino* (Château-Roussillon, Pyrénées-Orientales), capital of that region (Livy *History of Rome* 31. 5. 21–24). This resulted in an agreement allowing the Carthaginian army to cross these lands unhindered. At the same time, a text by Polybius states that before reaching the banks of the Rhône, Hannibal won the favours of certain Gauls but also ‘coerced’ others (Polybius *The Histories* 3. 4. 8). This suggests that his passage through the Languedoc Plain may not have been so peaceful, contrary to what the silence of these texts might lead us to believe, which fail to broach the subject of an eventual confrontation between the Rhône and the Pyrenees.

In any event, the coincidental timing of the destruction of Pech Maho and the passage of Hannibal remains troubling, especially as the long procession of Hannibal’s army appeared to have used the ancient road just beside the *oppidum*. The temptation to plunder the site must have been strong, given the provisioning requirements of a marching army and the insignificant resistance of the several tens of resident armed men. However, we could on the other hand assume that Hannibal sought to cross this territory as fast as possible, without undertaking the least action against his own interests or against the agreement concluded at *Ruscino*. All in all, the looting and destruction of the important site of Pech Maho would only have been of limited benefit and would have aroused the hostility of the native tribes, making it more difficult to cross the territories located further north.

Did the agreement concluded at *Ruscino* with the minor Gallic kings concerned the communities in the present region of Narbonne? This is impossible to say and

⁷ Py 2012.

⁸ Solier 1963.

we should be careful not to over-interpret Polybius' text. The 'coercion' mentioned by him might not necessarily imply the use of violence, but perhaps only intimidation. As such, it is easy to imagine the reaction of these populations when they saw a passing procession of several thousands of men, horses, pack animals, as well as the elephants still present in the Carthaginian ranks. On the other hand, assuming that the Gauls occupying the Narbonne region were reticent to let this potentially hostile and predatory army pass on their land, the intentional destruction of Pech Maho would have been sufficient to discourage any attempted aggression.

Although the Carthaginian hypothesis is plausible, it is nonetheless very uncertain. Earlier arguments in favour of this theory that were based on the presence of Celtic weaponry (supposedly belonging to the Gallic Hannibal mercenaries), or the small size of most of the horses discovered (supposedly part of the Numidian cavalry),⁹ do not stand up to an objective interpretation of the data.

We can on the other hand explore other avenues, such as the Carthaginian reinforcements sent to Hannibal several years later (208 BC) under the command of his brother Hasdrubal. Unfortunately, the ancient sources are not very explicit on this matter, merely mentioning that this new army took the same route and not informing us of the conditions of this journey across southern Gaul. It is also possible to imagine that the destruction of Pech Maho could have been the consequence of the Roman armies taking over north-east Iberia and its neighbouring zones, resulting in the route to Spain becoming an important strategic stake.

After the Destruction

The stratigraphic data from recent excavations at Pech Maho reveal a number of inaccuracies and even contradictions present in the early literature. Hitherto, it seemed to be taken for granted that the destruction of the site occurred within a very short time, not only on account of the aforementioned fire, but also due to the levelling of the ruins and the dismantling of the still standing elevations, especially those of the rampart. Thus few contexts could be attributed to a reoccupation or at least to an episode of activity after the destruction itself.

The first of such contexts is an exceptional structure: a collective funerary pyre set up on the ruins of Block I (Fig. 3) and previously described as overlying a layer of earth and stones supposedly remnants left from the destruction of the rampart. This structure was used for the cremation of several people bearing weapons and personal objects. It has been interpreted as a hastily lit fire for burning the bodies of those killed during the battle. The site would then have been definitively

⁹ Solier 1963.



Fig. 3: View of the substructures of the funeral pyre, on the ruins of Block I (© E. Gailledrat).

abandoned, although several more recent remains indicate sporadic visits during the course of the 2nd century BC.

Although this structure is effectively a single cremation that was set up after the destruction, the hasty nature and strictly utilitarian function of that pyre must now be reconsidered. According to the stratigraphic evidence, it follows a series of events occurring after the plundering and burning of the settlement, whilst the destruction of the architecture is spread out over time. Although some walls appear to have been deliberately dismantled or simply affected by the fire that ravaged rooftops and other perishable materials, many walls seem to have been relatively unscathed by the fire. Later on, some of them progressively collapsed, whereas others underwent rapid and probably deliberate destruction, synonymous with earthworks and ground levelling of the area. The interpretation of these processes is complicated as the occupation sequences occur between these slow and rapid episodes. Although the assailants may have stayed a while in the midst of the ruins continuing to destroy what was left, there is also evidence showing that an effort was made to reorganise certain areas, opening the door to other interpretations. In particular, the former population of Pech Maho, or a neighbouring one, may have returned to the site after the battle.

The stratigraphic importance of the sequence after the battle has been confirmed by recent research. The PM III phase, as defined up until now, had to be revised and would lead to the identification of a new phase or PM IV, made up of two episodes. The first of these (IVa) corresponds to the immediate 'aftermath', loosely dated to the 225–200 BC interval. The second one (IVb) corresponds to patchier evidence broadly dating the use of the site over the first half of the 2nd century BC.

Several structures are dated from phase IVa, as pits sealed with earth and stones containing amphora deposits. At the same time, hearths were built in the midst of the ruins and in the area formerly occupied by street 2, with several stone-lined, oval-shaped structures, interpreted as combustion features. At one end of this street and at the corner of the monumental podium adjoining the rampart, a heavily rubefied quadrangular structure containing a considerable quantity of ashes indicates the presence of a hearth that was repeatedly raked out.

The destruction of the surrounding architecture is thus real, but remains limited. This same area of street 2 was then covered with a layer of rubble stones, formerly interpreted as being the result of the destruction of the rampart. It is in fact a regular and particularly carefully constructed feature: a sort of flagstone layer was intentionally created, which not only 'monumentalises' the area, but also forms the base for massive ashy deposits mixed with potsherds, metal objects, as well as animal bones including many horse remains.

In the western part of the Block, a building composed of two distinct areas (building 102) is associated with a large podium. During the course of the 3rd century BC (PM III), an exceptional practice took place here: the incinerated remains of a high-ranking person were placed at the entrance of this building.¹⁰ The architecture, the internal layout of the rooms and the objects unearthed, point to a collective meeting area as well as a place of worship. This monumental complex with both civil and religious functions, played an important role within the settlement along the 4th and 3rd centuries BC.

Although this building was largely destroyed, this sector was not restructured during the IVa phase, but the sector located immediately to the east was. Here (site of buildings 104 and 105), houses were destroyed by fire. Later, certain walls were pulled down and others were rebuilt in order to create a vast enclosed, partly open-air space of at least 170 m². Excavations showed the accumulation of successive deposits of ashes, abundant remains of food (mostly meat), ceramics as well as many metal objects including weaponry, butchery knives, roasting skewers and a terracotta andiron (Fig. 4). These deposits were mixed with clay resulting from the slow deterioration of the walls. The whole structure is characterised as a vast 'dump', with a

¹⁰ Solier 1968.

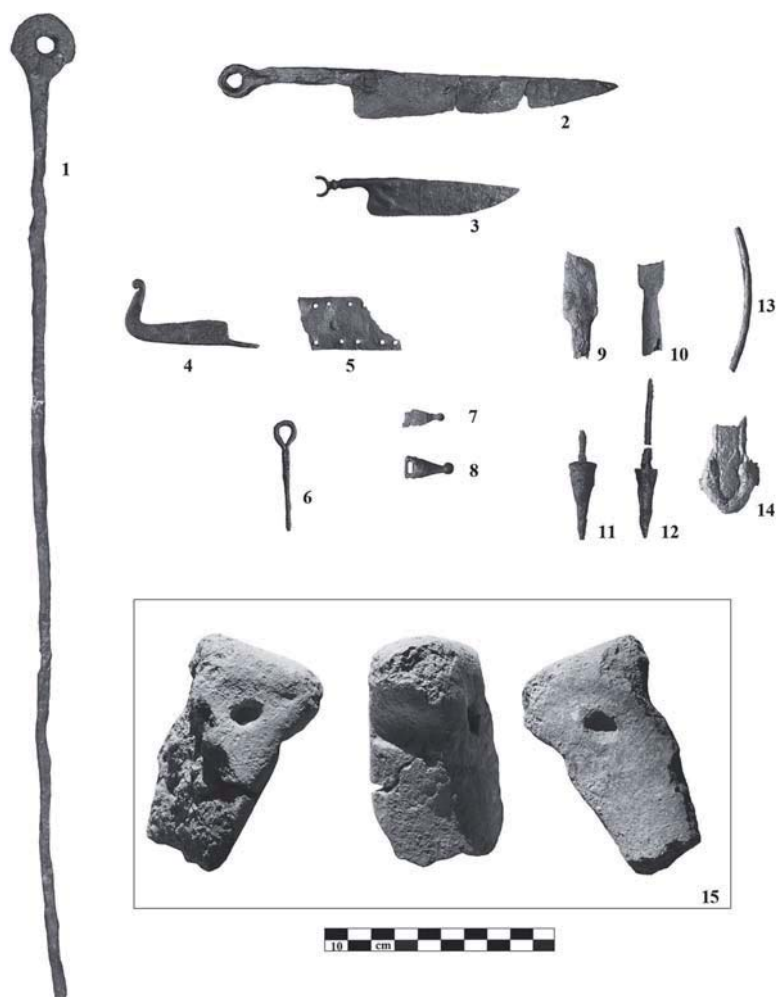


Fig. 4: Artefacts from the massive deposit prior to the funeral pyre (no. 1: skewer; nos. 2–3: butchery knives; nos. 4–5: undefined elements; no. 6: locking pin (chariot?); nos. 7–8: Celtic belt clasps; nos. 9–10: spearheads; nos. 11–12: spear butts; no. 13: shield rim; no. 14: snap of scabbard) (© E. Gailledrat).

thickness of 80–90 cm in places. It provides evidence of sustained fires as well as an important intake of food and drink. It must thus be part of collective banquets involving a large number of people.

Although there are several horse remains among the meat products consumed, caprine, porcine and bovine remains are predominant here. On the other hand, horses are better represented in street 4, just beside the access to this ‘dump’, which

was reorganised using flagstones to form real platforms. The remains are patchy, but in some places bones in anatomical position show that they were placed in a relatively careful manner, implying that they are not mere butchered remains or food waste.

This provides the first echo of the special role played by equids in practices and gestures throughout the PM IVa phase, together with the 'extraordinary' nature of the consumption practices mentioned above. However, evidence of the specific treatment of these remains comes mainly from other accumulated deposits on the site. Recent excavations revealed a considerable number of remains, mainly made up of horse bones. Although some appear to be isolated as a result of multiple on-site disturbances, most of these finds are characterised by large heaped deposits. Moreover, the latter display a very specific distribution: they occur in the ditch, around the main entranceway, as well as around and in the vicinity of Block X in the northern part of the site (Fig. 5).

To date, these accumulations correspond to several tens of equids whose remains were affected by multiple manipulations. Once the animals were slaughtered, the carcasses were skinned, quartered and the meat partly eaten (Fig. 6). The composition of the livestock is also atypical, as although it was mostly made up of horses, it also included several donkeys or hybrids. The horses also display a degree of morphological variety; most of them are slender or semi-robust in build, whilst in terms of the age range there is a predominant number aged between 5 and 8 years, this being the minimum age range for a horse to be ridden or taken to war.¹¹ Several older or younger specimens complete the corpus, so that we have neither the image of normal butchery provisioning (especially taking into account the secondary character of the consumption of horse meat during this period), nor that of exclusively cavalry horses. Although such animals may have been present, they should be associated with other ones that were potentially used on site for breeding, as pack animals or to be ridden. Lastly, these deposits are in secondary position, as the carcasses were broken up, dispersed then covered, while traces of fire in open spaces seem to indicate a period of clearing up.¹²

The uniqueness of these deposits also stems from their systematic association with specific objects, and in at least two cases, with human remains. In the vicinity of the ditch, these bones are associated with the scattered remains of an adult man and a spearhead. Near the entranceway, inside the fortifications, another adult male body was dumped on horse remains before being crudely buried (Fig. 7), whilst

¹¹ Boulbes and Gardeisen 2014.

¹² Gailledrat and Gardeisen 2010.

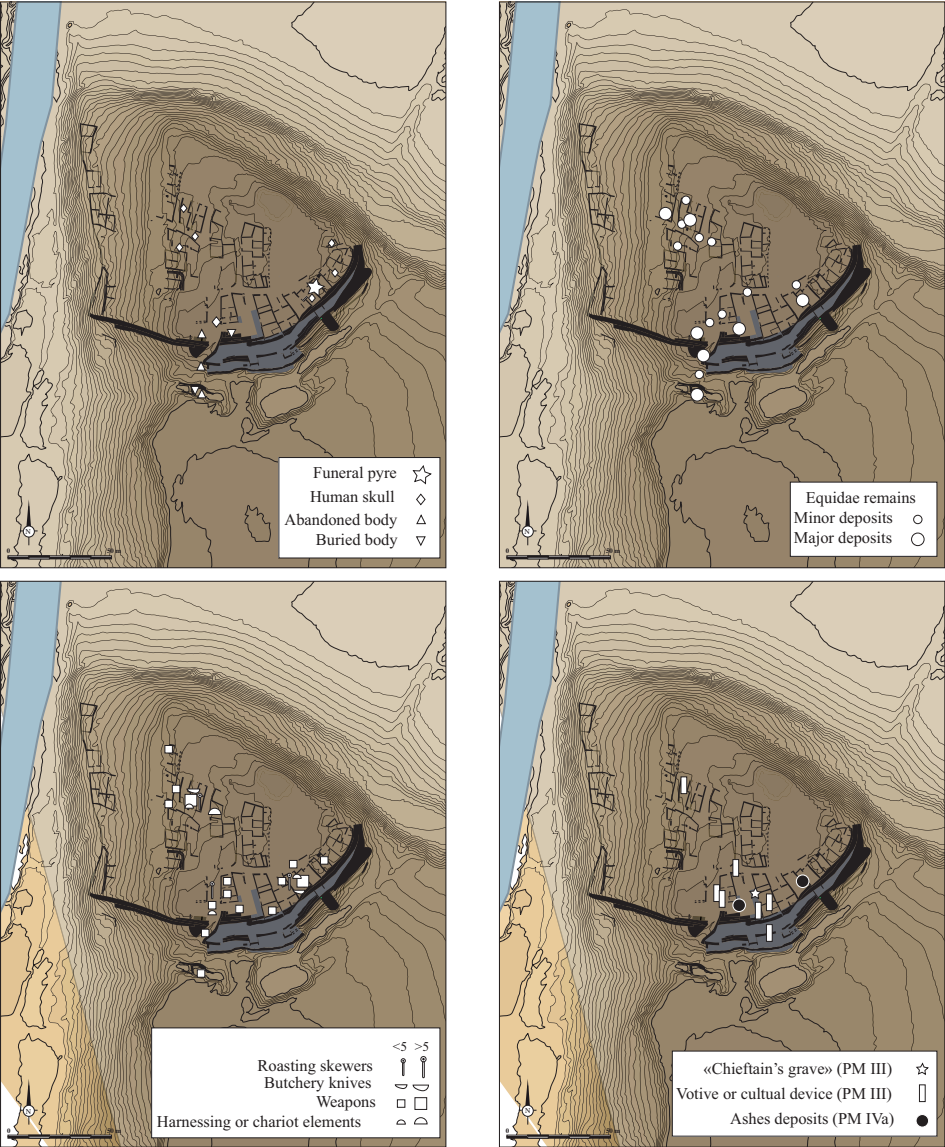


Fig. 5: Locations of the various finds related to ritual or symbolic practices (© E. Gailledrat).



Fig. 6: Example of the massive deposit of equid remains in Block X (building 114)
(© E. Gailledrat).



Fig. 7: Human skeleton (partially conserved) dumped over a massive deposit of equid remains
close to the entrance, near Square 1 (© E. Gailledrat).

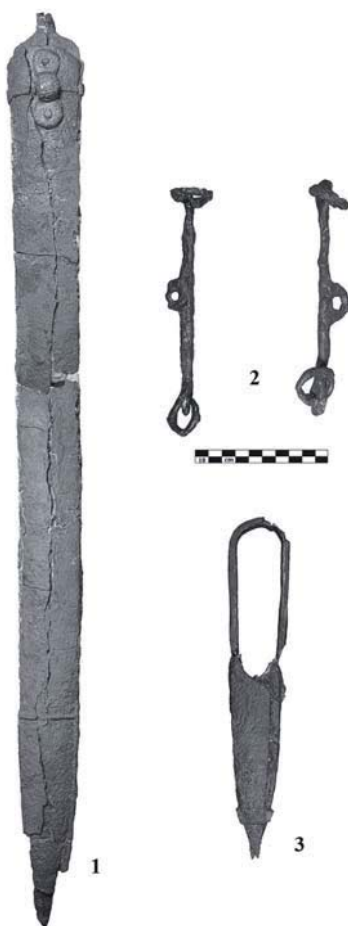


Fig. 8: Metallic objects from Square 1
 (no. 1: Celtic sword and scabbard;
 no. 2: horse-bits; no. 3: scissors (© E. Gailledrat).

nearby, a sword and its scabbard, as well as harnessing elements were left on the open ground (Fig. 8).

The findings from Block X are no less remarkable in that sporadic deposits were accumulated around the area and abundant carcass remains were piled into one of the rooms of the building. In this zone, several spear butts were found besides harnessing elements and a Graeco-Italic type wine amphora broken at the neck. Chariot wheel treads were discovered nearby, which had been removed before being bundled together and deposited.

The body discovered in front of the entranceway also seems to have been 'abandoned' in the middle of the horse remains, and thus appears to be part of this same phase, occurring immediately after the destruction of the site.

Other human remains can also be attributed to this same phase including two isolated adult male skeletons. The first one was found buried by the walkway crossing the ditch in front of the main entranceway. The body was buried in a hollow or a pit dug out from the top of the destruction layer sealing the aforementioned horse remains. Therefore, this destruction layer does not indicate the demolition of the defensive architectural structures immediately after the assault, but rather a 'final' destruction after a relatively long episode during which deposits were deliberately dumped in the ditch. Another body was buried in the street 2 area. Once again, the pit was dug after the sequence characterised by the presence of ash deposits mixed with fauna and specific objects. The basic aspect of the pits, and the carelessness given to the burial of the bodies must be noted. How the dead were treated is what is most interesting here, as incineration was the common funerary practice in southern Gaul at that time. The term burial thus seems inappropriate in this case. These are not 'normal' burials, but rather deposits indicating a sort of relegation of the corpses, in that these bodies display little difference with the aforementioned human remains.

A Ritualistic Ending?

It has now been established that the battle leading up to the destruction of Pech Maho did not strictly speaking mark the end of the site. In addition, the ambiguity of the signs supposedly providing evidence of what happened here at the end of the 3rd century BC has been highlighted. Considered individually or without taking into account the reality of the stratigraphy, the former notion of a simple 'war layer' should still be considered valid.

However, it is now clear that this sequence is part of a set of specific, and at the very least, unusual practices, with an omnipresent ritual and warrior dimension. In addition, the overall picture is very consistent, resulting in the erection of a collective funeral pyre within the walls of the settlement, near the rampart, at the end of the PM IVa phase. This funerary structure ends the sequence, at least chronologically. After this event, only several inconsistent objects, such as Italic amphorae or coins from the first half of the 2nd century BC (PM IVb), indicate occasional traces of activity on the site.

In order to resume the sequence of events, it is fitting first of all to focus on the identity of those involved. Whatever the hypothesis as regards the assailants – Carthaginians, Romans, or even Greeks from Massalia – given the context, it is

difficult to envisage that the aggressors would have spent much time amidst the ruins. However, we could imagine that the vanquishers may have celebrated their victory on site, over a relatively short time lapse. After demolishing anything of symbolic value – destroying the monuments, pulling down steles and votive pillars – they would have lit fires, for the most part to cook the meat taken from the available animals that were slaughtered on site. The livestock was probably kept outside the walls but very near the *oppidum*, and may have been partly carried away as booty and partly eaten on site. Alongside several other animals, the large number of horses discovered within the material deposits implies that a significant number of them, potentially belonging to a cavalry (of unknown identity), were also used for mass consumption.

At this stage, we could consider that the ash deposits and food remains in street 2 and especially in the central part of Block I relate simply to food waste. Yet the care that was taken building the structures predating these deposits raises questions. Perhaps a ritual dimension is introduced whereby what was consumed and the associated implements (dishes, butchery knives, roasting skewers, etc.) were in some way consecrated in honour of the victims (victorious or defeated?) or, perhaps, simply in acknowledgment of the good fortune presiding over the victory. The accumulation of ashes resulting from one or several banquets is not, on the whole, very different to the offering practices carried out in Mediterranean or other contexts, resulting in the creation of ‘ash altars’.

The frequent presence of elements of weaponry or components belonging to the warrior or equestrian spheres in the deposits (horse-bits, chariot parts), could also be part of this ritual. Many objects appear to have been discarded in the middle of the food waste whereas others were potentially displayed like trophies, as may have been the case for the intact sword and horse-bits in square I.

Similarly, the multiple human remains could correspond to victims of war belonging to the vanquished people whose bodies would not have been granted any real funerary treatment. The available information does not enable us to establish whether these victims died in combat or were killed afterwards. Whatever the case, they were relegated to the faunal remains or hastily buried to prevent disease.

The remaining question concerns the collective pyre. At least 18 individuals were carefully placed in this structure, generally with their heads facing south, on a prepared area of about 15 m². The anthropological study shows that these remains are made up of 15 adults and three children, including one less than five years old. It was not possible to distinguish the sex of the individuals; only the types of objects accompanying these adults can provide information concerning their identity. These objects are entirely representative of the regional material culture as a whole, and seem to indicate a diverse age range and a mix of both men and women. Furthermore,

these goods depict a similar image to that provided by the materials found in Languedoc necropolises from the second Iron Age.¹³ Of course its funerary character is unquestionable, but its unique nature remains an enigma since there are no known close parallels in the archaeological record.

The hypothesis of a funeral pyre only used to incinerate warriors killed in combat is thus no longer valid. This appears to be a 'normal' population who could have lived on site and died during the attack. Did the assailants wish to bury so carefully the defeated, or at least some of them? This scenario is quite improbable. Conversely, must we envisage a total disconnection between the funeral pyre and the rest of the sequence? In other words, could these people have died in a separate and more recent event and, for an unknown reason (practical or symbolic), the subsequently deserted site was chosen as a burial place? On a more simple note, must we imagine that a native group came back to bury the victims of this brutal event once the site had been abandoned by the enemy? The evidence tends to lend credence to this latter hypothesis.

Indeed, we can envisage the rapid abandonment of the site by the attackers after plundering. Subsequently, the 'local' population, or at least those who escaped the massacre, may have returned, possibly with other people from neighbouring communities, with whom Pech Maho would have had close links. In spite of numerous peculiarities, the fundamentally native character of the practices carried out, echoes the clearly native objects associated with this same phase, with absolutely identical pottery to that used by the inhabitants of the site during the second half of the 3rd century BC. In addition, given the nature of the reorganisation of certain architectural features and the location of the aforementioned deposits, it is now obvious that those involved in this post-destruction phase not only knew the site well, but also showed a form of 'respect' for the buildings or spaces previously endowed with strong symbolic connotations.

The unequivocal reading of several facts observed during excavation thus turns out to be particularly complicated. In the case of the votive or worship area of Block X, instead of suggesting that the assailants destroyed the steles and a pillar with exposed human skull, we could also bring to mind how and why a number of devout people returned to the site: they would have gathered the profaned or deconsecrated elements to reconsecrate them elsewhere, for example by burying them in a pit used as a *favissa*.

The distribution of the deposits is significant in itself. On the one hand, elements of the defensive system (entranceway and ditch), and on the other hand the areas beside the pre-existing public buildings (civil or religious) were preferred.

¹³ Dedet and Schwaller 2010.

Block I is more problematic as the buildings from the PM III phase do not present apparently any particular functional or architectural features.¹⁴ In contrast, the topography of the site may have played a role, as this zone is not only the highest points of the site, but is also located just beside the monumental curvilinear tower, a key defensive element. The proximity to Block II must also be noted, as this area is unusual in several ways. Located at the centre of the settlement during the 3rd century BC, building 111 is a vast house of complex design organised around a courtyard, with a plan reminiscent of certain residences referred to as ‘aristocratic’ in Spanish Catalonia, such as those of Puig de Sant Andreu and Illa d’en Reixac (Ullastret), or Mas Castellar (Pontós).¹⁵ In any case, due to its size, it is an extraordinary edifice that should be considered to be the residence of individuals or family groups of privileged status. Its specific function is highlighted by the fact that during the PM IV phase, it is (for now) the only well-documented area presenting none of the deposits characteristic of this phase. Is this due to respect or exclusion? Nothing enables us to resolve the matter, but this lacuna cannot be accidental.

The question of the duration of this PM IVa sequence is itself of the utmost importance. The stratigraphy is ambiguous on this point, as the objects found do not authorise any chronological distinction between those from the PM III phase. It is a short sequence, which lasted for less than a quarter of a century, but nothing allows us to be more accurate. It is clear that the different deposits correspond to successive episodes, but for the moment, it is impossible to interpret them in terms of duration. The human remains scattered within the ditch seem to indicate that the body was already partly decomposed when it was dumped among the scattered faunal remains, but once again, this could be the result of relatively rapid processes. Lastly, the micromorphological analysis of the ashy deposit preceding the funeral pyre confirmed that sediment and ashes accumulated in an open area were subject to trampling with evidence of pedogenesis. However, we cannot rule out the idea that these layers built up over a short duration of time: the whole area could have been formed over a period of several years, months or even weeks.

On the other hand, the overall logic prevailing over all the practices and gestures identified during this phase has been conveyed. The developments observed within the settlement occurred before the slaughtering of the livestock, including a considerable number of equids. This led to a massive intake of food, including shells and fish, the remains of which accumulated together with the ashes. As for the horses (and the several identified donkeys), they underwent special treatment: they were for the most part, eaten and some of their remains were discarded in these same

¹⁴ Belarte *et al.* 2010.

¹⁵ Belarte 2013.

dumps, while others were piled up or spread out together with the human remains. This consumption practice is unusual in that it involves a considerable number of animals and thereby specific butchery practices, but apart from this aspect, it can be clearly compared to common sacrificial practices linked to food known in the Mediterranean and the Celtic worlds.¹⁶

The amphorae deposits in the pits described above are probably part of a ritualistic banquet. The broken-necked wine amphora associated with the harnessing elements and bone remains in Block X is even more characteristic. The practice of 'decollation', symbolically 'sacrificing' the amphora and consuming or offering the wine, is one of the characteristics of the rites carried out at Gallic banquets.¹⁷ Let us also note the case of an amphora neck found in association with an equine skull in street 4, a type of deposit also observed in Celtic contexts.¹⁸

Metal objects with warrior connotation are systematically associated with these deposits (Fig. 9), including several intact pieces related to banqueting and to the aristocratic or equestrian spheres. The presence of numerous fragments of offensive and defensive weapons is more problematic. The fact that these objects were broken into fragments is important, and the previous hypothesis suggesting that weapons were simply left on site after combat does not stand up to an objective examination of the data. Several pieces display traces of having been deliberately manipulated (impact or folding) in a similar way to the weapons that were placed in the tombs of men during 4th–2nd centuries BC. The systematic breaking and scattering of the remains is evocative of well-known practices in northern Gaul sanctuaries: we can cite the well-known example of Gournay-sur-Aronde (Oise), where weapons left in the open deteriorated slowly before being collected, broken and spread out in the perimeter of the sanctuary.¹⁹ It is thus uncertain whether these multiple fragments of weapons from Pech Maho are indeed objects directly associated with the final phase of the site. It is easy to imagine that these weapons were displayed like trophies after the battle, but a long period of time would have elapsed before these articles could have deteriorated, and it seems unlikely that they would have been then handled and discarded. As for other intact finds, perhaps we should consider that some of these (initially interpreted as being evidence of the battle) may have been exposed *intra muros* before the destruction of the site, which is what the distribution of the metallic objects appears to imply. It is probable that this exhibition of weapons took place alongside the display of human skulls near the main square, the entranceway or the podium adjoining the interior of the curtain wall. Such

¹⁶ Méniel 2001.

¹⁷ Poux 2004.

¹⁸ Poux 2004, 279–82.

¹⁹ Brunaux 2004.

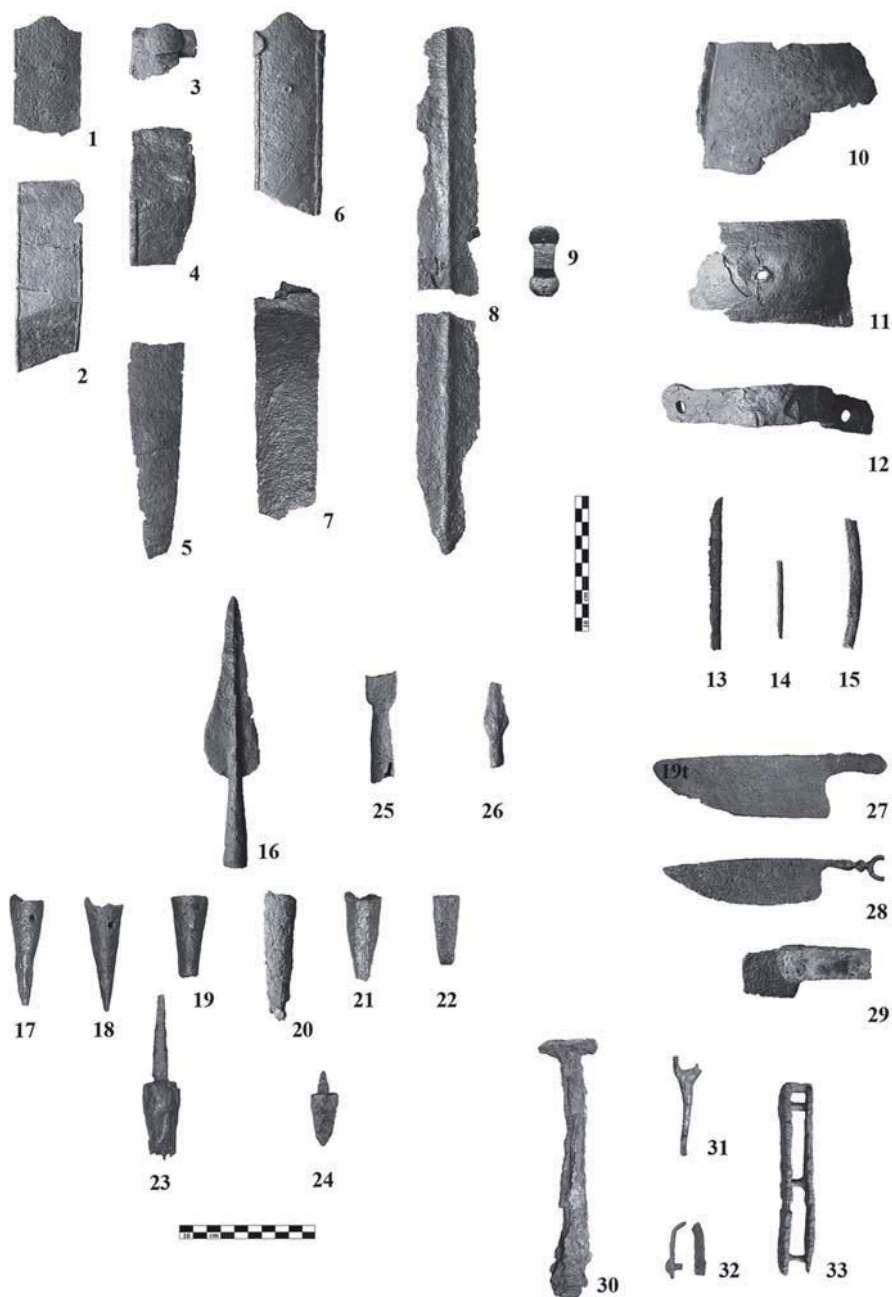


Fig. 9: Elements of weaponry and other metallic objects found in level PM IVa (nos. 1–9: swords and scabbards; nos. 10–11: shield boss; no. 12: handgrip brace; nos. 13–15: shield rims; no. 16: spearhead; nos. 17–24: spear butts; nos. 25–26: javelin heads; nos. 27–29: butchery knives; nos. 30–33: elements of chariots) (© E. Gaillardrat).

displays are similar to the patterns in Celtic settings,²⁰ including Mediterranean Languedoc, as shown recently by Le Cailar (Gard).²¹

Given the strong symbolic value of the edifices on one hand, and the steles, votive constructions and trophies on the other (which were all affected to varying degrees by the destruction of the site, and were in a way 'desecrated'), the main aim of returning to the site may have been to carry out a final ritual. This is an additional argument backing up the hypothesis that only 'local' people could have been involved in these complex practices including sacrifice and banquets. Finally, the collective funeral pyre overlying the vast ashy deposit in Block I cannot be coincidental. Indeed, the functional and symbolic link between the two is indicated by the final dumps of ash and remnants of food that partially overlay the funerary structure. Meanwhile, more or less at the same time, the settlement and the defensive system underwent final earthworks.

Conclusion

The ritual character of the practices carried out during phase PM IVa has now been established and seems to have been directly influenced by the circumstances leading to the destruction of the site during the last quarter of the 3rd century BC. However, the exact significance of these rituals and their overall purpose remains somewhat obscure.

Nonetheless, we can outline a number of possible interpretations. The important point is that these practices occurred within a relatively short time span and the collective funeral pyre described above seems to have been the end resolve. Yet, if the incinerated corpses belong to those who died during a war episode, it is difficult to imagine that a long period separated the two events, unless the corpses underwent specific treatment to slow down the putrefaction process. This implies that these ostentatious funerary rites would have directly followed the sacrifices and banquets, and that all these proceedings would also have marked the end of the site.

The funerary pyre appears to be the result of one single combustion episode and not from a sequence of smaller fires. The structure seems to represent one single accumulation, and the fact that a considerable number of limestone blocks and stones at the base of the pyre were transformed into lime attests to the intensity of the fire.

The practice of concealing specific objects, including several steles, is suggestive of a dishallowed sanctuary. Previously exposed pieces of weaponry were scattered

²⁰ Arcelin and Brunaux 2003.

²¹ Roure and Pernet 2011, 146–51.

whilst new deposits (such as the chariot wheel treads beside Block X) were being deposited, also suggests a sacred meaning.

Chronologically, these acts occur at the beginning of the Pech Maho IV phase and are preceded by a number of developments that are not limited to being simply a 'cleaning up' phase or an opportunistic reoccupation. We have seen that the spreads and deposits of metal objects are closely associated with other types of finds, indicating that other practices were carried out at the same time. Firstly, these involved slaughtering a considerable number of horses, followed by consuming some of the meat. Their remains were then piled up in designated areas. Secondly, the larger intake of food and drink, and the waste products that were then thrown in with the ashes from various fires along with the implements used, created distinct deposits. At the same time, various deposits are also accumulated in isolated pits across different areas of the site, providing more or less explicit evidence for further practice of offerings.

The accumulation of a real 'altar of ashes' in the vicinity of Block I is remarkable in several ways, but firstly because of its massive size. Rather than highlighting a lack of documentation, the absence of comparable features in the archaeological record of the western Mediterranean underlines the exceptional nature of this complex. This structure would have required a considerable amount of energy, linked in particular to the maintenance of fires. Some traces of these have been found inside, but these could also have been placed outside, in areas that have not yet been identified. The accumulation of ashes in a votive setting is not unknown in southern Gaul, as shown by the earlier example (5th–4th centuries BC) of the 'altar of ashes' discovered on the St Vincent *oppidum* (Gaujac, Gard). The latter is made up of successive hearths set up in the middle of a paved area where the accumulation of ashes, andiron and *ex-voto* remains attest to the repetition of specific rites over several years.²²

This first phase of ritual practice following the destruction of Pech Maho is part of a process of re-sacralisation and collective celebration. The substantial labour required for these developments and the number of people participating in the banquets, enable us to gauge the significant investment deployed by the group returning to this place. It appears that, ultimately, these people wanted to pay a special tribute to the deceased incinerated on the pyre. Although some uncertainty still surrounds the rhythm regulating this post-destruction phase, it is unlikely that the observed practices were spread out over several months or years. However, it is plausible to imagine that commemorative rites were celebrated each year, but the

²² Charmasson 1982–86.

pressing need to provide a rapid burial for the deceased implies that the interval of time corresponding to this sequence was several days or weeks at the most.

The decision to conduct various rites, sacrifices and banquets on the site itself, rather than elsewhere, is in itself highly symbolic. Indeed, this choice highlights the importance of the place, undoubtedly linked to the particular circumstances presiding over its destruction and the status of the site or of some of its inhabitants. The rank of Pech Maho in the religious, political or economic spheres in relation to its role as an *emporion*, has already been discussed. On the other hand, the choice of the site as a burial ground is to a certain extent incompatible with the notion of a habitation site, or even of a sanctuary. This represents a clear rupture, and implies that the site definitively ceased to be connected to the world of the living and became linked to the realm of the dead. However, it does not become a necropolis, as the funeral pyre is the only funerary structure, emphasising once again the exceptional and extraordinary character of the complex.

The notion of 'closure' of the site is also fundamental, as although patchy traces of more recent activity have been observed, on the whole, between the war episode and the pyre being set up, a coherent sequence emerges, marking the transition between 'before' and 'after'. During the latter period, the site may have been used as a memorial place for a while, before the memory of the site disappeared several decades later, as a result of the profound changes linked to the Roman conquest and the foundation of Narbo Martius (Narbonne) in 118 BC. If we consider this as a 'closing ceremony', this would tend to highlight the notion of a sacred place, even though the symbolic dimension of the settlement alone could have justified the ritualisation of its abandonment.

Multiple examples of banquets where the remains were subject to specific treatment are now known in Celtic Gaul,²³ and even in south-western Spain,²⁴ but associations with what can be defined as 'closing ceremonies' remain relatively rare. However, the sanctuary of Capote (Higuera la Real, Spain)²⁵ and those of Cancho Roano (Zalamea de la Serena, Spain), stands out. The latter was a sanctuary founded during the Orientalising period, and came to an end at the end of the 5th century BC. A 'closing ceremony' associates animal sacrifices with a ritual banquet, the remains of which were used to fill the ditch surrounding the site.²⁶ The important role of equids in this ritual has been underlined as possible evidence for a link with a pre-existing cult.²⁷

²³ Poux 2003.

²⁴ Celestino and Cabrera Diez 2008.

²⁵ Berrocal 1994, 2006.

²⁶ Celestino and Cabrera 2008.

²⁷ Cabrera and Celestino 2014.

Given the ritualisation preceding the abandonment of the site and the fundamental role of equids, the example of Cancho Roano could throw light on certain aspects of the rituals implemented in Pech Maho. However, the funerary dimension of the site is, in this case, pre-eminent. It is clear that we cannot jump to conclusions about the beliefs governing these rites, and particularly those associated with the horses, but the funerary symbolism of these animals is recurrent in the ancient Mediterranean world and their sacrifice during grandiose funeral ceremonies is particularly significant, from the time of royal Scythian tombs until the legendary funeral of Patroclus (Homer *Iliad* 23).

Lastly, the question of the abandoned human corpses frequently associated with the equine remains needs to be addressed. The absence of marks explaining the death of these men cannot alone be used as an argument to back up any particular hypothesis. The specific treatment of these remains is a tangible reality and clearly distinguishes them from other remains. Although it is impossible to prove the existence of human sacrifice, this previous hypothesis nonetheless takes on new meaning in the light of the ritual context described here.

Notwithstanding, the funerary rites at Pech Maho are exceptional on several counts. The intensity of the preparatory practices before the erection of the funeral pyre is remarkable, as is the outstanding character of the funerary proceedings in comparison with those currently identified in southern Gaul or even in the Iberian Peninsula. Although limited parallels can be drawn, the overall sequence observed here is, for now, one of a kind. Does it point towards the commiseration or celebration of a defeat or a victory? These two notions may appear to be incompatible, but ultimately this question is only of secondary importance, given that all the practices carried out at the site appear to be geared towards a sole objective: honouring the site and providing a group of people, who clearly died in exceptional circumstances, with an exceptional grave.

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PRAYER TO THE DECEASED? RELATIONS BETWEEN GODS, DEAD AND THE LIVING IN PHRYGIA EPICTETUS*

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Abstract

Ramsay's interpretation of some Greek funerary inscriptions from Roman Phrygia Epictetus as referring to a prayer dedicated to Zeus Bronton and at the same time to the deceased has been rejected by Waelkens. Following the latter, these are now normally interpreted as prayers made only to the god in order to protect the grave and/or as *ex-votos* to the god. This paper returns to Ramsay's interpretation and, though not necessarily accepting the idea of a divinisation of the deceased in Roman Phrygia Epictetus, it does accept the idea of a cult to the deceased, and the role of the deceased as an intermediary between gods and men. Other particularities in the epigraphy of this same area are adduced as proof of an especial Phrygian hierarchical conception of the divine world and of the especial relations between gods and men.

Besides Phrygian survivals in language and onomastics, there are religious particularities in certain areas of Central Anatolia in Roman times that may be ascribed to an ancient Phrygian tradition. The focus of this contribution is to analyse a series of evidence that can probably be explained through the Phrygian conviction that the deceased entered the realm of the gods and could act as an intermediary between the gods and the living.

There is an especial group of funerary inscriptions that are at the same time prays to Zeus Bronton. The cult area of this god is mainly Phrygia Epictetus: Midiaemum, Cotyaeum, Dorylaeum and Nacolea, especially. He is also very well attested in Bythinia, especially in Nicaea. Isolated evidence can be found in Paphlagonia, the Highlands, North Galatia, Laodicia Katakekaumene in Lycaonia and, to the west, in East Mysia and Maionia (Fig. 1).¹ The cult dedications that are related to tombs

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¹ On the cult of Zeus Bronton and his extension, see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1992–2013. Since then new evidence has appeared in this same area. On the cults of Phrygia Epictetus, see now Riel forthcoming.

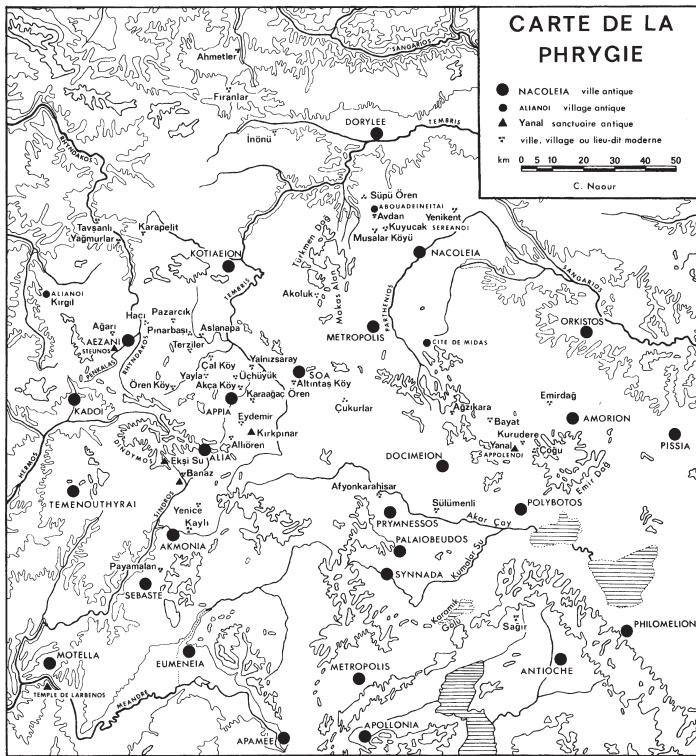


Fig. 1: Map of Phrygia and environs (after Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 1912).

are nevertheless concentrated in the area of Dorylaeum, Nacolea and Aizanitis. Examples of this type are:

Ἀντιόχῳ πατρὶ φιλτάτῳ καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχὴν, 'to Antiochos, dear father, and to Zeus Bronton, a prayer' (*MAMA* V R15, Nacolea).

Διὶ Β]ροντῶντ[ι] / εὐχὴν καὶ γυναικ[ι] / [Δό]μνῃ, 'to Zeus Bronton a prayer, and to his wife Domne' (*MAMA* V 85, Dorylaeum). The pray is here made in behalf of the dedicant and all his family and belongings.

Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχὴν / καὶ Ἀππῃ συνβίῳ 'to Zeus Bronton a prayer, and to his wife Appe' (*MAMA* V 229, Nacolea). As in former case, the prayer here is made on behalf of the dedicant and all his family and belongings.²

Variants of the same phenomenon are dedications of the altar to the deceased and the god without prayer:

πατρὶ Ἀσκ[λ]ᾶδῃ καὶ Διὶ Βρον[τῶντι] 'For the father Asklas and Zeus Bronton' (*MAMA* V R11, Nacolea).

² For further instances, see *MAMA* V 135–138, R 5, R 10.

Διὲ Βροντῶντι καὶ / Ἀππῆ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ‘For Zeus Bronton and Appas the brother’ (*MAMA* IX 51, Aizanitis).

Διὲ Βροντῶντι, Ζωῖλῳ καὶ Ἀψάδι / Τρύφων καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ / βωμὸν ἀνέστησαν, ‘For Zeus Bronton, Zoilos and Apsas, Tryphon and his brothers dedicated the altar’ (*I Iznik* 1088).

In a recently published inscription from Nakoleia, Alexander Avram translates ll. 1–4 of face A (Βρογιμαρος Ἐπικράτου / Διὲ Βρογιμαρου καὶ Κυρίῃ εὐχὴν, καὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ μνημόσυνον) in this way: ‘Brogimaros, (Sohn) des Epikrates, für den Zeus des Brogimaros und für die Herrin aufgrund eines Gelübdes und für sich selbst (als) Denkmal.’³ Given so much evidence like the examples shown above, I would translate: ‘Brogimaros (son) of Epikrates (dedicates) to Zeus of Brogimaros and to Kyria (wife of Brogimaros) a prayer; and he (dedicates) also the tomb for himself.’⁴ This interpretation is supported by the fact that the bust of a man and a woman are represented respectively in two sides of the monument, while on the other two we can find the busts of a younger man and woman, probably the children of the couple.

Mark Waelkens, followed by other researchers, refuted a theory postulated by W.M. Ramsay that suggested the belief on the divinisation of the deceased in Phrygia based on some inscriptions and on tomb architecture and iconography.⁵ According to his refusal of such divinisation, Waelkens considers that inscriptions such as the ones quoted before were funerary dedications combined with a dedication to the god. This dedication to the god would serve as a vow for the protection of the tomb. Through a very long exposition of all possible epigraphic evidence of private deification or assimilation of the deceased with a god in the Greek world (with parallels in the Latin West), he argues that the Phrygian evidence is not evidence of deification, that deification is to be differentiated from the comparison of the deceased with a god, that cases of deification are attested throughout the Graeco-Roman world, and that an ethnic particularity stemming from Phrygia cannot be inferred. Of course there are many instances of comparison between the deceased and the gods (though most of them, and most of the ones adduced by Waelkens, are metric); similarly, a heroic cult, a cult of the governors, and cult-honours for especial citizens are attested in the Graeco-Roman world from Hellenistic times onwards and even earlier. But even Waelkens admits that there is an especial intensity in the comparison of the deceased to the god (or deification?) in Phrygia. The fact that there are more inscriptions there than in other places is not a valid

³ Avram 2015 (p. 203 for this translation from the Greek).

⁴ For Κυρία as feminine personal name in Phrygia, see for instance *MAMA* VII 261; Sterret 1888, nos. 159, 557, 564.

⁵ Ramsay 1884. For the whole argument and bibliography, see Waelkens 1983.

argument since there are many other places in Roman Anatolia with a very intensive epigraphic habit that would have attested such ideas through funerary formulae if they would have had then.

Furthermore, Waelkens objects that εὐχή is only used for Olympic gods, but this supposition is contradicted for instance by a series of votive dedications to human heroes in Roman Thrace (see below). He also adduces that in the cases where the name of the deceased precedes the name of the god before εὐχήν, the writer has just omitted the formula μνήμης χάριν after the name of the deceased, and in one occasion where εὐχήν appears twice, after the god's name and after the name of the deceased (Haspels 1971, no. 103), an error has been made while copying the text. He does not explain cases such as Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ πατρὶ εὐχήν (Haspels 1971, no. 136). Should we think it is also an error of the copyist? If Haspels 1971, no. 103 is not an error (and, despite what Waelkens may suggest there is no reason to think it is), it is an especially interesting altar with two dedications. The first one is dedicated to Zeus Bronton (Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχήν) on behalf of the family, and the second one is dedicated by the same person to his mother: Ἀρίστων Α[...]πύλαιου ἰδία μάνμη εὐχήν. I think this is a clear evidence that both the deceased and the god were prayed for on behalf of the family.

Waelkens also mentions the assertion of Cox and Cameron that there are almost no funerary imprecations in the area where these inscriptions are attested, concluding from this that the prayer to the god in these inscriptions is a substitution of the usual funerary imprecations.⁶ But the fact that the vow to the god includes also protection of the grave (as is clearly expressed in the inscription of Brogimaros) does not mean that the vow is just a substitution of imprecations.

It is not certain that all of them are funerary dedications. The only difference between some of them and cult dedications is that the name of a person appears together with the name of the divinity. For instance, there is no other difference between *MAMA* V 85, beginning with the acclamation to Agathe Tyche and dedicated on behalf of the dedicant and his family to Zeus Bronton and the wife of the dedicant, and nos. 78, 87 or 101 (this one dedicated to Meter Tetrprosopos). In other cases the funerary function is certain, for instance in *MAMA* V 111 (cf. 138): ---πατρὶ Ἐπαφροδείτῳ καὶ μητρὶ / Ἡδονῇ γλυκυτάτοις / μνήμης χάρι[ι]ν καὶ Διὶ Βροντῶντι εὐχήν, though the prayer is here directed only to the god. The representation of symbols related to the god supports the function of these altars and stele as prayers in some cases more than as funerary monuments. In *MAMA* V 129 there is a krater, one of the frequent symbols of Zeus Bronton as god of the land's

⁶ Waelkens 1983, 283; Cox and Cameron [1937] in *MAMA* V, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii.

fertility.⁷ In other cases, like Haspels 1971, no. 103, the depiction of vine, bunches of grapes, and an oxen with plough reveal the main aspects of the dedicant's life, but also the content of the prayer.

The dedications are not made *κατὰ εὐχήν*, 'because of/after a vow'. They express the *εὐχή*, the prayer or vow that the dedicant directs to the god. And, besides, why would a person dedicate a tomb or funerary inscription to a god 'because of a prayer'? I think we have a good explanation in the aforementioned Gareco-Phrygian inscription from Nacolea. Brogimaros does not make a dedication 'because of a vow'. He makes a prayer to 'his' Zeus and to his wife (who is now in the realm of Zeus). The content of the prayer is expressed in the New Phrygian text (ll. 5–12) that, if Avram's interpretation is correct, says:

und wenn die Eltern dieser Grabparzelle das Grab geweiht haben, ihnen (selbst) und dem Geschlecht, das daraus entspringe (?), (so soll) dem Nachfolger Reinheit an Bodenfrüchten (bestimmt sein?); wer immer aber der Grabparzelle Böses antut, ihnen und dem Geschlecht, das daraus entspringe (?), so soll er unter einem Fluch wandeln (?) und vor (?) Zeus - - -.⁸

The dedicant prays to the god (and to the dead?) so that they grant soil fertility to the family and its offspring, and also for the protection of the family tomb through the imprecation. There is a good parallel for the funerary monument of Brogimaros in the so called Testament of Epikrates, a long inscription found in the bordering area between Lydia and Mysia, in the territory of Nakrason between the rivers Lycus and Caicus.⁹ Epikrates consecrates a grave area as a cult place dedicated to his dead son Diophantos. The hero Diophantos has given him instructions to consecrate the place through clear and frequent dreams, signs, and appearances (ll. 32–36). Through the description of the consecrated area and the instructions to be followed, it is clear that the land will report great incomes to those in charge of keeping up the hero's cult and maintaining the buildings. Those who should dare to do any harm will suffer the desecrator's punishment (*ὑπεύθυνος ἔστω τυμβωρυχία*, ll. 96–97, cf. 79), which is further described with all sorts of misfortunes (ll. 94–105). The revenge gods are the gods upon the sky and over the earth, those in the sea and those under the earth, and also the Heroi.

The question in all these cases is if the prayer is dedicated only to the god or if the prayer is dedicated to the god and to the deceased, who is now a divine or

⁷ Cox and Cameron [1937] in *MAMA* V, pp. xlii–xliii.

⁸ This translation reveals nevertheless his interpretation of the Phrygian text, which is very problematic. For a new interpretation of the last line: ... *τιττετι/[χ]μενος ειτου*, EIKΑΔ αυτον μελ/αν Τιαν *vac* in the sense of 'may this one become accursed by the great Zeus', see Obrador forthcoming.

⁹ Herrmann and Polatkan 1969, 6–36, Greek text with German translation at 8–16.

superhuman being. In fact, there are cases where the deceased is explicitly considered a god. In Alia (Arpali, south of Appia) a woman honours her deceased man, who has become a god: Τάτεις ἐτείμησεν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτ[ῆς] / Μητρᾶν, θεὸν γενομένον.¹⁰ In the case of the Nakoleian inscription saying Δὲ Βρογγῶντι εὐχὴν καὶ πατρὶ θεῶ (MAMA V 232) it has been suggested that πατρὶ θεῶ is here the god Papias, attested in the territory of Nacolea.¹¹ This Papias has been explained as a remnant of an Atas or Tatas (father) attested in ancient Phrygian inscriptions and interpreted as a theonym, though this is not completely certain.¹² But the fact that the god is always called Papas/Papias in the area of Cotyaeum-Nacolea makes it more probable that in this inscription it is the father of the person dedicating the stele who is mentioned.

Haspels considers these cases as evidence of the deceased acquiring ‘a superhuman level, which nevertheless need not be divine’.¹³ In any case, all of this evidence is proof of the belief of the population of this area of Phrygia that the deceased entered in the divine circle of a god, and could act as intermediary between gods and mortals.

We probably have another local funerary version of this same idea in the custom of consecrating the deceased to the god, or the deceased being honoured by the god. In an area of the high Tembris there is an especial group of funerary inscriptions from the 3rd century AD, where the deceased is said to have been honoured by the goddess Hecate Soteira (Fig. 2):¹⁴

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ Σωτείρης Ἑ-
κάτης· Μένανδρος δα- (sic)
ἦρ καὶ Κύριλα ἐνάτηρ,
Παπας υἱός, Απης νύμφη Ταττειν
καὶ Γλύκωναν υἱὸν αὐτῆς ἐτείμη-
θέντας ὑπὸ Σωτείρης Ἑκάτης[ς]
κατε-
ιέρωσαν,

καὶ Ὀνήσι-
μος τε-
θρεμέν-
ος ἀπειέρ-
ω-
σε-
ν

¹⁰ Waelkens 1986, no. 403, 3rd century AD.

¹¹ See comment of Cox and Cameron for the different possibilities of interpretation, including the possibility that it refers to the emperor (cf. IGR IV 715, Blaundos, 1st century I AD), which I think is very improbable in this context. On the evidence of Papas/Papias in this area see Drew-Bear and Naour 1990, 2018–22.

¹² In this case, it would be the first written evidence of a masculine deity in ancient Phrygia, earlier than the evidence of the goddess Matar (Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 158–59, 165–66).

¹³ Haspels 1971, 203–04. He considers that such memorial stones could have been erected in a sanctuary and were not intended as epitaphs, and that more importance is attached to the dedication to the deity, as a parallel to the vows dedicated in behalf of the living. Cf. Cox and Cameron [1937] in MAMA V, pp. xxxiv–xxxviii, for whom they have the double function of dedication to Zeus Bronton and memorial to the dead.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Lochman 1990 (Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 2089, Taf. 300; SEG 40.1241).



Fig. 2: Hecate Soteira.

To the good fortune of Hecate Soteira. Her brother in law Menandros and her sister in law Kyrila, her son Papas and his wife Apes dedicated the tomb to Tateis and her son Glykon, both honoured by Hecate Soteira. Also her *tethremenos* Onesimos (i.e. brought up by her) dedicated the stele.

The iconography of this inscription shows a small bust of Helios underneath a larger one of Zeus that is flanked by a crescent moon on the left and a star on each side; underneath Helios, the triple Hecate with the busts of Men to the left and Demeter to the right. The two deceased are represented in the lower register.

There are further instances of such dedications to Hecate in the high Tembris and also in the 3rd century AD. In some of them, the reliefs show the same hierarchical representation of the divine world.¹⁵

Already by the beginning of the 4th century, in another inscription from the district of Cotyaeum, now in the Museum of the Cinquantenaire in Brussels, the archiereus Epitynchanos is said to have been honoured by Hecate and also by Manes Daos Heliodromos Zeus, and by Phoibos Archegetes giver of oracles.¹⁶ He has received from the immortal gods the gift of prophecy, and he dedicates an

¹⁵ Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, nos. 2090, 2091; *CIG* 3827, with description and photograph of the relief in Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 2092.

¹⁶ Ramsay 1897, 566–68, nos. 467–469, located erroneously in Akmoncia; *MAMA* VI, list p. 148, no. 152.

inscription to his father Athanatos Pios and to his mother Tatia. Over the inscription there is a radiated head on top, beneath it there is a horseman god with a battle-axe on the shoulder (Apollo), and below we find a bust with hands folded over the breast (Zeus). On another side of the funerary monument a dedication is made to Epitynchanos by his family. Over it, a cross is incised over a former, defaced relief (perhaps from Hecate?). On the third side, a dedication is made to Epitynchanos and his brother Diogas, both Ἀθάνατοι πρῶτοι ἀρχιερεῖς. In this inscription we find together priests honoured by the gods (with the priesthood and also with prophecy), the intermediary function of the honoured person as prophet (side II 2–5: τηρῶν ἐντολὰς ἀθανάτων/ κὲ ἐγὼ ἴμε ὁ λαλῶν πάντα), and the stratigraphic representation of the gods. It is significant that all the four priests who appear in the monument (belonging to four generations of the same family) receive the name Athanatos.¹⁷

It is also significant that in most cases where the expression ‘honoured by the god’ is used, it refers to priests, prophets, or persons who in some way have an especial relation to the gods in life.¹⁸ The honour seems to be the god’s gift to the human, i.e. having a direct communication, but in a more general way it probably means to honour the deceased through the death, after which he will have, or continue having, that special role as intermediary between the god and the human world.¹⁹ ‘To consecrate somebody to the god’ means probably not only to put the deceased and the grave under the god’s protection, but also to offer the deceased to the realm of the god. This idea of being honoured by the god seems to be especially Phrygian.²⁰ Albeit not exactly from the same area where the aforementioned Zeus Bronton’s dedications are found, it is concentrated next to it further up near the river Tembris. In this funerary custom, as well as in the prayers to Zeus Bronton and the deceased, the relation established between the deceased and the god goes far beyond the petition for divine protection that is usual in the whole Anatolia.

Though common to other areas of inner Anatolia, here particularly there is much evidence of persons or divine beings as intermediaries between humans and the gods.

¹⁷ On the intermediary function of Epitynchanos in comparison with the one of the Christian Nanas in the same area, and the relation between pagan and Christian epigraphy in the 3rd century, see Mitchell 1993, 47.

¹⁸ See another priest ‘honoured’ by Zeus in Pfuhl and Möbius 1979, no. 2120, Taf. 180, with representation of the deceased, and also of the god, and underneath a krater between two trees.

¹⁹ See de Hoz 1997 on the dedication of a personal cult to the god and on the use of the verb καθιερώω.

²⁰ There are two pieces of evidence considered from Lydian Maionia (*TAM* V1, 285; Varinlioglu, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 15 [1990], 74–75, no. 23), but the first one is dedicated to Zeus Ktesios, so probably from Nacolea, where this god is worshipped; the second one is in Uşak museum and the provenience is unknown. It could easily be Phrygian.

There are many examples of persons with prophetic gifts: Zosimus forecasts the future to the wise men on a folded tablet (Haspels 1971, 313, no. 40); the already mentioned Epitynchanos (*MAMA* VI, list 148, no. 152) prophecies the truth; the prophetess Nana has angelic visitations and hears angelic voices (Haspels 1971, 338, no. 107²¹). The origin of the Montanist sect in Phrygia, and its intensity in the Tembris valley is in fact strongly related with a prophetic movement that seems to be a Phrygian tradition.²²

There are also divine intermediaries between the human world and the gods. In Dorylaeum, Hosios and Dikaïos are called *angeloi* of Apollo (Helios) in a dedication made by three subordinated of the gods (ὑποτακτικοί θεῶν) on behalf of their *synoikoi* (*SEG* 41.1185).²³ They are very often associated to Helios in the inscriptions and especially in the iconography, where they appear under the bust of Helios as subordinated to him.²⁴ Represented and conceived as only one god or as two different gods depending on the place where it is found, this divine being that represents two very important moral virtues in Phrygia²⁵ is especially well attested precisely in the area of Cotyaeum, Appia, Nacolea, Aizanitis and Dorylaeum, where it probably originates.²⁶ Hosios and Dikaïos are usually invoked on behalf of the village, the family, even of ἄνθρωποι in general (Ricl 1991, no. 56) or ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐλπιδῶν (Ricl 1991, no. 83), but also as judges and avengers, as in Ricl 1991, no. 102 where the divinity is called κριτής, or in no. 103 (see the vindictive expression χεῖρας ἀείρω), or in no. 88 (Ὅσιον Δίκεσον, / Ἥλιε κύριε, ὑμεῖς ἐκδικήσατε αὐτὴν νεκράν). The many different roles played by Hosios and Dikaïos in the epigraphic evidence, the many different forms they (he) show(s) in the iconography, the fact that they (he) appear(s) as an independent deity and also as a deity subordinated to another one, as one or two different deities, and even as attributes of

²¹ On the different interpretations concerning concrete parts of this inscription, and also on its general religious affiliation, see Hirschmann 2004. See also above n. 17.

²² Mitchell 1993, 39–40, 104–05; Hirschmann 2005 on pagan antecedents and on the prophetic character of the Montanist sect.

²³ Hosios and Dikaïos is also called *angelos* (of Men) in an inscription from Maionian Saittai (*TAM* VI, 151, cf. 185). On the divine or angelical nature of Hosios and Dikaïos, see Ricl 1992, 97–101; Cline 2011, 65–70; Belayche 2013, 253–59; Horsley and Luxford 2016, 157–59.

²⁴ Bust of Helios, in most cases in the main side or in the top of the iconographic field: Ricl 1991, nos. 21, 22, 42, 46, 47, 48, 50, 82, 83, 90, cf. 23, 24; 2008 nos. 20, 21, 25, 27, 58. Helios in chariot: Ricl 1991, nos. 19, 25, 27. Explicit relation to Helios (or Apollo) in the inscriptions: Ricl 1991, nos. 23, 24, 29, 32, 44, 85, 95, cf. 25; 2008, no 21; *SGO* 16/35/01. Hosios and Dikaïos or horseman with solar crown: Ricl 2008, nos. 29, 32. All evidence come from Phrygia Epictetus.

²⁵ Mitchell 1993, 25–26.

²⁶ On this divinity and the different forms of its iconographic representation and of its denomination, see Ricl 1992.

another god, show the complexity of the religious world in the areas where this divinity is attested. The communication with the divine world was a normal aspect of everyday life, and it took many different forms and different intermediaries, including living *prophetai* and dead persons. Hosios and Dikaioi can act as messenger (*angelos*) of Helios or Men, and can also represent the god's *dynamis*.²⁷

The hierarchical representation of the gods in the stele that we see in the dedications to Hosios and Dikaioi in this area – and also in the already commented consecration of the deceased to Hecate – is a very clear expression of that hierarchical divine world where some gods are subordinated and act as intermediaries of other gods. It is significant that in many inscriptions referring to Hosios and Dikaioi, and in the reliefs of this divinity and of the dedications to Hecate in this area, the bust of Helios as main god of justice and vindication is at the top of the hierarchy.²⁸

A well-known funerary phenomenon in Anatolia is indeed the addition of an imprecation to the epitaph. Some imprecations are mostly distributed throughout Anatolian territory, but there are some that appear in a closer delimited area. In the Epictetus regions of Kadoi, Aizanoi, Cotyaeum, Appia-Soa, Nacolea, Dorylaeum, there is a very well attested imprecation whose main elements are a protasis type *τὸς ἄν προσοίσει χεῖρ[α] τὴν βαρύν[φ]θονον* ('whoever puts his evil hand') and an apodosis such as *τέκνων ἁώρων περιπέσοιτο συμφορᾶς* ('let the misfortunes of immature dead children fall upon him'). An especial variant of the apodosis is *Ἐκ[ά]της μελαίνης περιπέσοιτο δαίμονιν* ('let the daimones of black Hecate fall upon him') (Appia, Cotyaeum, Metropolis, Alioi-Siocharax-Alistioi).²⁹ Hecate, who appears in many busts with a triple head in this part of Phrygia, is indeed an important funerary goddess in the area. Who are her *daimones*? Some scholars believe that they were the premature dead (*aoroi*).³⁰ The aforementioned variant of this formula supports this idea.

Coming back to a possible ancient cult to the deceased in Phrygia, if we look back to the ancient Phrygian culture, there are really no certain elements that could

²⁷ See de Hoz 1999 on the possibility that the *angelos* represents the *dynamis* of the god (with parallels in Roman Syria, p. 106), but without dismissing the possibility that in some cases, or at the same time, they are minor divinities acting as messengers and intermediaries of a henotheistic god, for which she adduces parallels in the magical papyri. Cf. Belayche 2013, who also considers the term *angelos* a form of expression that designates the divine power, the manifestation of the god, but discards interpretations that see in it the denomination of a subordinated god.

²⁸ On the stratigraphic representation of the 'Phrygian cosmos', see Masségli 2013, 96–99.

²⁹ Strubbe 1997, nos. 181 (with comment), 182, 190, 204, 207, 222.

³⁰ Cf. L. Robert, *CRAI* (1978) 264–66, especially n. 135, on Hecate as protector of tombs and as celestial goddess. He cites the interpretation of Rhode, followed by Lattimore (1942), that the *daimones* of Hecate were the troop of *aoroi*.

support a cult of the dead. Though the ancient rock façades are supposed to be cult monuments dedicated to the Mother Goddess, it is significant that the famous Midas monument – which belongs to the type of rock façade – is dedicated to the Phrygian king with the inscription *ates : arkievais : akenanogavos : midai : lavag-taei : vanaktai : edaes* (Ates --- made it for Midas, lavagetas and vanax). Does he appear here as hero or as divine being? Was he worshipped as a god? But this is of course a particular case referring to an especial personality.³¹ The possibility that a cult to the dead was related to the cult of Cybele has also been considered in other parts of ancient Phrygia.³²

The relation between Phrygians, Thracians, Bythinians and Paphlagonians is very complicated and has been thoroughly discussed. It is nowadays rejected that Phrygians and Thracians are directly related, and there are even no conclusive proofs for a Phrygian migration from the Balkans.³³ On the other hand, there is an undeniable cultural relation between north-western Anatolia and the Balkans, an area where the Graeco-Persian influence was also very strong and unifying between the 6th and the 4th century BC, and where the connections in Roman times continued to be strong.

As a matter of fact, there is a parallel in concepts of the Roman Thracian afterlife with a possible Phrygian cult to the deceased, without this meaning that there was a direct influence in any direction. Funerary and votive reliefs are frequently difficult to distinguish in Roman Thrace, where the deceased is often identified as (*heros*) *athanatos* (*IGBulg* 1² 345, 464; II 796; IV 2006), and could even be addressed in prayers for help and protection in simple rituals (*IK Byzantion* 25, 28, S 7–13, etc.).³⁴ In ancient Thrace, there are traces of rituals in front of the tombs, which were like houses or shrines inside a tumulus. Some scholars consider these as passage rites necessary to achieve the new status of the deceased as *anthropodaimon* and

³¹ On the Midas monument, and the possibility that this dedication was made by the Lydian king Atys for political reasons in order to show the relation between the Lydian and Phrygian dynasty (see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 126–31; 2009, 17).

³² For discussion of the evidence and former bibliography, see Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 155–57. In Paphlagonia, where a strong Phrygian influence has been accepted, tombs have a hybrid character. They are like temples from outside and have a central figure in their pediment very much like the Phrygian Matar, flanked by animals, or a lion, which is evidence of a funerary function of the goddess (for an overview on this question, see Vassileva 2012).

³³ Tsatskheladze 2007; Grace 2015. On the similarities in the tombs, see Tsatskheladze (1998, especially 66–67, 78), who has suggested that Anatolian and Black Sea kingdoms had similar geographical conditions and political structures, thus that similar funerary customs and material culture could emerge independently. Moreover, Ionian Greeks participated in the construction and decoration of tombs in both areas.

³⁴ Rabadjiev 2015. See, for instance, *IK Byzantion* 25: "Ἡρωι Στομιανῶ/ Μῆνις · ὑπὲρ · τοῦ · υἱοῦ / Ἀριστοβούλου ἐν[χ]ήν].

sometimes as divine ancestor. Another element of what Vassileva calls the ‘Thracian-Phrygian cultural zone’³⁵ is in fact the solar cult, which ceased in Thrace in the 6th century BC but was revived in Roman times. Ancient Phrygian step monuments have a semi-circular disc at the top, sometimes in places with very difficult access and other times in big spaces with easy access where many people could gather. In most of them they were facing east toward the sunrise. This has been interpreted as a cult of a masculine divinity previous to the cult of the Mother goddess.³⁶ We cannot ignore the importance that the solar god has in the inscriptions and iconography of Roman Phrygia Epictetus. A cult to the dead, like a solar cult, can easily emerge in different cultures independently, but the fact that there are certain proofs of the deceased becoming immortal heroes whom mortals could pray in a culture that has so many common traces with the Phrygian one, supports the idea of a Phrygian belief in the intermediary role of the deceased between the human world and the gods. As a matter of fact, it is also in Roman Thracia (Mesambria/ Nesebar) where we find a funerary inscription (*IGBulg* I² 345), albeit metric, where the deceased is directly identified with the goddess Hecate and is said to have passed from mortal to immortal condition (ll. 1–4): ἐνθάδε ἐγὼ κεῖμε Ἐκάτη/ θεὸς ὡς ἐσορᾷς· | ἤμην τὸ/ πάλαι βροτός, νῦν δὲ ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως.³⁷

According to Pfuhl and Möbius, in the Greek East, and especially in Asia Minor, the denomination as *heros* is not ‘leerer Schall’, and representation of gods with or without the deceased in funerary reliefs of Hellenistic and Roman times are not frequent.³⁸ As exceptions, the authors mention the busts of Helios, Selene and /or the Dioskouroi, and Hecate and/or Men together with the busts of the deceased in some funerary reliefs. Almost all of these reliefs come from Phrygia Epictetus.³⁹ We could add the appearance of the lions of Cybele or the eagle of Zeus in the pediments over a temple’s entrance as further exceptions. Significantly, these elements appear mostly on doorstones from Phrygia Epictetus.⁴⁰ The lions of Cybele are, like

³⁵ Vassileva 1998, 15–16.

³⁶ Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 161–66. Cf. Tsetskhladze 2007.

³⁷ It is difficult to establish its antiquity, but the funerary formula ζῶν καὶ φρονῶν, that belongs to ancient Phrygia Epictetus together with Bithynia-Paphlagonia, the Phrygian East together with Galatia and further south in Pisidia, Lycaonia and Pamphylia, is mostly attested in a non-Anatolian area corresponding to Thrace-Moesia and Scythia Minor. It seems that it follows the ancient communication route from the Balkans into Bithynia that moves further to Phrygia Epictetus, West Galatia and to the south as far as Pisidia and Lycaonia through Phrygia Paroreia.

³⁸ Pfuhl and Möbius 1977, 47–48.

³⁹ They also mention as exception the appearance of the Nature Goddess (whom in the comment to the relief they call Persian Artemis) in one side, and the deceased on horse and in chariot, in the other side of a stele from Dorylaeum (no. 2). If this is really a funerary stele, it could be an early evidence of the link between the deceased and the god from the time of the Midas façade.

⁴⁰ On doorstones, see recently Kelp 2013; 2014.

the mention of the sceptre of Men in Lydian inscriptions or of gods in imprecations all over Anatolia, a way of putting the tomb under the protection of the god. But they probably also stress the idea that the god is the owner of that “house” where the deceased is going to live. The grave and its area are consecrated to the divinity, as we have seen in the inscription of Brogimaros. The depiction of the deceased sometimes in the same place could also relate that meaning of ownership, and the depictions of objects of the mortal life could strengthen the idea of continuity of life in the divine world. It is also significant that it is in doorstones where many of the New Phrygian inscriptions have been found.

Most of the particularities concerning the belief in different forms of communication and intermediaries between gods and men presented here are known from other places, and especially from other areas of Asia Minor. Henotheistic divinities such as Helios and Men, and divine beings such as Hosios and Dikaïos or Angelos are known in other areas of Central Anatolia and in the Balkans. The funerary role of Hecate is much further extended in the Greek world. The intensity of their evidence is nevertheless particularly noteworthy in Phrygia Epictetus, where also prayers to the deceased and especial honours from the gods to living and dead persons are attested. If we add possible antecedents in ancient Phrygian culture, and parallels precisely in areas that are known to have a especial ancient and direct contact with the Phrygian culture, I think that we can be certain that an ancient and particular conception of the afterlife survives in Roman Phrygia Epictetus related to a particular link between gods and men, and to a hierarchical structure of the divine world. We cannot assert a belief on the divinisation of the deceased, but I think it is beyond doubt that some families and localities considered that the dead entered the world of the gods and became intermediaries between gods and mortals, and that they could receive prayers on behalf of the family and ensure protection of their lands and their belongings. This may be just an ancient Anatolian belief that survives only in Phrygia, but has isolated traces in evidence elsewhere. The dead son of Epikrates in the inscription from Nakrason appeared to his father giving him instructions concerning the funerary territory.⁴¹ According to these instructions, the funerary territory should become sacred, and thus, productive. Brogitaros, the priest of Zeus in the inscription of Nacolea, dedicates the funerary enclosure to the god so that his family and descendants enjoy a productive land, as it is expressed in the New Phrygian part of side A. In side D, the now deceased Brogimaros says that he rests in sacred fruits (ἐ[ν]θα νέμω ἱεροῦς ἐνὶ καρποῦς). The prayers to Zeus Bronton and the deceased are on behalf of the family and the land. In these rural areas of inner Anatolia the deceased and the funerary

⁴¹ Cf. above p. 143 with n. 9.

plots were used as media to attain wellbeing for the family, and fertility of the family land from the gods. The fact that Phrygia Epictetus is one of the nucleuses of New Phrygian inscriptions, of Phrygian influence in Greek inscriptions, and of evidence for ancient Phrygian onomastic, supports the idea that ancient religious and afterlife beliefs have also survived here.⁴² In a New-Phrygian inscription from Dorylaeum (*MAMA* V, list I (i), 182, no. 89) the name Mithraphatas ('protected by Mithra') appears together with Pountas Bas (Bas from Pontus?) and with Mas Temrogeios (Men of the Tembris?). It has been interpreted as a theonym because of its appearance together with the other two theonyms, but is a well-known Persian personal name with Greek parallels in Anatolia.⁴³ Though it is not certain, we cannot dismiss the possibility that this instance may be evidence of a hero-cult. The fact that it is written in Phrygian and that Bas and Mas are two ancient Anatolian (Phrygian?) gods may support the idea that the hero cult is also a trace of ancient Phrygian religion.

Prosaic rural evidence – such as the dedications to Zeus Bronton and the deceased or the dedications of the dead to Hecate – found in an area where other ancient Phrygian elements survive, can thus help to shed some light on the ancient elements that populate the exceedingly complicated religious landscape of Roman times, and to further understand the development of Graeco-Roman religion in the Imperial period.

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Abbreviations

<i>CIG</i>	A. Boeckh, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecorum</i> , I–IV (Berlin 1828–77).
<i>I.Iznik</i>	S. Sabin, <i>Katalog der antiken Inschriften des Museum von Iznik (Nikaia)</i> (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien 9–10) (Bonn 1979–87).
<i>IGBulg</i>	G. Mihailov, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> I–V (Sofia 1956–97; I ² : Sofia 1970).
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat <i>et al.</i> , <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> , I–IV (Paris 1911–27).
<i>IK Byzantion</i>	A. Łajtar, <i>Die Inschriften von Byzantion</i> , I (Bonn 2000).
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , I–VIII (Manchester/London 1928–62).
<i>SGO</i>	R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber, <i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> I–IV (Stuttgart/Leipzig 1998–2002).
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i> (Vienna 1901–).

⁴² For the extension of New Phrygian, see Brixhe 1993, 328; cf. Brixhe 2002 on especial features of the Greek language in the area, and especially 254–56 on social implications from the New Phrygian inscriptions. On Phrygian onomastics, see Innocente 1997; Brixhe 2013; Avram forthcoming.

⁴³ On the interpretation of this three 'theonyms', see Lubotsky 1997. I thank Bartomeu Obrador for this reference, and for the information that the interpretation of the name as theonym is based on content reasons, not linguistics, and his suggestion that it is a personal name.

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THE IMAGE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT IN SMALL-FORM ART IN BACTRIA (AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE DEPICTION OF A WARRIOR ON THE GOLD CLASP FROM TILLYA TEPE)

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Abstract

Unlike in mainland Greece and Asia Minor, Hellenistic culture in Central Asia has left rather few portraits. Nevertheless, they are to be found on small-form objects, especially coins but also metalwork, carved gems, terracottas, carved ivory, etc. This article attempts to trace the popular image of Alexander the Great in small-form works found in archaeological sites in Central Asia.

Among the monuments of the ancient art in Central Asia the images of Alexander the Great constitute a small but representative collection.¹ The obverse of tetradrachms and drachms of first Seleucids, Seleucus I and Antiochus I, show the head of a deified king Alexander-Heracles wearing a lion's scalp with a turn to the right and the name on the reverse (Alexander or Seleucus), marking the continuity and the legitimacy of the authorities of the Seleucids.² The same image we see in later anepigraphic coins, but with slightly warped details.³ In the later period, these types of imitation undergo iconographic degradation and are of reduced weight.⁴ Importantly, the image on the obverse of imitations remains the same, although the details become less recognisable. This may indicate the duration of the long use of this image. However, it is difficult to say whether the semantic background of the image persisted or if the original meaning was lost. The image of

¹ For the global phenomenon of Greek influence in the art of the East, see Boardman 1994; 2015.

² On a recent summary of work on Seleucid numismatics, see Houghton *et al.* 2002.

³ Zeymal 1983, 77–80; Omelchenko 2001, 14–15; Abdullaev 2007, fig. 1.

⁴ Finds of coins imitating drachms of the Alexander type have been made in southern Sogdia and, in particular, in the Kitab-Shahrisabz district of the Kashkadarya region of Uzbekistan. Some finds come from cultural layers, providing the context more or less precisely to link these coins to the historical and cultural region. For example, near the village Bugazhil (Omelchenko 2003), a small mound near the Dzhartepa contained an imitation Alexander drachm, diameter 16.0 mm, weight 4.6 g (see Omelchenko 2001, 14–15).

Alexander-Heracles is widespread, not just in monetary iconography.⁵ The find of a magnificently executed relief on the ivory from Takhti Sangin with a portrait of Alexander-Heracles⁶ indicates the popularity of the image of Alexander the Great in other kinds of art. In this article an attempt is made to analyse the iconography of one of the objects from the necropolis of Tillya Tepe (Afghanistan),⁷ which gives us a possibility of distinguishing another hypostasis of Alexander.

Tillya Tepe and Bactrian Art Traditions

Before proceeding to the analysis of the object,⁸ it seems reasonable to give a general description of the monument itself and the archaeological context in which the object was discovered.

The burials of Tillya Tepe, discovered in northern Afghanistan (Shiberghan province) by a Soviet team under the leadership of Victor Sarianidi in 1978, caused a sensation with their abundance of highly artistic works made of precious metals, mainly gold. The objects share one common feature – they are all household items, jewellery and clothing of the deceased, i.e. they can be considered as objects of the funeral complex. The Tillya Tepe complex includes various categories of artistic product, reflecting the main trends in the development of craftsmanship at the time of burial. The chronological anchor is the numismatic finds: 1st century BC–1st century AD. Most other items securely fit into this framework, with the upper date confirmed by the coins, which give a *terminus ante quem* the lower date is compatible for most of the items, but there are certain patterns, for example glyptic and toreutics, that can be dated to earlier than the 1st century BC.

Stylistically and thematically in part, the complex of Tillya Tepe can be divided into the following categories. The first group includes objects made under the strong influence of the Hellenistic pictorial tradition: themes that were originally Greek, but transformed in appearance, thus perhaps in meaning. In this category we can include a composition depicting the procession of Dionysos,⁹ the image of Triton, Cupid on a dolphin, a nude Aphrodite, Psyche and Cupid, heavily armed infantry soldier/hoplite in armour. The present article is dedicated to precisely the last image. One important feature of this category should be emphasised – namely, all the objects are made in the local Bactrian traditions. This is expressed primarily

⁵ Abdullaev 2007.

⁶ Pichikian 1991, 189–94.

⁷ Sarianidi 1985; 1989.

⁸ In particular, this subject is examined in a number of papers (see, for example, Schiltz 2008; Boardman 1994, 113; 2003, 355; Grenet 2012, 4).

⁹ For depictions of the Dionysian circle in Central Asia, see Abdullaev 2005.

in different artistic methods of treating certain elements.¹⁰ It is present in all the evidence, including individual and household items that, in their form and functional characteristics, tend to Greek culture.

The second category of objects relate to the so-called nomadic cultural attributes of the vast expanse of Central Asia up to the Altai, Siberia and on to the borders of western China. The works of this group exhibit show not only the characteristics of the so-called Animal Style, but are so diverse in their subject matter that their attribution sometimes becomes difficult. They could either be works of Bactrian masters or have been brought from remote regions of Central Asia. This style leaves its mark on the subjects of Greek origin. It is expressed, for example, in the use of such elements in the ornamentation of Animal Style as the dot-and-comma.

More definitely, we can talk about some forms of vessel (the gold cup) that clearly arise from Bactrian toreutics. With these one can include, for example, a cylindrical object where the decorative solution approaches the motifs of Graeco-Bactrian art (vine shoots on the middle register and the bottom is ornamented in the form of tongues) and a type of miniature vessel of Greek pyxis-shape decorated with garlands of laurels.¹¹ All of these ornamental motifs are characteristic of Hellenistic art. It is specifically that this category of object typically displays the influences of different visual traditions.

Some objects have features usual in Chinese art. Others were created under influences clearly arising from the Indian subcontinent. All of this transmits the prevailing iconic complex, typical for the late Hellenistic period in Central Asia (2nd century BC–2nd century AD) and resembles a sort of *style Romano* of the region.

Finally, less representative than the majority of other objects is a third category of artistic craftsmanship, obviously imported: Chinese mirrors and other specimens created under the strong influence of the Chinese pictorial tradition.

In describing the figurative complex of Tillya Tepe, we should emphasise one important feature – the large extent of depictions of Greek origin. But originally Greek images were subjected to such a strong transformation that their initial meaning was erased and eroded, betimes gathering a lot of new details.¹² All of this complicates the question of attribution. In this category falls the find from Tillya Tepe of clasps with the image of a warrior.

¹⁰ For example, the mode of representing drapery, specifically on female images in terracotta depictions as well as in wall-paintings (Fayaztepa), is a compelling argument in favour of the local origin of the Tillya Tepe complex (Abdullaev 2003).

¹¹ It should be noted that the miniature vessel carries a Greek inscription which transmits the weight value of the object.

¹² Abdullaev 2016.

Alexander-Ares in Tillya Tepe

The clasps were found in burial no. 3 among others, which gives reason to believe that each pair was intended for a fee and that the deceased was in a multi-layer garment. The fasteners, which will be discussed below, are two rectangular open-work plates, connected to each other by means of specially soldered hooks and a couple of loops.¹³ Their faces are made in the combined technique with high relief. On the reverse side of the plates correspond to the contour of the face with holes set through. On the plate with the hook the personage's head is turned in three quarters. Double images are turned against each other, turned right and left, respectively.

The standing figure is framed by floral ornaments in the form of a garland (Fig. 1). The garland covers the central part of the composition on three sides (top and sides). He stands on the ground, which is denoted by three decorative strips, the top of which is a series of elongated rectangular slots, alongside each other. The middle strip is depicted in the shape of a chain of diamond-shaped figures with the point in the centre. Finally, the lower strip is a horizontal line of egg-shaped ornament. At the bottom of the composition, on either side of the feet standing person, ravenous creatures of fantastic type are depicted: in appearance they resemble a dragon with small wings of triangular shape. Their heads are turned towards each other, the curved body decorated with dot-and-comma. Above their heads is a garland consisting of an alternating motif of three-pointed leaves, tapered at the base of the transverse tape. Such an ornamental motif is typical of the Hellenistic period, and is often found in the decoration of toreutic pieces (2nd–1st century BC).¹⁴ In the corners of the upper part of the composition are located two birds. They are small, but judging by their large heads and powerful beaks, highlighted with a curved end in lower part, they may be birds of prey (kite, golden eagle?).

The warrior is dressed in so-called 'muscle' armour/breastplate; in the upper part of the stomach and under the chest a strap is visible, which is sealed by a node in the centre. Against the background of the armour embossed lines depict a fairly complex system of straps and sword-belts. Under the horizontal line of the belt encircling the torso below the breasts passes obliquely another belt, as if drawn down by the weight of the sword. To the last a small strap is attached, as shown a semi-circular strip in shape of a relief line, which threaded in the slide scabbard of a short sword.¹⁵ The handle of the sword is decorated with the head of a griffin, a

¹³ Sarianidi 1989, 73.

¹⁴ Pframmer 1993, 17, 110, fig. 12B, 142.

¹⁵ Such a method of fastening with slide scabbard has ancient roots and dates back to the 7th–6th centuries BC. According to Trousdale, this practice originated in and spread from the Southern Urals and adjacent territories. Having penetrated into Europe, it survived until the early Middle Ages; in

practice apparently widespread in the Hellenistic East. In Central Asia, we have the closest analogy: a real sword handle in ivory, discovered at the site of Takhti Sangin (southern Tajikistan).¹⁶ The only difference is in the griffin's head: that on the Til-lya Tepe clasp is slightly upturned; the Takhti Sangin example shows the head looking down.

The hips of the warrior are protected by a knee-length skirt with two rows of trapezoidal plates (*pterygium*). And lower down, the first thing that comes to mind is *knemides* – protective armour for the legs, thus corresponding to a complete outfit of an infantry soldier. However, a more detailed analysis of the image forces us to abandon this assumption. First of all, two thick, apparently, leather straps tied under the kneecap and fastened around the ankle strap with a longitudinal oval relief in place of their weave. These details more closely resemble leather sandal-strapping encircling the leg, ornamented on the foot by a diamond pattern.

On the chest, a thick triangular fold indicates a cloak throw back; on the left shoulder the folds of the cloak are fastened by a crescent-shaped fibula (clasp).¹⁷

An important iconographical element is the fluttering bends of the diadem. On the right plate is a well-traced wide curved strip, following behind the head (helmet) and down to the spear to approximately the level of the wrist of the right hand. The other end of the band is shown in shape of a short strip. It links the helmet with the shield and the edge of the frame. The left plate shows the bands of the diadem in the shape of curved strips, one of which follows from the back of the helmet to the top of the shield. On the right side the ends of the diadem are shown by short strip bent upwards. Apparently, the diadem was tied under the helmet in a similar manner to the helmeted image of the Graeco-Bactrian king Eucratides on a 20 stater coin (Fig. 2).

Of particular interest is the headdress, namely the helmet. Here is how the publisher Sarianidi describes it:

At the head wearing a helmet, scalloped edges of which are decorated with swirls; top hat has four circular recess – perhaps, with semi-precious stones, which, however, have not been inserted. Between the two pairs of grooves extends upwards a tapered horn. On

Asia, at some point in the first centuries AD, it was replaced by another, more efficient, fixture on two points (Trousdale 1975, 218). Note, however, that this remarks are focused mainly on long swords, while short swords, as in our example, may have some distinctive details.

¹⁶ A similarly decorated sword was found during excavations of the temple of Oxus (Takhti Sangin). B.A. Litvinskii gives a complete description with the analogy and bibliography (Litvinskii 2010, 88–105).

¹⁷ It should be noted that a fibula of Roman *lunula* type was unearthed in Sector 7 of the Dzhandavlattepa site in southern Uzbekistan (northern Bactria) (see Abdullayev *et al.* 2013, 27).



Fig. 1: Clasps with the image of a warrior from Tillya Type (Afghanistan), 1st century BC–1st century AD (after Sarianidi 1985, fig. 81; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).



Fig. 2: Profile portrait of Eucratides on his gold coin (20 stater) (after Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 16, 25; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).



Fig. 3: Gold jewellery (brooch) with the image of Athena, Tillya Tepe, 1st century BC–1st century AD (after Sarianidi 1985, fig. 73; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).



Fig. 4: Head of warrior on the clasp (detail) from Tillya Tepe (after Sarianidi 1985, fig. 82; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).

top of the helmet gently meanders a long plume. The helmet was attached to the head with a belt passed under the chin.¹⁸

Such a rare element in the design of the helmet as the 'belt' deserves closer examination. If we take this detail as a belt, then it looks unusually wide. The surface of the 'belt' is divided into two parts, the upper of which is close to an elongated trapezoid in shape with relief and recessed edges allocated a slot. The lower portion has a similar shape, but tapering downwards, which passes under the chin. It is difficult to say whether this detail had any protective function in addition to acting as a fastening (for example, a cheek-protector). But it is unlikely, for here the cheek remains open and a broad strap covers the neck of the character. Nevertheless, this does not exclude a protective function. In this respect, the closest analogy is another find from the same burial (Tillya Tepe no. 3). This is a gold-cast object (medallion, brooch(?), 16 × 12 × 6 mm) with the figure of Athena, which is confirmed by a Greek inscription.¹⁹ Athena is depicted at full length; facing right with outstretched right hand; no attribute can be traced (Fig. 3). In her right hand she holds a spear and shield. The most remarkable thing for us is the shape of the helmet with brims, resembling a kind of Boeotian helmet, but with a strap extending in a similar manner under the chin. It is possible that here we have a version of the helmet, characteristic of the Bactrian region of the 1st century BC–first centuries AD.

With regard to the interpretation of the image on the Tillya Tepe clasp, Sarianidi notes:

As you can see, on the buckle is shown a warrior in full battle garb, in cuirass, typical for Graeco-Roman weapons... The helmet is rather distinguished by different classical types and especially by twisted plume. Analogies are unknown to us, although a similar plume in shape of a 'horse's tail' adorns the helmet of Menelaus on the famous group statue of 'Menelaus with the body of Patroclus', and especially the helmets on the relief depicting riders battle with the Amazons. But, no doubt, if not identical, the most similar type shows a plume protruding from the top of the 'Macedonian' helmet of the Graeco-Bactrian king Eucratides.²⁰

Sarianidi associates the

common iconographic composition of Tillya Tepe's buckles with images of some of the Kushan coins and in the first place, the coins of Kanishka, where the reverse has an image of a frontal standing Asian deity Orlagno, with a bird, crowning his head, with a spear in his hand and a sword with a handle in shape of bird's head. It seems it is by accident

¹⁸ Sarianidi 1989, 74.

¹⁹ Sarianidi 1985, 78, 32, fig. 73; 1989, 79–80, fig. 29.3.

²⁰ Sarianidi 1989, 76.

that in the famous inscriptions of Nimrud Dag the ancient Iranian deity is associated with Hercules and Ares. Perhaps it is abstract image of a warrior, but similar in style to figure of Nysean rhytons identified by experts as the image of war god Ares.²¹

Let us return to the image on the Tillya Tepe clasp and try to look at it in a somewhat different perspective. The most notable part of the image is undoubtedly the helmet. It is manifestly a complicated structure and it is not surprising that it is not easy to choose a more or less accurate analogy. The configuration of the helmet clearly combines elements of different helmets of antiquity. Its scalloped edges resemble more Boeotian helmets.²² It is particularly difficult to define the top of the helmet. I beg to differ with Sarianidi that before us is a twisted plume. This is contradicted by both the unnatural twisted shape of the plume and the method of representing it. First, in section it is clearly round – at the base it has a wider shape as if it comes from the top of the helmet (Fig. 4). Secondly, the important point in the configuration of the helmet is that the upper part extends in the shape of a tubular relief with a gradual narrowing towards the end. We see neither a separated plume nor its attachment to the helmet in a manner familiar in Greek art, i.e. the solid part continues the upper hemispherical part of the helmet. In any case, it is difficult to relate a similar shape with a ponytail or a plume on Greek helmets with a completely different texture. In this regard, the depiction of this part on the helmet of Eucratides forms a perfect contrast to the helmet on the Tillya Tepe example (see Fig. 2). To the right and left of this detail there are large parts of the insertion slots, and below the ‘plume’ comes another detail sharpened form, which the author calls the horn. Such a combination of details located on the top surface of the helmet is complex and has not received a proper interpretation – and the combination of ‘horns’ and the ‘plume’ in this case is somewhat unusual.

In my opinion, the ‘horn’ and ‘soft plume’ convey nothing other than the head of an elephant, with tusk and twisted trunk – the surface of the latter is underlined by point depressions transmitting its rough skin texture. In this case it is easy to explain also the curled element with round cross-section and ‘horn’, which actually depicts the tusk. Certainly, it should be considered a great transformation of the details as mentioned earlier, typical for the whole complex of depictions of Tillya Tepe.

Such an interpretation of the helmet radically changes the meaning of the personage as a whole. The image of a warrior from Tillya Tepe is moving sharply away from the iconography of Ares and taking on a completely different meaning. For the representation of the Greek god of war, as well as for the popular Hercules, such

²¹ Sarianidi 1989, 76.

²² Litvinskii and Pichikian 2000, 64–70; Litvinskii 2001, 349–52.

headdress is not typical. A helmet in the form of an elephant's scalp leads us to the gallery of portraits of Alexander in the coin iconography of the early Seleucids (Seleucus I Nicator) and Ptolemies (Ptolemy I Soter).²³ There is every reason to believe that the image of the head on the buckle from Tillya Tepe finds close analogies in the official iconography of Alexander as of the Seleucids and Ptolemies (Figs. 5–7). The convergence of these images takes on full portrait likeness in the presence, as will be shown below, of some distinctive and other common elements of iconography.

We do not know to what extent the image of Alexander conveyed a portrait likeness with a real person, but it certainly exists between the images attributed as portraits of Alexander. Characteristic of almost all of them, with insignificant nuances, are a face with a direct and slightly enlarged nose and wide slit of eyes, as-if-frowning eyebrows modelled in the shape of boldly protruding reliefs, finely delineated but slightly swollen lips, with a typical 'M'-shaped pattern for the upper lip, in combination with a soft rounded chin. Other identifying features are some hollowness of the cheeks, which reached a small recessed area around the mouth and nostrils, accentuated relief muscles and slightly parted lips. All these elements of the portrait on the Tillya Tepe clasp are direct analogies to the portrait of Alexander.

Regarding the peculiarities of the portrait of Alexander, I cannot ignore the remarkably worked ivory *buterol* representing Alexander-Heracles. It was found during excavations at the Oxus temple at Takht Sangin²⁴ and has been fully reflected in the literature.²⁵ The geographical proximity of this site to Tillya Tepe indirectly reveals the general trends in the development of small-form plastic arts in the Bactrian region, in particular portraiture. Let me highlight some of the details of this image. The sculptural treatment of the face and the artistic techniques allow us to bring together this portrait not only with depictions on coins, but with the image of the Tillya Tepe warrior in particular. Here you can see the same oval face with wide slit eyes, deepening around the mouth, the M-shaped pattern of the upper lip, soft chin (Fig. 8).

²³ Houghton *et al.* 2002 II, pl. 6, 101.2, pl. 10, 183, pl. 12, 219, pl. 67, 189.3a; and 222. P. 4. For the tetradrachms, see pl. 1a, 12–16, pl. 1b, 17–18; for the gold staters, see pl. 1b, 22–23; for the silver hemiobols, see pl. 1b, 21; for the tetradrachms, see pl. 2a, 5–6, 10–13, 17–20, 22–24; for the drachms, see pl. 2a, 7, 14, 21, 27.

²⁴ A fragment of several vertically stratified thin flakes of ivory found in different parts of cult layer no. 2, in the far north-west corner of the 20 m corridor bypassing the temple, at a depth of 3.5 m from the current surface. The size of bust is 3.3 cm, with width of 2.8 cm.

²⁵ Pichikian 1991, 172–79; Pichikian 2010; Litvinskii 2004, 231–44.



Fig. 5: Seleucid double-daric, Cabine des Médailles de Paris (after Holt and Bopearachchi 2011, fig. 7; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).



Fig. 6: Tetradrachm of Seleucus I, silver, Boysarytepa, Samarkand region, Uzbekistan (after Abdullaev 2007, fig. 1a).



Fig. 7: Ptolemy I, silver tetradrachm. Source unknown.



Fig. 8: Ivory buterol depicting Alexander-Heracles, Takhti Sangin, Tajikistan (modified in Photoshop by author).



Fig. 9: Portrait of Alexander: detail of mosaic from Pompeii depicting scenes of the battle with Darius, last quarter of 2nd century BC, National Archaeological Museum, Naples.

The way of modelling the lion's scalp, particularly the method used to depict the mane in the form of separate strands with hatching (transmitting the texture of the fur), is characteristic of the image on the anepigraphic coins mentioned above. Another interesting detail on the Takhti Sangin ivory is the treatment of the reliefs of the eyebrow and lips on the lion's scalp – they are overly exaggerated, making the eye sockets hard and unnaturally sunken; on the other hand, the eyebrows have a bend, giving the impression of two curved horns.

A geographically remote but surprisingly similar analogy to the portrait likeness for the Tillya Tepe example is the image of Alexander on horseback in the famous mosaic from Pompeii (Fig. 9). The proximity of these two works is expressed not only in facial features but also the likeness of Alexander's armour on the Pompeian mosaic and on the Tillya Tepe clasp, on both a hero wearing breastplate muscle armour, partially draped pleated cape slung over his shoulder, skirt (*pterygium*), and armed with a spear. It should be noted here too that a bronze equestrian statue of Alexander, found in Pompeii,²⁶ has much in common with the mosaic and other monuments of art.²⁷

²⁶ Bronze sculpture (a statuette) from Pompeii with the image of Alexander on horseback.

²⁷ Richardson 2000.



Fig. 10: Gold medallion from Mir Zakah treasure, Afghanistan (after Holt and Bopearachchi 2011, fig 4a; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).



Fig. 11: Tetradrachm of Graeco-Bactrian king Demetrius, silver, 2nd century BC (after Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 14; courtesy of O. Bopearachchi).

Close to the manner of construction of the profile portrait of Alexander is the gold coin from the treasure of Mirzahak (Afghanistan), published by Bopperachchi and Flandrin,²⁸ except for an obscure tiny relief (fold, creating the impression of double hump?) located just below the bridge of the nose, which can be explained by defects in the workmanship (Fig. 10).

However, small differences in the image of the elephant's scalp should be noted. For example, the trunk of a trumpeting elephant is differently represented as if raised up to bend forward. The tusks sticking out from under the trunk also come forward, unlike the Tillya Tepe depiction where the tusk is depicted a little to the side. At the same time there is no doubt about the similarity of some of the details of the portrait on the coin of Ptolemy and the image from Tillya Tepe. Similar, for example, is the manner of treatment of the finely cut lips and the base of the nose. The wide shape of the eyes and a straight nose with rounded soft chin can be seen in both images.

Chronologically later are the coins of the Graeco-Bactrian king Demetrius, whose most representative portrait is decorated with an elephant's scalp. There the elephant's head (Fig. 11) is shown in a similar manner to the coin Ptolemy, i.e. S-shaped trunk curved forward and the presence of one tusk, as opposed to a pair

²⁸ Bopearachchi and Flandrin 2005. On the authenticity of the Alexander Medallion, see Holt 2003; 2011; Stewart 2011.

on Ptolemaic coins. In some instances the eye of the elephant is clearly marked. There is one important difference: whereas the circle of portraits of Alexander (the coin of Seleucus and Ptolemy) have a distinct resemblance to the Tillya Tepe image, the portrait on the coins of Demetrius shows a completely different type of person.

The similarity of the portrait of Alexander on the coins of Ptolemy with the iconography in the Seleucid mint clearly alludes to common origins and the possible existence of a common standard for the imagery of Alexander. Their starting point could be the works of Lysippos and other famous sculptors of the Hellenistic period. In addition to Lysippos, unsurpassed master of bronze casting, who had been granted the exclusive right to represent Alexander, written sources mention Apelles, who is also permitted to transfer Alexander's image in painting, and Pyrgoteles famous stone carver (Pliny *NH* 35, 37. 8).

In coins of the first Seleucids, in particular those minted by Seleucus I and Antiochus I, Alexander appears in the lion's scalp that often associates him with the image of Heracles. The portrait of Alexander on the coins of Seleucus I formed a kind of benchmark, not only in monetary iconography but, as the above examples show, for other kinds of small-form fine art in Central Asia of the Hellenistic period.

The image of the divine warrior on the clasps from Tillya Tepe, which was attributed above as the portrait of Alexander, is supplemented by a number of elements (dragons and birds) that to a certain extent bring it close the image of Ares, whose depiction was very popular in ancient art, specifically in regions affected by the influence of Greek culture and the Graeco-Roman figural traditions. Here we should focus on the image of Ares on Parthian rhytons from Nisa (Turkmenia). These show a fairly stable iconographic scheme in the transmission of the Greek god of war.²⁹ There is no doubt about his identification in groups of other Olympian deities or in other compositions of the same cycle.

Ares is depicted frontally with his left foot extended slightly. He wears a muscular breastplate and protective armour on the hips/thighs in the form of two rows of plates (Fig. 12). The right arm, bent at the elbow and raised up, leans on a spear, while the left holds a sword. The upper part of the sword's handle is decorated in the shape of an eagle or griffin. On his head is a narrowed up helmet with flared base fields. High shoes reach to calves. A long and pleated coat, forming a triangular drape on the chest, curls behind his back and vertical folds fall down. All evidence indicates that it buttons on the right shoulder.

²⁹ Masson and Pugachenkova 1956, pls. III, VI, XIII, XXIV and XXX.



Fig. 13: Gold coin (dinar) of the Kushan king Huvishka with depiction of the Shahrevar divinity, 2nd century AD (internet resource).

Fig. 12: The image of Ares on the rhyton from Nisa, fragment, ivory, 2nd century BC (after Masson and Pugachenkova 1959, fig. 30; drawing by author).

In the East, the image of the Greek Ares often merged with local deities, as, for example, with Aflad in the West Parthian complex.³⁰ In the Kushan pantheon the image of Ares with his attributes (dress, shield, sword and spear), presented on coins, can be associated with several characters, such as the already mentioned Orlagno, Shahrevar and Rishto (Fig. 13).³¹ The image of the warlike deity penetrates far beyond the Graeco-Roman world. Anyway, one of the soldiers of Mary, as the Gandhara reliefs from the Lahore Museum illustrate, is very similar to Ares in appearance, right down to the position of the hands.³²

³⁰ Masson and Pugachenkova 1959, 167, fig. 30.

³¹ Göbl 1984, pls. 18 (types 224, 225, 236–238) and 27 (type 369). It should be mentioned that the depiction of a person with a spear and shield and the name Rishto could equally be related to the Greek Athena (see Grenet 1987).

³² Masson and Pugachenkova 1959, 168.

As we have already noted, the image of the Tillya Tepe warrior is flanked by dragons. The artistic mode of their depiction is quite similar to the Chinese tradition, thus leading us to the Eastern figurative and symbolic complex: in this case the dragon has a clear Oriental look, as if alien to the very image of the dragon in Greek mythology.

Ancient sources indicate a direct relationship of the god of war with a dragon: the dragon that guarded the source near Thebes was the son of Ares and Erinys of Telphusa. He was eventually killed by Cadmus, founder of Thebes in Boeotia (Ovid *Metamorphoses* 3. 31–64; Hyginus *Fabulae* 178). The sacred dragon of Ares is associated above all with the chthonic world and represents dark forces. And the very image of Ares was also negatively perceived in Greek mythology. Recall that among the Olympian gods he was unpopular, and even Zeus, his father, called him the most hated of the gods (Hesiod *Theogony* 922; Ps.-Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* I-3. 1). Meanwhile, the image of the dragon in Chinese art and mythology has a completely different and even opposite meaning: it is associated with the image of light, reassurance, with heavenly power and water elements.³³

I should also add that the attributes of the god Ares are a hawk, spear, torch and dog. In this regard, the image of pairs of birds of prey closing the upper part of the Tillya Tepe composition has unambiguous meaning, and is consistent with the standard iconographic imagery of this deity. Such mixing of elements in the composition and image suggests, in all probability, the merger of the deified image of Alexander the Great and the Greek god of war Ares (Roman Mars).

An image of Alexander fairly common in the Graeco-Roman repertory has him clad in armour and armed with a spear (like Ares or Athena). A notable example is the relief at the Villa Albani, known to us thanks to the engraving of J.J. Winckelmann.³⁴ The composition represents the scene of the meeting of two of the great men of antiquity against the backdrop of the city wall: the figure of the philosopher Diogenes renouncing worldly goods and fronting throughout in militant greatness the figure of the commander Alexander (Fig. 14).³⁵

Thus, the depiction on the clasp from Tillya Tepe represents Alexander merged with the image of the god of war, Ares, and appears in the form of Alexander-Ares. This is somewhat unexpected in the figurative art of Central Asia and of Bactria in particular.

During his life, Alexander never identified himself with Ares; in the monologue invented by Plutarch, where Alexander apologises to Diogenes because 'I imitate

³³ Polyakov and Kocherygina 2009, 23; Williams 2000.

³⁴ Bol 1992, 116, 293, pls. 80, 81.

³⁵ Abdullaev 2015, 131–34, fig. 4.

Heracles and compete with Perseus and walk in the footsteps of Dionysos, the god-ancestor and great-grandfather' (Plutarch *Alexander* 332-a), Ares is not mentioned. This is understandable and logical from a purely human point. The image of Alexander-Ares became popular after Alexander's death as a result of the understanding of his role by future generations in the later Roman period. Anyway, when Pliny the Elder praises Apelles as one of the outstanding artists of Alexander, he remarks that it 'would be superfluous to recount' how many times he painted Alexander, and that in Rome in the Forum of Augustus there were two of his images of Alexander the Great: one represented the king surrounded by the goddess of victory and the Dioscuri, the other, entitled 'Triumph', portrayed Alexander, and next to him a character with hands tied behind his back, an image of war. In this arrangement the victor, Alexander, acts as a peacemaker. In the reign of Claudius both these pictures were mutilated by order of the emperor, and Alexander's face was replaced by that of Augustus, of whom Claudius was a great admirer (Pliny *NH.* 35, 36. 93–94).

One of the clearest descriptions of a pictorial composition of Alexander and Roxana is left by Lucian of Samosata (2nd century AD), talking about the artist Aetion who presented his painting 'The Marriage of Roxana and Alexander', a painting so delightful that the organiser of the Olympic races, Proksenides, gave his daughter in marriage to the artist:

It must have been a very wonderful picture, I think I hear some one say, to make the High Steward give his daughter to a stranger. Well, I have seen it – it is now in Italy – so I can tell you. A fair chamber, with the bridal bed in it; Roxana seated – and a great beauty she is – with downcast eyes, troubled by the presence of Alexander, who is standing. Several smiling Loves; one stands behind Roxana, pulling away the veil on her head to show her to Alexander; another obsequiously draws off her sandal, suggesting bed-time; a third has hold of Alexander's mantle, and is dragging him with all his might towards Roxana. The King is offering her a garland, and by him as supporter and groom's-man is Hephaestion, holding a lighted torch and leaning on a very lovely boy; this is Hymenaeus, I conjecture, for there are no letters to show. On the other side of the picture, more Loves playing among Alexander's armour; two are carrying his spear, as porters do a heavy beam; two more grasp the handles of the shield, tugging it along with another reclining on it, playing king, I suppose; and then another has got into the breast-plate, which lies hollow part upwards; he is in ambush, and will give the royal equipage a good fright when it comes within reach.

All this is not idle fancy, on which the painter has been lavishing needless pains; he is hinting that Alexander has also another love, in War; though he loves Roxana, he does not forget his armour. And, by the way, there was some extra nuptial virtue in the picture itself, outside the realm of fancy; for it did Aetion's wooing for him. He departed with a wedding of his own as a sort of pendant to that of Alexander; *his* groom's-man was the King; and the price of his marriage-piece was a marriage (*Herodotus and Aetion* 5 and 6, Fowler's translation).

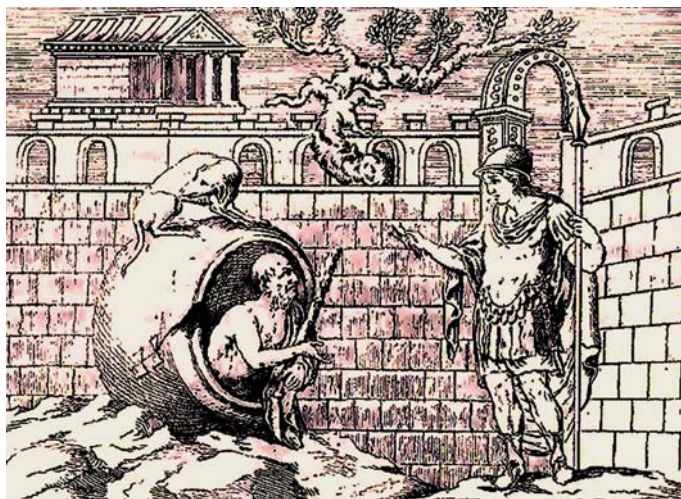


Fig. 14: Engraved relief of Roman time depicting meeting of Alexander and Diogenes, Villa Albani, Italy (after Abdullaev 2015, fig. 4).



Fig. 15: Wall-painting of early IV style from Pompeii depicting Alexander-Ares and Roxana, 1st century AD (internet resource).

The description of the painting and the very image of Alexander clearly hint at his belligerence, hence his closeness to the god of war Ares/Mars. In the same spirit is the composition depicting Alexander and Stateyra (in another version Roxana) on the southern wall murals of the Triclinium in Pompeii.

The athletic figure of a naked person representing Alexander-Ares is reminiscent of a Greek sculpture (Fig. 15): his right hand is raised up clenching a long spear, the left rests on the hilt of a sword; his helmet lies at the feet of Barsine; and the figure of Eros placed between the main characters holds his shield. Behind Alexander there is the figure of a warrior, wrapped in a dark robe and with a shield and spear.

The images that we have touched upon can be arranged in an iconographic series in which the earliest for Central Asia are the coin portraits of Alexander on tetradrachms and drachms of Seleucus I, then the finds of Seleucid coins with the portrait of Alexander in the lion's scalp, then their imitative issues of the so-called type of Alexander, and a final phase followed by an iconographic degradation, all testifying to the fact that in Central Asia, especially in Bactria and Sogdia, this image was quite popular for a long time.

The coins conventionally referred to as 'type of Alexander' were mentioned in the beginning, but this term can be applied to another kind of art, terracotta figurines, mostly surviving in the form of heads or busts.³⁶ Most of them were produced using the combined technique: the torso and sometimes hairstyle are modelled manually, whereas the face is stamped in a mould. The set of facial features that make up the portrait of Alexander are easy to guess (Figs. 16–17): the gaze just above the viewer, the well-developed eyelids and slightly open mouth. This is the 'type of Alexander' in terracotta. These terracotta heads and figures come from the early mediaeval period. Summary analysis of this material permits a fundamentally important conclusion to be drawn: for all the variety of hairstyles and different variants of the torso, the modelling of the face and its expression remains unchanged. This may indicate that a certain master-potter with particular artistic skills in his arsenal possessed the moulds or models to replicate the front of the image. In this case, it is difficult to imagine that primitive figurines with faces stamped in a mould could be associated with Alexander the Great. In all likelihood, these terracottas are an echo of his portraits that once existed in small-form art. At the same time, to a certain extent, they reflect the popularity of Alexander in mass folk art, although the original meaning might have been lost.

Would it be a mistake to suppose that the very image of Alexander created under the influence of the sculpture of the Hellenistic period, epitomised by the striking

³⁶ Meshkeris 1977, pls. X.1, XII.3–4, XXIII.1.



Fig. 16: Fragment of terracotta figurine, Museum of History of Uzbekistan, Samarkand (photograph by author).



Fig. 17: Head of a terracotta figurine, Museum of History of Uzbekistan, Samarkand (after Meshkeris 1977, pl. X, fig. 1).

work of Lysippos, took root in remote corners of the Hellenistic world to serve as a kind of artistic standard. But at the same time it could be developed in particular ways, depending on the artistic potential of the region.³⁷ Perhaps here we see the phenomenon of co-operation brought into account when creating the most socially significant works (the portrait of the king) and the subsequent impact of these works on the visual arts, which bears to a certain extent an imitative character.

The divine warrior, which we attributed as the image of Alexander-Ares, was created in the artistic environment (or in a school or even by a master) that also produced the other parts of the Tillya Tepe complex. In this regard, the question arises of whether the artist consciously recreated in gold a portrait of Alexander or simply endowed the object with heroic features? Even if that is the case, it is created in the style of the portrait of Alexander.

As already noted above, the majority of originally Greek images are far from the perfection of the Classical period and the dynamism of Hellenistic times, and the image of Alexander personifying the god of war Ares is a rare example for Bactrian art. The image of Alexander-Ares-Mars was already introduced after early Hellenistic works when Roman art reinvented the importance of such an outstanding personality as Alexander.

³⁷ For the spread of the image of Alexander the Great in space and time, see Boardman 2015.

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HELLENISATION OR INDIANISATION: A STUDY OF THE YAVANAS*

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Abstract

'Yavanas' (or 'Yonas') in this article refers to the Greeks known by the Indians before the Christian era, particularly the so-called Indo-Greeks. Although hearsay about Greeks in the Mediterranean had been transmitted to India already in the period of the Persian empire, the acquaintance of Indians with Greeks began only with the invasion of ancient India by Alexander the Great. After him some Greeks remained in north-western India. They were called Yonas (from which the Sanskrit 'Yavanas' was derived) in the edicts of King Asoka/Ashoka for the propaganda of Buddhist *dharma*. From the beginning of the 2nd century BC the Greeks in Bactria extended their realm over parts of north-western India and maintained their presence as an ethnic group there for almost two centuries. At the height of power they even marched into the valley of the Ganges. Because they were isolated in India, the Yavanas, while trying to preserve their cultural traditions, necessarily became Indianised themselves in order to be able to rule. They issued bilingual coins, respected the Indian gods and religions, especially Buddhism, and finally stimulated the emergence of Gandhara art. The decline and disappearance of the Yavanas in India was not the result of some victory over them by the Indians but the inevitable consequence of the confluence of Greek and Indian civilisations over a long time. The history of the Yavanas is not only a special part of the history of Hellenistic civilisation but belongs also to the ancient history of the subcontinent.

'Yavanas' ('Yonas')¹ is a common name for the Greeks in ancient Indian literature. It originated from the Old Persian form 'Yauna' denoting the Ionians in Asia Minor, and 'Yavana' is a back-formation of the Prakrit term 'Yona', which in turn derived from 'Yauna'.² Therefore, for Indians, Yavanas or Yonas at first might refer

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¹ Ethnical 'Yavana', pl. 'Yavanas' is a Sanskrit term. In the Chinese Buddhist Sutras, the transliteration of Yavanas is generally rendered as '耶婆那', '耶盘那', '耶槃那', while Yavana in Prakrit appears as 'Yona' and is transliterated in the Chinese Buddhist Sutras as '奥那'.

² Ray 1988, 312.

to the Greeks (i.e. the Ionians), then to the Greeks who settled in Bactria in Central Asia, and later to the Greeks who arrived in India since the time of Alexander, in particular the so-called 'Indo-Greeks' who entered north-western India from the Bactrian kingdom. Although those Indo-Greeks had merged with the Indians around the beginning of the Christian era, the word 'Yavanas' remained in general use in India and simply became the normal name for foreign people from the West,³ who will not be discussed in this article.

Research on the Yavanas probably began in 1735, when the first silver coin of the Graeco-Bactrian king Eucratides was found in India.⁴ Prolonged studies by both Western and Indian scholars, had come to certain conclusions regarding the main problems – but few of these could survive the encounter with new material and with the results of renewed research.⁵ In view of the increasing amount of material from

³ Regarding the Yavanas mentioned in the 1st century AD and later, Otto Stein had assumed that the 'original' Yavanas had by then been absorbed into Indian society, and that there no longer existed a colony of Greeks in India (Stein 1934–35, 356). However, some scholars believe that even at the beginning of the Christian era, the ethnic 'Yavana' could still designate three different groups of foreigners: Greeks, Indo-Greeks and the merchants who came from the Roman East and settled in the peninsula (Ray 1988, 315). As for the Yavana and Yonaka donors responsible for the votive inscriptions in the Buddhist cave temples of the western Deccan, they probably came from the city of Dhenukakata near Junnar in the Pune/Poona district or north of Nasik. Yet this is merely a speculation because a number of problems remain, including from where they migrated before settling in this region, the nature of their occupation, and a host of others (see Lerner 1999–2000; Thosar 1991; Ray 1988; Dhavalikar 1981–84; Karttunen 1997, 297–98).

⁴ This silver coin is a tetradrachm with the Greek inscription: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ ('of the great king Eucratides').

⁵ Theophilus Bayer published his book *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* in 1738. He used written sources as well as two coins of Graeco-Bactrian kings, and came up with six names of Greek kings in Bactria, which was regarded as innovative research on the Bactrian-Indo-Greeks. Since then, apace with an increasing amount of coins, inscriptions and archaeological material, scholarly interest has changed from collecting antiquities to historical research, whilst the subject of that research came to be divided into Bactrian Greeks and Indo-Greeks. In 1912, H.G. Rawlinson still regarded the activities of the Bactrian Greeks in India as a part of Bactrian history (*Bactria: The History of a Forgotten Empire*). But in 1938, W.W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*) consciously distinguished the Greeks of these two countries, a distinction that had already appeared in Tarn 1902, 'Notes on Hellenism in Bactria and India'. The publication of Narain 1957 introduced the Indo-Greeks as an independent research subject. In view of the scarcity of written sources and inscriptions, any conclusion on the Indo-Greeks was questioned by A.K. Narain, especially the historical role of the Indo-Greeks and their attribution. Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (second edition 1951) was a systematic monograph on the Bactrian Greeks and the Indo-Greeks, in which he had collected all available written sources, inscriptions and coins, and absorbed the latest research results. It was once widely considered as the peak of research on the Bactrian and Indian Greeks across centuries, and is still valuable today. In 1984, the American scholar Flank Lee Holt edited and published the third edition of this book (Chicago; revised edition 1997) without any modification, but with the addition of an 'Introduction to Ancient Bactrian Studies' and a 'Bibliography of Recent Research', which included new material and discussion of research after Tarn. The most obvious feature of Narain's book is his

philological studies, numismatics and epigraphy, it is both possible and necessary to review and examine the history of the Yavanas anew, with the special aim of clarifying the processes of mutual understanding, acceptance and integration between Indians and Greeks and between the civilisations they represented. Hellenisation or Indianisation is the focus of this article. So the author tries to give answers to the long-disputed question of whether the Indo-Greeks became 'Indianised' or the Indians became 'Hellenised' in the north-west of India during the period between the conquest in India by Alexander the Great and the disappearance of Indo-Greeks as a special ethnic group around the start of the Christian era, and to what extent those Yavanas played their historical roles in the interactions between two civilisations. So Yavanas or Yonas in this article means mainly the Indo-Greeks and does not include those 'Yavanas' who lived in the south of India in the period after the Christian era here.

The First Appearance of the Yavanas in India

The regular presence of Greeks under the name of Yavanas in India began with the invasion of Alexander. Before that, however, some Indians had already been familiar with Greeks from the eastern Mediterranean mainly through their mutual connection with the Persian empire. In the time of Cyrus the Great (559–530 BC), north-western India (to the west of the Indus) and the Greek city-states in Asia Minor had been brought into the Persian empire. Although those places were far apart, there was room for some exchange of information and occasionally individual contacts.⁶ In fact, the word 'Yavanas' came just from such contacts (which will be explained in detail below). Then, Alexander invaded India, because north-western India had been a part of the Persian empire. It was as a result of his conquest that the splendid and stirring drama of the Yavanas in India could unfold.

opposition to Tarn's views, even though based on the same material. Tarn considered the history of the Bactrian Greeks, including that of the Indo-Greeks, part of Hellenistic history, and regarded their dynasties as Hellenistic dynasties, on a par with the Seleucids, Ptolemies, Antigonids and Attalids. Narain, however, concluded that 'Bactria was not "a fifth Hellenistic state", much less the little Yavana kingdoms in India'. In his view, the history of the Indo-Greeks was a part of Indian history, not Hellenistic history: 'They came and saw, but India conquered' (Narain 1957, 11). Because Tarn happened to pass away in 1957, the debate became to some extent one-sided. In 2003, Narain published a new edition of his book (Narain 2003). This included the text of 1957 with the addition of one chapter, 'The Greeks of Bactria and India', which he wrote for vol. 8 of the *CAH*, published in 1989, his monograph on coin types (Narain 1976), and nine papers as well. The present article is based mainly on the work of these two respectable predecessors.

⁶ A Greek or rather Carian named Scylax (*ca.* 510 BC) explored the Indus estuary on the orders of Darius I, after which Darius I conquered part of the Indians; the army of Xerxes in 480 BC included soldiers from India (Herodotus 4. 44, 7. 65.).

The Persian 'Yauna' from which 'Yavanas' was derived first appears in the Behistun Inscription (inscribed in 519 BC) of Darius I (522–486 BC). When he enumerates the 23 conquered regions, he mentions one named 'Yauna', corresponding to 'Iyauna' in Elamite and 'ia-a-ma-nu' in Babylonian-Akkadian.⁷ The name is obviously related to the word Ἴωνες (*Iāones*, *Iāwones*) or Ἴωνες, which represented Ionians in ancient Greek, and to the word Ἰωνία (Ionia).⁸ According to H.C. Tolman, 'Yauna' could be used as an adjective meaning Ionian and as a substantive referring to Ionians. As a substantive, the single form is Yauna and the plural form is Yaunā. Thus 'Yauna' includes the meaning of 'the land of Ionians'.⁹ Since north-western India as well as the colonies of the Ionians in Asia Minor had been conquered by the Persian empire in the time of Cyrus, the name 'Yauna' had been probably known in India even before the Behistun Inscription was engraved.

The earliest appearance of 'Yavanas' in Indian sources¹⁰ is in *The Ashtadhyayi* of the Sanskrit grammarian Panini, whose time of birth and death are unknown. He came from Salatura, which was near the famous city of Taxila, and his date is commonly placed before the invasion of Alexander. He first mentioned the feminine form of Yavanas – *Yavanānī* (Greek women or Greek script). Since the first introduction of 'Yauna' was not before the reign of Cyrus and Darius I, Panini must have lived in that period or later, but before the conquest of Alexander.¹¹ Moreover, his knowledge of the Greeks may have come not merely from rumour, but perhaps also from actual contact, for his hometown – in north-western India – was not distant from Bactria, where groups of Greeks from Asia Minor had settled.¹² Greek coins had long been prevalent in the eastern Persian empire, in particular Athenian 'owls', but also the coins of other city-states, which have been found in

⁷ Tolman 1908, 5, 119. Cf. Narain 1957, 165, 168. But Narain quotes different words 'ia-u-na' and 'ia-ma-nu' for the origin of Yavanas in Elamite and Akkadian.

⁸ 'Ἴωνες' appeared early in Homer: *Iliad* 13. 685; *Hymn to Apollo* 147. Cf. Liddell and Scott 1996, 815 s.v. 'Ἴωνες' and 847 s.v. 'Ἴων' ('Ἰωνία').

⁹ Tolman 1908, 119.

¹⁰ For the Yavanas in the Indian sources in details, see Karttunen 1997, 316–20.

¹¹ Narain 1957, 1–2.

¹² According to Herodotus, Darius I had forced certain Greek prisoners captured in Libya, namely the Barcaeans, to migrate to Bactria (Herodotus 4. 204). Darius I also threatened the Ionians in Asia Minor that their sons would be castrated, and their daughters exiled to Bactria, if they were not loyal to him (Herodotus 6. 9). It is known that the Persians used to deal with rebellious Greeks by forcing some of them to migrate to Central Asia. But some Greeks went there voluntarily, like the Branchidae mentioned by Strabo. Their family had provided the priests of the Temple of Apollo in Didyma near Miletus, and had been charged with the safety of the temple. They had betrayed the Greeks, however, by offering the treasure of the temple to the Persians. After the Persians had been defeated by the Greeks, they feared the revenge of their compatriots and asked Xerxes to take them along with him. The king granted their request by letting them migrate to Bactria-Sogdiana after 479 BC. Cf. Curtius Rufus 7. 5. 28; Plutarch *Moralia* 557B; Strabo 11. 11. 4. See also Hammond 1998.

Afghanistan.¹³ In 1966, a farmer discovered a pot full of encrusted coins in his field near Balkh. The total amount of the coins could never be ascertained, but at least 150 were seen, and most of them turned out to be Athenian tetradrachms from the classical period. A similar hoard was found on the east side of Kabul in 1933. It may have included 1000 coins of Greek city-states.¹⁴ These must have been brought there by Greeks both as traders and settlers. According to Narain, Panini might have even seen the so-called 'shaven headed' Yavanas, who were probably known as such because, unlike the Indians, they wore their hair short.¹⁵ When Alexander conquered India, Arrian tells us, he came across a city named Nysa between the Cophen and the Indus, where ivy grew on the mountains, and the local residents called themselves descendants of Dionysus, whom they had followed to this place (Arrian 5. 1–2, 8. 1. 4, 8. 5. 8–10, 8. 7. 4–5). Although this was just a tale, it implies that a small group of Greeks had probably entered India before.¹⁶ Such context must have provided the Indians with an opportunity to come into contact with Greeks and at least to get to know them well. Therefore, it is reasonable to date the life of Panini between the later 6th and the 4th century BC, and to assume that the Yavanas mentioned in his book might be those Greeks who had entered into India occasionally or had immigrated to Bactria-Sogdiana no later than his time. Since the Ionians in Asia Minor were the first Greeks they knew, Sanskrit 'Yavanas' and 'Yonas' in Prakrit from Persian 'Yauna' became the common name among the Indians for Greeks.

In 327 BC, Alexander invaded north-western India and opened a new epoch of mutual acquaintance between Greeks and Indians. For many Indians, 'Yavanas' was no longer a name from a remote tale but came to denote newly arrived visitors. Unfortunately, there are few historical records in ancient Indian literature, so we have to reconstruct the activities of Alexander and his successors in India solely by means of the works of Greek and Roman authors. Just as in other regions of the empire, in India Alexander adopted a 'divide and rule' policy, appointing the former Indian princes Porus and Taxiles to govern his newly conquered provinces and at the same time deploying his own troops in some important areas. After the break-up of Alexander's empire, the generals Eudemus and Peithon, who had commanded the garrisons there, withdrew from India in 316 BC, after which north-western India fell under the charge of the Mauryan dynasty. In the words of Strabo (15. 2. 9): 'Alexander took these away from the Arians and established settlements of his own, but Seleucus Nicator gave them to Sandrocottus, upon terms of intermarriage

¹³ Narain 1957, 4.

¹⁴ Holt 2005, 141.

¹⁵ Narain 1957, 1–2.

¹⁶ As Narain said (1957, 2): 'Dionysus may be mythical, but Nysa and its Greeks seem to be real.'

and receiving in exchange 500 elephants.’ Actually it is only a ratification for an established fact of the control of north-west of India. Diplomatic relations between these two dynasties were carried on from then on, and there may have been permanent ambassadors of the Seleucid empire in Pataliputra, the capital of the Mauryan empire,¹⁷ where a department in charge of the affairs of the Greeks and the Persians was also established.¹⁸ Moreover, the withdrawal of troops and the abandonment of the occupation could hardly have meant a complete retreat of the Greeks. Those Greeks who still remained in India were addressed in some of the inscribed edicts of the third Maurya king, Asoka (reigned *ca.* 270/269–232 BC, or *ca.* 260–218 BC).¹⁹

King Asoka at first used the term ‘Yonas’ for the Greeks whom he ruled and knew. In the Second Rock Edict, he says that he has sent herbal medicine to Antiochos (Antiyoka), the Greek king (*Yonaraja*) over his border, and to other neighbouring districts. And in the Fifth Rock Edict, he says that some *Dhamma Mahamatras* (officials in charge of religious affairs) have been appointed by him to bring Buddhist doctrines to the peoples on the western borders in the thirteenth year of his reign, including to the Yonas’. Finally, in the Thirteenth Rock Edict, he clearly enumerates five Greek kings (*Yonaraja*): Antiyoko, Uramaye, Antikini, Maka, Alikasudaro, whose kingdoms are at least as far as 600 yojanas²⁰ or even further away from India, and to whom the *dharma* (the Buddhist doctrine) has been sent. They have been identified as Antiochos II (261–246 BC), Ptolemy II of Egypt (285–247 BC), Antigonos Gonatos of Macedon (278–239 BC), Magas of Cyrene (300–258 BC), Alexander II of Epirus (272–258 BC), all of them contemporary with Asoka. He makes the special remark that ‘There is no country, except among the Greeks, where these two groups, Brahmins and ascetics, are not found, and there is no country where people are not devoted to one or another religion.’²¹ It is clear that Asoka had a good knowledge of the political situation in western Asia and the Hellenistic world of the eastern Mediterranean, as well as of the contemporary

¹⁷ At least two ambassadors came to Pataliputra from the Seleucid kingdom. They were Megasthenes in the reign of Chandragupta, and Deimachus in the reign of his son Bindusara or Allitrochades (Strabo 2. 1. 9).

¹⁸ Strabo 15. 1. 51; see Narain 1965, 164.

¹⁹ These imperial edicts were inscribed on rocks, in stone caves and on columns, and were meant to propagate the Buddhist doctrine and the king’s well-doing and good government under the inspiration of Buddhism (including his regrets for his previous conquests and massacres), thus promoting peace, forgiveness and kindness.

²⁰ Yojana was an ancient Indian unit of length, varying in different periods, generally about 4 to 9 miles. 600 yojanas in the time of Asoka was approximately 3000 miles (see Nikam and McKeon 1959, 29).

²¹ Dhammika 1993, ‘the Fourteen Rock Edicts’: nos. 2, 5, 13.

rulers there. He was also familiar with the religion of the Greeks in his kingdom. Since he knew that they had not been converted to the Indian religion, he found it necessary to propagate the Buddhist doctrines among them with two languages: Greek and Aramaic and to bring them welfare and happiness as long as they would be devoted to *dharma*,²² thereby revealing to them his own desires and dreams. That was the reason that some of these edicts were written in Greek, and others were bilingual Greek and Aramaic.

In 1958 and 1963 or 1964, parts of two rock edicts in Greek were discovered in the old city of Kandahar in Afghanistan.²³ They not only confirmed the presence of Greeks in the Mauryan empire, but proved that these Greeks still preserved their own cultural traditions and religion. Because the edicts in Greek during the period of Asoka have only been found in Afghanistan, we may assume that there were Greek settlers in north-western India, or more accurately in the remote north-western areas of the Mauryan empire, that is in the south-east of modern-day Afghanistan. They were immigrants, engaged in commerce, handicraft, agriculture, etc. It is possible that they lived together, and there may have been a Greek community on the site of the old city of Kandahar, even including scholars. If Asoka intended to translate those Buddhist doctrines (although they were rather simple, without any abstruse ideas) into standard Greek, he had to find someone who knew the two languages thoroughly. Such translators must have been Greeks. It is significant that this bilingual edict uses the word 'εὐσέβεια' (*eusebeia*, piety) to convey the meaning of *dharma*. The concept of 'piety' expressed by King Asoka meant: no killing, moderation and self-restraint, filial piety, reverence for teachers and elders; he promised that if people were persistent in such beliefs, they would be happy in this life and in the hereafter.²⁴ Such preaching of Asoka was undoubtedly hopeful and attractive also to the Greeks living outside his realm. In fact, he must have been friendly towards the Greeks under his rule and hoped that their conversion to Buddhism would bring them a sense of being at home in India. We can imagine that there were certainly new immigrants from the Hellenistic kingdoms among those Greeks in India. Unfortunately, there are no records of the effects of the preaching of Asoka in the areas of western Asia and the Mediterranean, or whether the Greeks in India accepted his message of persuasion. Maybe that was just a dream of Asoka. But it is certain that there were contacts between the Mauryan empire and the

²² Dhammika 1993, 'the Fourteen Rock Edicts': nos. 5, 13.

²³ More precisely, the edict discovered in 1963 or 1964 was written in Greek (its content is an excerpt of the Thirteenth Rock Edict), and the edict found in 1958 is a bilingual in Greek and Aramaic (the latter was introduced in this area during the period of the Persian empire) (see Wheeler 1968, 65–69; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 101–02).

²⁴ Burstein 1985, 67–68.

Hellenistic world outside India during his reign. Contacts and cultural relations with those Greeks were not interrupted.²⁵ It is worth noting that the 'Yonas' in the edicts of Asoka mentioned above included all Greeks, not only the Greeks in India but also those in the eastern Mediterranean. The extension of the term 'Yonas' shows that Indians had become more deeply acquainted with the Greeks.

The Yavana Invasions from Bactria

The Bactrian Greeks entered India at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Shortly before, making use of internal unrest in the Mauryan empire, Antiochus III of Syria had crossed the Hindu Kush and invaded India in 206 BC. However, he met with resistance from a local prince named Sophagasanus, so, according to Polybius (11. 34), he only 'renewed his friendship with Sophagasanus the king of the Indians; he received more elephants, until he had a hundred and fifty altogether'. This invasion seems to have been more like a symbolic military demonstration or a proclamation of sovereignty, and there are no Indian records of it. But it was a rehearsal for the later invasions by the Bactrian Greeks. Although India had broken away from Graeco-Macedonian rule for more than 100 years, the Seleucid and Bactrian Greeks still remembered the Indian heritage left by Alexander and hoped to come back to India when the opportunity arose. It was as a result of these invasions by the Bactrian Greeks, who were not passers-by but came in search of more lands to settle in, that the Indians for the first time must have acquired a deeper acquaintance with the Yavanas or Yonas. During their rule that lasted for roughly 200 years these Greeks underwent a transformation in identity from Bactrian Greeks to Indo-Greeks.

Unfortunately again, there is extremely little evidence for those Yavanas in both Indian and classical sources. The explanation may be that classical authors had little knowledge of those Greeks who were so far removed from the centre of the Hellenistic world. Only Strabo (63/64–ca. 24 BC) occasionally mentions them in his *Geography*, taking his information from the *Parthica* of the Greek writer Apollodorus of Artemita (fl. ca. 100–70 BC) in Babylonia. Further, both Book 41 of the *Epitome* of Pompeius Trogus' *Philippic Histories* by the 2nd-century Roman writer Justin, and the original 'Introduction' to Book 41 of Pompeius Trogus (who lived in the 1st century BC) mention four Bactrian kings and three Indo-Greek kings.²⁶

²⁵ Ptolemy II of Egypt once sent an envoy named Dionysius to the court of Asoka (Pliny *NH* 6. 21).

²⁶ The four Bactrian kings are Diodotus and his son, and Eucratides and his son; the three Indo-Greek kings are Demetrius I, Apollodotus I and Menander (see Justin 41. 4. 5, 8–9; 41. 6. 1–5; 'prologues to the Philippic History of Trogus' 41).

The *Milindapanha* in Pali²⁷ and its translation in Chinese titled 那先比丘经 (*Naxian Biqu Jing*)²⁸ likewise refer to an Indo-Greek king (Milinda in Pali, namely Menander, or Milan, 彌蘭 in Chinese) who had converted to Buddhism. These scattered notices are evidently insufficient to recover the history of the Yavanas. However, many Greek coins and the related inscriptions with them found in north-western India and Bactria, especially the bilingual Indian-Greek coins among them, have provided important evidences for the Yavanas. According to Boperarachchi, 44 Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings have been recognised depending on the coins issued by these rulers and discovered by now. Although their areas of distribution are not identical with those where the Indo-Greeks actually ruled, the central area where these coins have been discovered can still be regarded as the range of their political and economic activities.²⁹ Moreover, some passages of Indian literature illustrate the acquaintance of Indians with the Yavanas and the attention they paid to them. For them these Greeks from Bactria could be nothing but a new group of Yavanas.

There has long been disagreement about the dates of the two Indian epics, the *Mahabhārata* and the *Ramayana*. Most scholars now assume a date for the former in the period of the 4th century BC to the 4th century AD and for the latter from the 4th century BC to the 2nd century AD. The Yavanas are referred to in both epics. They are always mentioned together with tribes like the Kamb(v)ojas,³⁰ or the Sakas in the *Mahabhārata*,³¹ and placed in Kafiristan (today at the border of Pakistan and Afghanistan).³² As bellicose tribes the Yavanas, Sakas, Kambojas and Pahlavas are also mentioned together in the *Ramayana*.³³ Since both epics connect the Yavanas with the Sakas (i.e. the Indo-Scythians) as well as with the Pahlavas (i.e. the Indo-Parthians), both of which peoples entered north-western India after the 2nd century BC, the date of those parts or chapters related to Yavanas of two epics should be after the 2nd century BC, if it is supposed reasonably that the formations of the two epics could have experienced a long time even over millennia. Thus the 'Yavanas' in them should refer to the Greeks who came from Bactria in the north-west.

²⁷ There are two authoritative translations of the *Milindapanha* in English: Davids 1890; 1894; Horner 1964.

²⁸ It was translated by one anonymous Chinese Buddhist in the period of Dongjin (东晋, AD 317–420) (see *Taishō Tripitaka* 1990).

²⁹ For details, see Boperarachchi 1991, 453.

³⁰ A tribe in north-western India always mentioned together with Yavanas, Sacae, etc. in Sanskrit documents (Grierson 1911, 800–01).

³¹ Ganguli 1992 VI, 12, 23, 44, 183, 248–50, 253.

³² Johnston 1939.

³³ Goldman 1984, 1. 53. 20–21, 1. 54. 2–3.

Parasara is considered to be the earliest astronomer in India, about whom later generations, however, knew little. There is no accurate source for his date, and we only know that he was concerned with the compilation of the Vedas. The *Parasara Tantra*, which is now attributed to him, assumes the area of the activities of the Yavanas to be in western India. So this book cannot be dated earlier than the 2nd century BC.

Garge was another ancient Indian astronomer who mentioned the Yavanas. His date is also unknown, but it must have been later than Parasara's. Some scholars place him between the 1st and the 3rd century AD.³⁴ He disliked Yavanas as a whole, denouncing them as barbarians (*Mlechchhas*), but respected the learned among the Greeks, whom he honoured as *Rishis* (wise men, philosophers, poets and prophets). He believed that Indian astronomy had been founded with the help of those Greeks.³⁵ The astrological treatise *Gargi Samhita*, which is attributed to him, includes the important epic *Yuga Purana* ('Story of the Ages'). It starts with the so called 'time of Kali' (i.e. from ca. 3000 BC) and the history that follows is described in the form of prophecies using the future tense, but is in fact an overview of the past. Some paragraphs obviously refer to the invasion of the Yavanas into northern and central India. Although there are differences between the manuscripts and between the translations, the various versions and their explanations all assume that the Yavanas advanced to Pataliputra in the middle and lower reaches of the Ganges. They finally retreated because a serious civil war had suddenly broken out in their country, whether they had conquered the city or not.³⁶ But there are still two problems. One is the question whether the Yavanas indeed conquered Pataliputra, which is the key point for deciding whether there was an expedition in this period. The other concerns the question how long they remained there, the answer to which is relevant to the territory of their rule in India.

According to the new English translation by Mitchiner, 'Then, after having approached Saketa together with the Panchalas and the Mathuras, the Yavanas, valiant in battle, will reach Kusumadhvaja ("The town of the flower-standard", Pataliputra). Then, once Puspapura (another name of Pataliputra) has been reached and its celebrated mud-walls cast down, all the realm will be in disorder.' After that, general social turmoil arose. The positions of Brahmins and Shudras were reversed, and even those elders who had most respected justice in the past began unscrupulously to exploit the poor. 'And in the city, the Yavanas, the princes will make this [people] acquainted with them: [but] the Yavanas, infatuated by war, will not

³⁴ Banerjee 1981, 121; Tarn 1951, 453.

³⁵ Banerjee 1981, 121.

³⁶ For translation and discussion, see Tarn 1951, 452–56; Narain 1957, 174–79, 82–83; Sircar 1963; Mitchiner 1986, 91–92 (paras. 47–58); Bopearachchi 1993, 16 and n. 1.

remain in Madhyadesa (central India).’ They agreed to leave, since a terrible war had broken out in their own territory. So the Yavanas withdrew from this region.³⁷ According to this source, the Yavanas seem not only to have conquered Pataliputra, but even subverted the social order there. If that is the case, it would be unknown how long they remained, but it could not have been for a short time, for they not only could bring about a social upheaval there but also make the local people familiar with them. This means that they could have stayed there for a relatively long time. It could be due to infighting among them that they had to withdraw at last. The project of occupying the centre of northern India with Pataliputra had failed. Some cities mentioned in this context are Mathura (located in the north of India today, in the upper reaches of the Yamuna river), Panchala (at the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna) and Saketa (in the middle reaches of the Ganges). They were all in the middle and the east of northern India,³⁸ so it can be deduced from this that the Yavanas came from the north-west of India, first vanquished the cities in the upper reaches of the Ganges, and then marched along the river to Pataliputra.

The glossographer Patanjali, who annotated the ancient Sanskrit grammarian Panini, mentioned this expedition in his masterpiece *Mahābhāṣya*, though without details (Patanjali’s date has generally been assumed to be around 150 BC). Explaining the imperfect tense in Sanskrit, he took recent events as examples: (1) ‘*Arunad Yavanah Sāketam*’ (i.e. ‘The Yavanas were besieging Saketa’), (2) ‘*Arunad Yavano Madhyamikām*’ (i.e. ‘The Yavanas were besieging Madhyamika’).³⁹ Thus, he twice referred to a siege by the Yavanas, suggesting that their expedition had impressed him deeply. The significance of this indirect information is that it indicates the extension of the incursion of the Yavanas in the central and northern parts of India at the beginning or around the middle of the 2nd century BC.⁴⁰

A Sanskrit play, the *Malavikāgnimitra*, also has such an implication: that Yavanas once made war with a king in India in the middle of the 2nd century BC. In fact, it is a play about a love story between a king of the Shunga dynasty and a maid, the author of which is the famous Indian playwright Kalidasa. We are told that in the reign of the first king of the Shunga dynasty, Pushyamitra (185–181 BC), an

³⁷ Mitchiner 1986, 91–92 (paras. 47–58).

³⁸ Cf. Narain 1957, map II; Tarn 1951, map 2.

³⁹ Boppearachchi 1993, 16; Tarn 1951, 145–46, map 2; Narain 1957, 82, map II. Madhyamika is located in the south of Rajasthan in India.

⁴⁰ Some scholars have argued that the siege of Saketa was the one referred to in the *Yuga Purana*, and ascribed this invasion of the Yavanas to the Indo-Greek king Menander. Madhyamika, however, was too far to the south of the route of Menander, its mention by Patanjali may therefore refer to another battle (Woodcock 1966, 101). Tarn assumed that another Indo-Greek king, Apollodotus, ‘not only besieged but took it’ (Tarn 1951, 150–51).

army of Yavanas was defeated by his grandson Vasumitra (the son of Agnimitra, the hero in this play) on the banks of the Sindhu river.⁴¹ It seems to have been the same event as the invasion of the Yavanas mentioned above in the *Yuga-Purana*. Kalidasa lived in the period of the Gupta dynasty (ca. 4th–5th century, roughly AD 300–470), and what he wrote was a work of fiction, so the reliability of information on the Yavanas provided by it is doubtful.

According to the Indian sources mentioned above, the invasion of the Yavanas looks like a truly historical event. But who were the Yavanas launching this expedition? And when did they come and leave? In short, how are they related to the Bactrian Greeks or the Indo-Greek kingdoms? According to the various interpretations of the *Yuga-Purana*, scholars mainly are of two opinions about the leader of this expedition. One view, supported by K.P. Jayaswal and D.C. Sircar, regards 'Dharmamita' as Demetrius. Accordingly, they see in this event the first invasion of India by the Bactrian king Demetrius (ca. 200–190/180 BC) aiming at the conquest of the Mauryan empire.⁴² An opposite opinion holds that the expedition took place during the reign of the Indo-Greek king Menander (ca. 155–130 BC), his aim being the conquest of the possessions of the disordered Shunga dynasty.⁴³ Now we should turn our attention to the Greek and Roman authors. It can be argued that both Greek kings had a motive for such an invasion, but that Menander is a more plausible candidate than Demetrius.

Our starting point should be Strabo's report from Apollodorus of Artemita that more tribes were subdued by Bactrian Greeks, by Menander in particular, than by Alexander. Some of them had been subdued by Menander, the others by the Bactrian king Demetrius, son of Euthydemus (Strabo 11. 11. 1). The implication is that the tribes conquered by Menander were not only more numerous than those subdued by Alexander, but also more than those by Demetrius. Strabo seems to have had his own opinion on this. When he came to this point in his writing, he suddenly inserted his own assumption: 'at least if he (i.e. Menander) actually crossed the Hypanis towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaus'. In the view of Strabo, Apollodorus could only be believed if Menander had indeed marched so far, for the Hypanis was the eastern boundary of Alexander's Indian conquests.⁴⁴ In another passage, Strabo especially noticed that when Apollodorus said 'those kings subdued more of India than Macedonians; that Eucratides, at any rate, held a thousand cities as his subjects', this was contrary to the facts, because 'those other

⁴¹ Bopearachchi 1993, 16; Narain 1957, 82.

⁴² Tarn 1951, 453–55; Sircar 1963.

⁴³ Narain 1957, 82–83, 87, 177.

⁴⁴ The Hypanis, namely the Hyphasis mentioned by the historians of Alexander, is now named the Beas (see Arrian 5. 24. 29, 8. 2. 4).

writers, however, say that merely the tribes between the Hydaspes⁴⁵ and the Hypanis were nine in number, and that they had five thousand cities, no one of which was smaller than the Meropian Cos, and that Alexander subdued the whole of this country and gave it over to Porus' (Strabo 15. 1. 3, 33). Since Alexander had subdued such extensive area, such numerous tribes and cities, if someone wished to surpass him, he could have to expand further beyond this geographical range. So how many places had these two men (Demetrius and Menander) ever subdued? Where in particular did they exceed Alexander? Strabo goes on to repeat the answer of Apollodorus: 'They took possession, not only of Patalena, but also, on the rest of the coast, of what is called the kingdom of Saraostus and Sigerdis' (Strabo 11. 11. 1). Strabo also mentions that the eastern boundary of the conquests of Alexander was the Hypanis, but the later Greeks advanced beyond the Hypanis as far as the Ganges and Pataliputra (Palibothra). It was thanks to these Greeks that knowledge of the regions to the east of the Hypanis expanded (Strabo 15. 1. 27). These two accounts are of great importance. The former provides another direction and route of expansion for the Greeks, namely across the Indus towards the south, resulting in the capture of the coastal regions. The latter follows from the assumption of an eastern expedition by Menander and explains the route of the invasion and its ultimate goal.

In order to understand the range of the conquests of the Indo-Greeks, i.e. those of Menander and Demetrius, we need to ascertain the meaning of some geographical names.

First, the location of the 'Imaus', mentioned in connection with the route of the eastern expedition of Menander. In the view of Narain, the 'Imaus' or 'Isamos' mentioned by Strabo was a river, to be identified either with the Yamuna (Jamuna, Jumna) or the present Song.⁴⁶ But Tarn was of another opinion.⁴⁷ Judging from the statements of classical writers, the 'Imaus' seems indeed, as Tarn thought, to have been a mountain or a mountain range in the north of India, not a river,⁴⁸ and more precisely the eastern end of the Taurus mountain range. According to Strabo, 'the Taurus forms a partition approximately through the middle of this continent, extending from the west towards the east, leaving one portion of it on the north and the other on the south.' The part of the Taurus from Ariana to the Eastern Sea

⁴⁵ It is a tributary of the Indus, now called Jhelum.

⁴⁶ Narain 1957, 82.

⁴⁷ Tarn 1951, 144.

⁴⁸ According to the annotation in Strabo's *Geography* in the Loeb edition (*ad* 11. 11. 1; vol. 8, p. 280, n. 1), 'Ιμαῶν' (genitive of 'Imaos' in Greek) is the emendation of Meineke (first published in 1852), but it is pointed out that this was from the emendation of the 'Ισαμῶν' (Isamus) in the manuscripts in the edition of Casaubon (first published in 1587, republished in 1620).

on the north of India had several local names: Paropamisus, Emodus and Imaus, and it was called the 'Caucasus' by the Macedonians. He especially pointed out that the Indus was the western frontier of India (Strabo 11. 1. 2–3, 15. 1. 11) and Imaus was the last part of the Taurus, bordering on the Indian Sea and being the eastern frontier (Strabo 11. 11. 7; see also Arrian 8. 2. 1–5). Pliny had a similar opinion about the names and locations of the Taurus and the Imaus in his *Natural History*. In his view, the chain of the Taurus extended from Asia Minor to the Indian Sea:

Numerous are the names which it bears, as it is continuously designated by new ones throughout the whole of its course. In the first part of its career it has the name of Imaus, after which it is known successively by the names of Emodus, Paropamisus, Circius, Cambades, Paryadres, Choatras, Oreges, Oroandes, Niphates Taurus, and, where it even out-tops itself, Caucasus.⁴⁹

Considering its location, the Imaus should be the Himalayas to the east of the Hindu Kush.⁵⁰ Since Menander invaded the north and the centre of India, the Imaus reached by him should be the Ganges Valley to the south of the Himalayas, if he actually had crossed the Hypanis and advanced eastwards. It was impossible for the Greeks to advance up to this permanently snow-covered and desolate mountain area. Therefore, it would be somewhat inexact to regard the Imaus as the north and the centre of India, but the over-all direction is right. Although the Yamuna or the Song, favoured by Narain, was within this region, these rivers were clearly unrelated to the Imaus which must have been a mountain range. The local people called that northern mountain range the Imaus, and it was a part of the Taurus, so it could hardly have been confused with the Yamuna or the Song.⁵¹ It is likely, however, that the Greeks did once invade the area of these rivers, as seems to be suggested by the Indian sources mentioned above.

Secondly, the areas conquered under the names of Menander and Demetrius: Patalene, Saraostus and Sigerdis. According to Strabo, Patalene was surrounded by two tributaries of the Indus, which made it an island on which there was a city Patala, and the name of this island originated from this city (Strabo 15. 1. 13, 32, 33). Saraostus (its ancient name was Surestrene, present-day Saurashtra) was located in the coastal area of the south-east of the estuary of the Indus (the south of modern Gujarat). The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* (1st century AD) provides more detail about

⁴⁹ Pliny 5. 27. 'Paropanisus' here is the same as 'Paropamisus' in Strabo 15. 1. 11.

⁵⁰ Cf. Strabo map XII (Loeb vol. 7). This map marks the Himalayas in the north of India as Imaus.

⁵¹ For the geographical position of the Imaus, see also Lemprière 1949, 295. In addition, Ptolemy mentioned this mountain range in his *Geography*, but his 'Imaus' seems to be the mountains to the north of the Hindu Kush and the Pamirs (see Ptolemy 6. 14–16).

it.⁵² Finally, Sigerdis is today's Sindh in the south of Pakistan, in the lower reaches of the Indus. It may be inferred from these geographical data that the conquests of these kings were made along the same route as the one that Alexander had taken. They laid the foundation, however, for the more lasting rule of the Indo-Greeks. The range of their conquests extended over a long distance from the banks of the Indus by which Alexander had passed and included the whole area from the middle reaches of the Indus (today's Punjab province) to the estuary. From this, it is reasonable to assume that the tribes subdued by them were more numerous than those conquered by Alexander.

Thirdly, the question whether the Greeks in their invasion came as far as the Ganges and even reached Pataliputra. The name of the Ganges is in use even today, and Pataliputra is today's Patna, the capital of Bihar, located at the confluence of the Yamuna and the Song rivers with the Ganges. It had been a capital city since the Magadha Kingdom (5th century BC). After the Shunga dynasty (*ca.* 185–78 BC) had overthrown the Mauryan empire, it still remained the capital. According to the dates assumed by the French numismatist O. Bopearachchi, the expedition of Demetrius I to India took place not later than 190 BC and the succession of Menander occurred in 155 BC.⁵³ As for the Greek offensive towards the Ganges and the Imaus, both kings could have been responsible, but if so, between them only the former could have conquered the Mauryan empire, while the latter subdued the Shunga dynasty. On the basis of the Indian sources such an expedition by the Greeks may be considered an historical fact. The areas conquered by them and by the allies of the Yavanas included Sekata, Panchala and Mathura, all of which were in the valley of the Ganges and Yamuna rivers to the south of the Imaus, and on the route to Pataliputra from north-western India. But Strabo possessed no clear account of the conquest of Pataliputra. Therefore we may infer that it might be a fact that the Greeks really besieged Pataliputra, but that the outcome of the siege was unknown even in the time of Strabo. According to his record, both Demetrius and Menander invaded in a southerly direction. But Menander surely advanced eastwards. The whole issue has been the subject of much discussion due to this

⁵² Casson 1989, 77(41).

⁵³ Narain rejected the view of Rapson and Tarn that Menander was a contemporary of Demetrius I, assuming that the fact that Apollodorus mentioned them both together could not be used as evidence. For in that case Menander would have been even earlier than Demetrius I. Narain accepted the conclusion of J. Marshall, based on the appearance of Menander on his coins, that he was rather young when he succeeded to the throne, so there is no possibility of Menander being a contemporary of Demetrius I. Instead, Menander started his royal career in *ca.* 155 BC (*cf.* Narain 1957, 75–77; Marshall 1951, 30). This view has been widely accepted (see Bopearachchi 1993, 32 and n. 2). Although Rapson considered them contemporaries, he still ascribed the eastward advance of the Yavanas to Menander (see Rapson 1922, 543, 551).

inaccuracy and speciousness of Strabo.⁵⁴ Therefore, it is necessary to briefly review and clarify the activities of both Demetrius and Menander in India.

The reigning order of the Bactrian-Indo-Greek kings and their relations with one another have to be chiefly reconstructed from the coins they issued. According to the authoritative opinions of Bopearachchi, there were among the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings three with the name of Demetrius, their reigns dated respectively to 200–190 BC, 175–170 BC and *ca.* 100 BC.⁵⁵ The third one can be ruled out, since he was even later than Menander, but the first and the second kings could have been the conquerors. The first man to conquer India, judged from his coins, should have been Demetrius I, the son of Euthydemus (230–200 BC), since he was the first among the Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings who issued coins on which the head of the king wore an elephant-scalp helmet.⁵⁶ That image had only appeared on coins issued by Ptolemy I in 318 BC in the name of Alexander.⁵⁷ The action of Demetrius I obviously aimed at emulation of Alexander. The range of his dominions seems to have included north-western India. He founded a city named Demetrias in Arachosia (in today's Afghanistan).⁵⁸ There was another Greek city named Demetrias in Patalene at the estuary of the Indus; it too might be rebuilt and renamed by Demetrius I, which, if true, indicates that his conquests followed the route of Alexander.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ Tarn was in favour of Demetrius and argued that Menander was just a general following him (see Tarn 1951, 132–35). That view was obviously in contrast with the statements of Strabo. When Strabo reports the account of Apollodorus, he clearly regards the two men as two separate kings, and says that the territory subdued by Menander was much larger than that of Demetrius. If it was Demetrius who had led an expedition eastwards, the statement of Apollodorus would have been ungrounded. But he is the earliest classical writer known to refer to this event; therefore, his account should in principle be reliable. According to the *Milinda Panha* in Pali, the birthplace of Menander was Alasanda in the Caucasus (i.e. in the south of the Hindu Kush), so he did not come from Bactria. He possibly participated in the invasion of India under another Demetrius (namely Demetrius II, 175–170 BC), and in the aftermath made himself king. Narain was in favour of Menander, but regarded the eastward expedition as a raid instead of a campaign of conquest or occupation. Narain even denied that Demetrius I had once conquered north-western India, and thought that there were two kings called Demetrius (the son of Euthydemus and the so-called 'king of India', who happened to have the same name), and that Apollodorus had mixed them up. In his view, it must have been Demetrius II who subdued north-western India (see Narain 1957, 34–45, 81). This opinion has been accepted by Bopearachchi (1993, 15–16). It is noteworthy that the same solution had been proposed by H.G. Rawlinson as early as 1916, who, however, also admitted that it was based on intuition, not on evidence, assuming likewise that Menander did not conquer Pataliputra (see Rawlinson 1916, 78 and n. 1, 82).

⁵⁵ Bopearachchi 1991, 453.

⁵⁶ Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 4 (Démétrios I, Série 1).

⁵⁷ Carradice and Prince 1988, 116; Bieber 1965.

⁵⁸ Schoff 1914, cap. 19.19.

⁵⁹ Tarn 1951, 142, map 2. However, Tarn's identification of Demetrias with Patala was argued against by other scholar. He later seems to revise his hypothesis. But he insists that it is possible that

Menander was the most famous of the thirty or so Greek kings after Demetrius I, and his reign fell in the middle of the 2nd century BC (*ca.* 155–130 BC). It has been a matter of dispute to which family he belonged, to the one of Diodotus or that of Euthydemus in Bactria. It is possible, however, that he did not come from Bactria himself, but was a descendant of one of these royal families in India or even a civilian from the Greek city of Alasanda in India.⁶⁰ The capital of his kingdom was Sagala.⁶¹ At the height of his power, his realm even covered the whole of north-western India. He promoted Buddhism, ‘ruled by Buddhist doctrines’, and he is the only Indo-Greek king whose name is recorded in Buddhist Sutras. The Shunga dynasty, the capital of which was Pataliputra, supported Brahmanism, while persecuting the Buddhists. At the same time, the Shunga dynasty expanded into the Punjab and thus confronted Menander’s dominions centred upon the Indus. Consequently, conflict between these two kingdoms must have become a distinct possibility. The Indo-Greeks were originally conquerors from outside, who had long coveted the riches of the lower reaches of the Ganges. It is much more plausible that Menander marched eastwards than Demetrius. Besides, there are further differences between the two kings to consider. In the first place, Demetrius I was the first Greek king who ruled north-western India again after the withdrawal of Greek-Macedonian army more than 100 years earlier. His primary goal was to regain the heritage of Alexander by establishing and consolidating the rule of the Greeks in that part of India. So it must have been hardly possible for him to penetrate the heart of India shortly after. In the second place, he was a Greek king in Bactria and India. The nomads to the north of Bactria, the Parthians to the west, the subdued peoples in Bactria as well as in India, but especially internal competition for the throne and for power, all these factors were potential threats. These domestic and foreign problems must have prevented Demetrius I from an offensive eastward. And there are indications that this was indeed the case. There probably was civil unrest when he and his sons were in India, for a new and powerful usurper, Eucratides

Demetrius gave his name to a far more important capital of Patalene in the ‘addenda’ of his second edition (see Tarn 1951, 526–27). Some other scholars supports his hypothesis (see Cohen 2013, 320).

⁶⁰ As regards his birthplace, both the Chinese version and the Pali-English version of the *Milinda Panha* (*The Questions of King Milinda*) mention a place named Alasanda, but the interpretation of this city varies greatly. The distance from the capital Sagala to Alasanda is 200 yojanas in the Pali-English version, while in the Chinese version that has changed to 2000 yojanas (由旬), and Alasanda is located in Da Qin, at a distance of 80,000 *Li* (里) (*Taishō Tripitaka* 1990, 702, 717). But there are some mistakes in the Chinese version (which I will discuss in another paper). It has been generally accepted that Alasanda was Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus (i.e. the Hindu Kush), founded by Alexander, and today’s Begram near Kabul (Horner 1964, 114 and n. 2).

⁶¹ Sagala was also called Euthydeimea (see Ptolemy 7. I), but its location is still uncertain (*cf.* Marshall 1951, 863).

(170–145 BC), appeared. One Demetrius,⁶² known as ‘the king of India’, immediately campaigned against him, leading 60,000 men to besiege Eucratides in a stronghold with only 300 soldiers. However, Eucratides unexpectedly survived and even invaded India in his turn.⁶³ But he had obviously nothing to do with any eastward expedition of the Greeks. For while he was on the throne, Gandhara and Punjab were ruled by three Indo-Greek kings successively: Apollodotus (180–160 BC), Antimachus II (160–155 BC) and Menander. Eucratides could hardly have passed over this area to subdue the Shunga dynasty. Moreover, he did not survive his campaign in India for long, for he was murdered by his own son on his return (Justin 41. 6. 1–5).

Compared with the decline of Bactria the kingdom of Menander in India seems to have been powerful. Its capital was prosperous⁶⁴ and formidable. Menander not only had the capability and the means for it, he probably also felt the necessity to enlarge and to consolidate the former conquests of Demetrius by advancing southwards and even to surpass the limit of Alexander’s conquest by moving eastwards. The coins of Menander still circulated in the coastal areas of south-western India in the 1st century AD,⁶⁵ which may testify to the extension of his rule, and may at the very least reflect his influence in these areas. His eastward expedition could have been bolstered in the following ways: first of all, he could have allied himself with the Buddhists, for both had the same enemy – the Shunga dynasty.⁶⁶ Next, his military force was strong. He had foot-soldiers, cavalry, chariots and elephants,⁶⁷

⁶² There are two possibilities as to the identity of this Demetrius. One is to call him Demetrius II, as proposed by Narain and Bopearachchi; the other is to assume that there was only one Demetrius, namely the son of Euthydemus, who is mentioned by Strabo together with Menander. The end of his rule has been dated to 170 BC. No matter how many kings of that name there might have been, the changes of the kings in Bactria with its accompanying unrest must in any case have distracted them from advancing eastwards.

⁶³ A large amount of Greek-Indian bilingual coins issued under his name could serve as evidence for his presence in India (see Bopearachchi 1993, 26–29).

⁶⁴ See the description of his capital in 那先比丘经卷上 (No. 1670 B) in *Taishō Tripitaka* 1990: ‘今在北方大秦國，國名舍竭。古王之宮。其國中外安隱人民皆善。其城四方皆復道行。諸城門皆彫文刻鏤。宮中婦女各有處所。諸街市里羅列成行。官道廣大列肆成行。象馬車步男女熾盛乘門道人親戚工師細民。及諸小國皆多高明。人民被服五色焜煌。婦女傅白皆著珠環。國土高燥珍寶眾多。四方賈客賣買皆以金錢。五穀豐賤家有儲畜。市邊羅賣諸美羹飯飢即得食。渴飲蒲萄雜酒樂不可言。其王字彌蘭以正法治國。’ It is worth noticing that in no. 1670 A, another version for same sutra, certain words are different (see *Taishō Tripitaka* 1990, 705, 695). They resemble the English translation from the Pali as well (cf. Davids 1890, 2–3 (nos. 1–2); Horner 1964, 1–3 (nos. 1–2)).

⁶⁵ Casson 1989, 81(47), 205–06.

⁶⁶ Marshall 1951, 42.

⁶⁷ For similar indications of his armies, see the Chinese translation in *Taishō Tripitaka* 1990, no. 1670 B: ‘那先言譬如王將四種兵出行戰鬥。象兵馬兵車兵步兵皆導引王前後。’ Cf. the English translations from the Pali: (1) Horner 1964, 6, n. 1 (no. 4), 51 (no. 37); (2) Davids 1890, 7 (no. 4),

and he was personally obsessed with warfare, in the end even dying in his camp (Plutarch *Moralia* 821D). Finally, he had occupied the valley of the Indus, from where it was rather easy to advance eastwards to the plain of the Ganges. Therefore, considering the power of his kingdom, his religious association and the location of his realm, we must conclude that Menander had every opportunity to invade the reaches of the Ganges. The king of the Yavanas who marched onto Pataliputra according to the Indian sources, therefore, should have been Menander, not Demetrius.

The Rule of the Yavanas and their Indianisation

With Demetrius, the so-called 'king of the Indians', the Yavanas began to rule in north-west India and other parts of the country for almost two centuries. Since there is a lack of sources, we have to rely mainly on coins and inscriptions for our information.

As foreigners, the Yavanas organised their rule in India in the same way as the Persian empire, the empire of Alexander or that of the Seleucid dynasty had been. On the one hand, they founded or expanded communities of Greeks in strongholds and on traffic arteries, which served as the centres of their dominions. On the other hand, they ruled the local tribes separately by means of appointed satraps. Their cities must have been numerous, although most left no record. But the distribution of these cities almost covered the whole area ruled by the Greeks. Demetrias (Patala) and Theophila⁶⁸ were in the south of the Punjab and in the coastal area of the estuary of the Indus. There was another Greek centre which might be the harbour city Barygaza.⁶⁹ There are two Greek cities mentioned in *The Questions of King Milinda*: Alasanda of the Caucasus and Sagala, respectively the birth place and the capital of Menander's kingdom.⁷⁰ In Gandhara there were Pushkalavati (the 'city of lotuses', today's Peshawar)⁷¹ and Dionysopolis⁷². The site of Sirkap near Taxila was built in Hippodamian style and served as a fortress city,⁷³ perhaps the capital of the

59 (no. 37). But these four kinds of soldiers are translated differently, in the former as 'elephants, horses, chariots, foot-soldiers', whereas the latter has 'war elephants, cavalry, war chariots and bowmen'.

⁶⁸ Ptolemy 7. 1. 60. See Cohen 2013, 328–29.

⁶⁹ Casson 1989, 81(47).

⁷⁰ Horner 1964, 114–15 (nos. 82–83), 1–3 (nos. 1–2). For the discussion of these two cities, see Cohen 2013, 263–69, 324–25.

⁷¹ Cohen 2013, 321–24.

⁷² Ptolemy 7. 1. 43. See Cohen 2013, 316–17.

⁷³ Marshall 1951, 12, 39, 198, pl. 24; Dani 1986, 88–94. But according to Philostratus (AD 170–245), the Greek philosopher of the New Pythagorean School Apollonius, who lived in the 1st

Indo-Greek king Agathocles (190–180 BC). Apart from Sagala, famous cities in the kingdom of Menander to the east of the Hydaspes were Bacephala⁷⁴, Iomouse⁷⁵ and Mathura⁷⁶. In the west of his kingdom the existence of only two military colonies, Daedala and Salagissa, can be confirmed. In Arachosia there was still another city named Demetrias.⁷⁷ Several cities named Alexandria and founded by Alexander were located in today's Kandahar and Begram still functioning as Greek communities.⁷⁸

It is difficult to say anything with certainty about the provinces, their number, names and distribution, under the various Greek kings. In the view of Tarn there were in the Paropamisadae to the south of the Hindu Kush four provinces, the names and locations of which can be ascertained: Kapisene, with Kapisa as its capital; Opiane, with Alexandria as its capital; Kophene, the capital of which was Kophen (from which the name 'Jibin' in Chinese might originated, mentioned in 'the Chapter on the Western Regions' of *Hanshu* ('The History of the former Han Dynasty')). The name of the fourth province is unknown, but it was located in the Ghorband Valley, near Bactria⁷⁹. The existence of nine provinces is confirmed in the areas to the east of the Paropamisadae and to the south, including the estuary of the Indus. Of these, seven come from Ptolemy's *Geography*, one Pliny's *Natural History* of Pliny and one from Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander*. They are Patalene, Surastrene, Abiria, Prasiane, Souastene, Goruaia (Goryene, Bajaur), Peucelaitis, Kaspeiria and Kulindrene. There was also an unknown province in the coastal Cutch.⁸⁰

century AD, once travelled to India and visited Taxila. Based on his description, this city was defended in a Greek manner with walls, but the streets were as narrow and untidy as in Athens, and the types of houses were strange, with floors of the same size underground and above. Such a statement is both in accordance with and contrary to the archaeological reports of Marshall. For example, his mention of streets similar to those in Athens clearly contradicts the Hippodamian style. Maybe what he said was about today's Bhir Mound, where the streets were indeed narrow and zigzag (cf. Philostratus 2. 20, 23; Marshall 1951, 64; Dani 1986, 87). As for whether the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is truth or a fiction, there are no common opinions about it in academia. Given the fact that many Roman merchants came to India in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, it is much more possible that the information about Taxila, a well-known city in India, was brought back by them to Rome or to the Roman East. One scholar assumes that the description of Taxila in the *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* is a fiction of the author who took as a prototype the city of Athens he knew, which seems to go too far to be accepted (see Reger 2007, 264).

⁷⁴ Arrian 5. 19. 4, 5. 29. 4; Casson 1989, 81(47). Cf. Cohen 2013, 308–13.

⁷⁵ Arrian 6. 15. 2. Whether it could be identified with Alexandria at the junction of the Akesines and Indus is still problematic (see Cohen 2013, 291–93).

⁷⁶ Ptolemy 7. 1. 50. See Tarn 1951, 251–53.

⁷⁷ Schoff 1914, 19. See Cohen 2013, 272–73.

⁷⁸ Cohen 2013, 255–60 (Alexandria in Arachosia), 263–69 (Alexandria of the Caucasus).

⁷⁹ Tarn 1951, 96–97.

⁸⁰ Tarn 1951, 232–40, 445. The evidence Tarn relied on is from Ptolemy 7. 1; Pliny 6. 23; Arrian 4. 22. 8, 8. 1. 8, 8. 4. 11. The unknown coastal area in the estuary of the Indus may be Sigerdis (see Strabo 11. 11. 1).

As for Arachosia in the south of modern-day Afghanistan, since this region was under the control of the Greeks, it must also have been divided for administrative purposes. In general, the Indo-Greek kings adopted a system of regional divisions. In practice, however, they did not apply the satrapy–eparchy–hyparchy triple subdivision as in the Seleucid administrative system, but either subordinated the eparchies under the satrapies or used the eparchy instead of the satrapy, thus governing the local peoples only by satrapy or by satrapy and eparchy. The provinces mentioned were under satraps or *strategoi* responsible only to the king, with *meridarchs* (governors of districts) or civil officials as their subordinates.⁸¹ No matter how large a satrapy or eparchy was, the kings, *strategoi* and *meridarchs* usually kept the social structure, the customs and the religion of the people unchanged in accordance with local cultural traditions, and upheld the social order. It was because of this that the Indo-Greek kings could maintain their rule for such a long time.

The rule of the Yavanas, however, was not stable and began already to disintegrate after the death of Demetrius I. Menander certainly was still a most powerful king. At the peak of its power his kingdom included all the regions that the Indo-Greeks controlled to the west of the Punjab and to the south of the Hindu Kush.⁸² At the death of Menander, his son was still so young that his widow Agathocleia once became a regent for a time.⁸³ But she could hardly control the ambitious generals or warlords rising up in various places, and the realm of the Yavanas began to break up. No less than thirty men styled themselves kings or issued coins in a little over a century after Menander's death. Western numismatists have attempted to classify their coins into various sequences and different regions, based on their forms, inscriptions, portraits, even their fonts. According to the most recent classification of Bopearachchi, the kings ruled mainly in the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, Gandhara and in the Punjab. From west to east, north to south, their reigns successively ended in 70 BC, 55 BC and 10 BC.⁸⁴

It is generally assumed that the decline of the Yavanas should be ascribed to the invasions of the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians, and finally the Kushans, but civil wars also played their part. In the middle of the 2nd century BC, Scythians and Kushans advanced southwards through Central Asia, first weakening and then occupying the Bactrian-Greek kingdom. The Yavanas in India not only had to directly face the internal threat themselves, but also gradually lost contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean. They became isolated and had

⁸¹ Tarn 1951, 240–42; Marshall 1951, 40–41.

⁸² For the territory of Menander, see Bopearachchi 1991, 453 (tableau 5). According to Narain, Menander might have controlled Bactria for a period (Narain 1957, 27).

⁸³ Bopearachchi 1993, 34–35.

⁸⁴ Bopearachchi 1991, 453.

to adopt Indian culture, especially the Indian language and religion, in order to prolong their existence. It accelerated the change of identity that the Yavanas, having become more rooted in the land, underwent. Thus, on the fringes of the Hellenistic world a dramatic scenario unfolded: the Indianisation of Greeks, instead of the Hellenisation of Indians.

This process seems to have begun already in the time of Demetrius I. Although the Bactrian Greeks had invaded India as conquerors, they were far less numerous than the local populations, and could hardly extend their rule into the villages and hamlets. Besides, they found that the Indians were not barbarians, but highly civilised people with a great civilisation. With the emergence of the Mauryan empire, and especially with the spread of Buddhism, the political structures and the culture of north-western India had become totally different from what they had been in the period of Alexander. The bilingual edicts of Asoka, to some extent, were the precursors of the Indo-Greek bilingual coins, only different in the persons of their promulgators and in their goals. Since the normal contacts of the Indo-Greeks with the Mediterranean had been disrupted, and the road to the west cut off by Parthians and Kushans, they nominally may have been conquerors, but in fact were rather like refugees gathering in an isolated region. These political and cultural realities forced them to make a choice between cultural isolation and death on the one hand or assimilation and survival on the other, i.e. between Hellenisation and Indianisation. The wish to survive overcame cultural pride, and the exigencies of rule compelled them to begin a process of Indianisation. The bilingual coins were symbolic of this trend.

The first kings who issued bilingual coins were Agathocles and Pantaleon (190–185 BC). Their coins have the uncommon Indian shapes: rectangular or square, with Greek on the obverse, Brahmi or Kharoshthi on the reverse. The legends on both sides, however, have the same meaning. Their weight is according to the Indian measure and the bilingual coins of Agathocles found in Ai-Khanoum varies between 2.32 and 3.30 g.⁸⁵ In the portraits on the coins also we can see the beginning of a process of adoption of Indian elements, while at the same time the kings display the images of traditional Indian deities and the symbols of Buddhism on their coins. The obverse side of the bilingual coins of Agathocles shows Samkarsana, with Vasudeva-Krishna on the reverse side, two embodiments of Vishnu, one of the main deities in India. The former has a plough and a stick, for which reason he was also known as 'Rama with the plough'; the latter carries a six-spoke wheel and a conch shell in his hands. Lakshmi, the sister of Vasudeva-Krishna and the wife of Vishnu, in her role as goddess of wealth, fertility and prosperity, appears on the

⁸⁵ Bopearachchi 1993, 22–23.

coins of these two kings as well. She wears Oriental-style trousers and drooping earrings, looking pretty and charming. She dances with a lotus or trishul, conveying a sense of beauty and energy. A lion without his mane appears on the reverse side of some coins. The animal was traditionally the vehicle of Indra, for a long time the most important deity in India. Later, the lion had become associated also with Gautama Buddha. The appearance of the symbols of Buddhism is significant. Among the coins of Agathocles, there are some on the obverse with six arch-shaped or semi-circular hills with stars, indicating the Stupa in covered-bowl shape during the early period of Buddhism, while on the reverse a rectangular and reticular fence with a tree within stands for the Bodhi tree in Buddhism. The 'Wheel of the Dharma' clearly appears on the coins of Menander.⁸⁶ The Bodhi tree, the Wheel of the Dharma and the Stupa each has a special meaning, pointing, respectively, to the enlightenment, the first sermon and the nirvana of the Buddha.⁸⁷ The Indian deities of the Vedas and the symbols of Buddhism on these coins suggest that the Greeks had come to regard themselves as the possessors of the land and no longer as passers-by. They had to make an effort to adapt to the new cultural environment in order to survive in a country that they had conquered by force. In the languages used on the coins and in the types of coin-shapes, they took the needs and habits of the Indians into consideration, adjusting to those of Indians their own cultural tradition and mental outlook. Initiated by the Indo-Greek kings, this adjustment was continued by the Scythians, Parthians and finally the Kushans who ruled India in the first centuries AD. Bilingual coins were popular in the early period of the Kushan empire, whereas coins with only Greek became exceptional.⁸⁸ Those coins mainly circulated in the regions once controlled by the Greeks to the south of the Hindu Kush. It should be noted that the appearance of both Greek and a local language on the same coins with local deities is unique among the Hellenistic kingdoms.

The bilingual coins reflect an acceptance of the Indian religion by the Greeks. The latter must have deliberately mingled the Indian deities with their own gods, so that the images on the coins could appeal to both Greeks and Indians. A similar religious amalgamation, however, had already appeared in the time of Alexander, when that king recognised the power of the elephants as soon as he entered India. As a species special to and symbolic of India, elephants made such an impression on him that the images of elephants appeared on his medallions with a scene of his

⁸⁶ Wheel of the *Dharma of Aryamarga* (the Eight-fold Noble Path). For the bilingual coins of these kings, see Narain 1976, 7–8, 15; Bopearachchi 1993, 23; 1991, pls. 7 (Agathocle, 9–11), 9 (Pantaléon, 6) and 33 (Ménandre, 1; Soter, 37); Srinivasan 2007, 244.

⁸⁷ Marshall 1951, 762.

⁸⁸ For example, the coin of the nameless king 'Soter Megas' in the early period of the Kushan empire (see Yang 2009).

pursuit of Poros – the Indian king who rode a huge elephant – and his coins.⁸⁹ The connection between the elephant and Indian religion, however, may at that time not have been made yet. But when Demetrius I invaded north-western India more than a century later, Buddhism had penetrated deeply among the local population and the elephant was widely recognised as a symbol of Buddha and Buddhism (i.e. as the embodiment, vehicle and protector of the Buddha). We may suspect, therefore, that Demetrius and other kings had more motives for their veneration of the elephant than only the belief that they were the successors of Alexander and were restoring his empire and continuing his career of conquest, as a sign of which they were inspired to imitate the coins showing an elephant-scalp on the head of Alexander. For another motive may have been a desire to express sympathy for and acceptance of Buddhism, which could evoke favourable feelings towards them on the part of the Buddhist populations. On the basis of the available coins, we may say that after Demetrius I the image of an elephant always appeared together with that of a humped bull on the obverse and reverse sides of the same coin which has been called the ‘elephant/humped bull style’. The combination can be seen, for example, on three different coins of Agathocles and Apollodotus, the successor of Pantaleon.⁹⁰ When the elephant and the humped bull are shown together, there may have been a relation with certain traditions of Indian religion.

The elephant had figured regularly on early Indian coins, especially those from Eran (in the middle of India) and Taxila. It was not only associated with the Buddha, but it was also the mount of Indra. Like Zeus in Greece, Indra used the thunderbolt for the expression of his power. The coins of Eucratides I or Eucratides III⁹¹ bear an image of Zeus on his throne together with the *protome* or upper half of the body of an elephant. On the coins of Antialcidas, Zeus is standing in front of an elephant.⁹² Thus, the representations of these Indian and Greek deities became integrated and identical with each other. The humped bull was a species special to India, mentioned as such in the description of Jibin in the ‘Chapter on the Western Regions in the *Hanshu*’.⁹³ This domestic animal may have been particularly connected with Puskalavati, the capital of Gandhara, or the protector of Gandhara.⁹⁴ Whereas the bull, Nandi, was the *vahana* or mount of Shiva, the god of destruction

⁸⁹ Holt 2003, pls. 2–13.

⁹⁰ Srinivasan 2007, 244–45, fig. 9.28–29; Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 11 (Apollodote, 2–4).

⁹¹ Srinivasan 2007, 246–47, fig. 9.37. But Bopearachchi ascribed it to Eucratides I (Bopearachchi 1993, pl. 22 [Eucratide I, 24]).

⁹² Srinivasan 2007, 249, fig. 9.39; Bopearachchi 1993, pl. 39 (Antialcidas, 6).

⁹³ ‘Jibin (Ke-pin, Kophen)...The country produces humped ox, buffalo, elephant.....’ (Ban 1962, 3885).

⁹⁴ Srinivasan 2007, 247.

and reproduction in the Vedas, and Gandhara was an important province of the kingdom of Apollodotus, we may presume that the 'elephant/humped bull style' adopted by Apollodotus signified two things: one, the king's possession of this region; two, his respect for the local deities. The message that he thereby conveyed was that his rule was favoured by the two Indian gods.

A similar identification is reflected by the coins of Menander. Apart from the sole elephant, his coins include other images, such as 'head of elephant/club' and 'head of bull/tripod'. The club was the symbol of Heracles, while the tripod represented Apollo in Delphi. Possibly, these figures express identification of Indra with Heracles, and of Shiva with Apollo. One kind of coin of Menander with the Wheel of the Dharma on obverse and a palm branch on reverse suggests a combination of Buddhist and Greek conceptions of victory and peace.⁹⁵ After Menander, the Greek *DIKAIOS* ('just', in the genitive case) and its Kharosthi equivalent 'Dharmikasa' ('follower of the Dharma') appears on the bilingual coins of at least five kings. The exception is a series of coins of the queen and the son of Menander, which do not have the Greek *DIKAIOS*, but only 'Dharmikasa' in Kharosthi.⁹⁶ From then on, the Greek kings called themselves all 'Dharmikasa'. *Dharma* primarily means the Buddhist law; Asoka, for instance, was styled *Dharmaraja* or 'King of the Dharma'. In such ways, the Greeks combined their own deities and spiritual concepts with Buddhism or the worship of Shiva and Indra.

When it comes to the 'Indianisation' of the Indo-Greeks, one can hardly pass over the renowned Menander. He was the only Greek king to be recorded in Buddhist sutras. According to the Pali and Chinese texts, he was at last won over to the Buddhist law preached by Nagasena and he converted to Buddhism. However, he might not have become a monk after handing over his kingdom to his son and leaving home as described by the Pali and Chinese texts,⁹⁷ but turned to be a householder (*grhapati*). About him Plutarch wrote the following:

when a certain man named Menander, who had been a good king of the Bactrians, died in camp, the cities celebrated his funeral as usual in other respects, but in respect to his remains they put forth rival claims and only with difficulty came to terms, agreeing that they should divide the ashes equally and go away and should erect monuments to him in all their cities (*Moralia* 821D).

⁹⁵ The pattern can be seen in Bopearachchi 1991, pl. 32 (Ménandre, 1; Soter, 28–29), pl. 33 (Ménandre, 1; Soter, 37).

⁹⁶ Bopearachchi 1991, 387–89.

⁹⁷ See Davids 1894, 373–74 (no. 420); Horner 1964, 304–05 (no. 420); *Taishō Tripitaka* 1990, 703, 719. All these three versions refer to the desire of Menander (彌蘭王) to become a Buddhist.

He enjoyed the name of 'King of the Dharma', just like Asoka, and was glorified after his death like the Buddha. Because of his kindness and virtue, he was widely supported by the people. On the basis of the extant material, he may be seen as a prime example of the process of Indianisation of the Yavanas.

To judge from his coins, the Greek deity that Menander worshipped above all was Athena Alcidemos, i.e. the defender or saviour of the people. She had been respected as the guardian of Pella, the capital of Macedonia. The goddess was armed with a shield in one hand and a thunderbolt in the other.⁹⁸ His preference for this deity shows that Menander wanted to suggest a connection between himself and Macedonia, especially Alexander, presenting himself as the real successor of Alexander in India. His bilingual coins, on the other hand, are evidence not only of his adoption of the language of his Indian subjects, but also of his openness towards their religion, Buddhism in particular. The Sri Lankan text the *Mahāvamsa* ('Great Chronicle', 6th century AD), relates that during the reign of Menander an elder (Mahadharmarakkita, 'Great Protector of the Dharma') once led 30,000 *bhikkhus* from Alasanda (i.e. Alexandria in the Caucasus) to Sri Lanka to participate in the foundation ceremony of the Maha Thupa (the Great Stupa) built by the king of Sri Lanka.⁹⁹ The number of 30,000 is obviously exaggerated and we do not know how many *bhikkhus* from Alasanda really visited Sri Lanka, nor whether all of them were Yonas, but the story certainly reflects the prosperity and influence of Buddhism in the kingdom of Menander. It may have been in his time that the veneration of the relics of the Buddha began to spread. According to the Bajaur casket inscription of the reign of Menander that was found in today's Pakistan, the corporeal relics of the Buddha were assembled and interred in the fourteenth day of the month of Kārttika during the rule of the Maharajah Minadra.¹⁰⁰ At the same time or a little later, the Greek *meridarch* Theodorus dedicated a stupa with a relic of the Buddha in Swat.¹⁰¹ According to a prophecy in the *Stupavadana*, Menander would erect a Stupa in Pataliputra,¹⁰² which seems to vaguely reflect an historical fact. For Menander probably reached Pataliputra, although he did not stay there for long and he may even have not been converted to Buddhism at that time. Of course, the prophecy cannot be hard evidence, but the connection made in this prophecy between Menander and Buddhism shows that the author assumed a close relationship between the two.

⁹⁸ For other figures of Athena, see Bopearachchi 1991, pls. 26–33 (Ménandre 1; Soter, 1–21, 23–24, 27, 31–32, 39).

⁹⁹ Geiger 1912, xxix.

¹⁰⁰ Bopearachchi 1993, 19. n. 4.

¹⁰¹ Marshall 1951, 41.

¹⁰² Ksemendra *Stupavadana* cap 57, v. 15 (quoted in Seldeslachts 2004).

After Menander, the relations between the Greeks and the Shunga empire improved, and Indian culture seems to have gained in influence on the Greeks. During the reign of the Greek king Antialcidas (*ca.* 155–95 BC), Heliodorus, his ambassador to the Shunga empire, erected a stone pillar, the so-called Besnagar Pillar in Vidisha in the heart of India. There are two inscriptions in Brahmi on the pillar. One says ‘This Garuda^[103] pillar of the god of gods, Vasudeva, was caused to be made by Heliodorus, the devotee, the son of Dion, from Taxila, who came as Greek ambassador from the court of the Great King Antialcidas to Bhagabhadra, the son of Kasi, the Saviour, who was then in the fourteenth year of his prosperous reign’¹⁰⁴. The other says: ‘Three immortal precepts when practiced lead to Heaven – Restraint, Renunciation and Rectitude.’¹⁰⁵ From them we can see that at least some Greeks were familiar with the deities and scripts of India, and worshipped those deities. There was no Greek inscription, and no need to identify the Indian deities with those of Greece. In the view of Heliodorus, the gods of India were his own, even though he did not forget he was a Greek. Tarn assumed that this pillar was erected by his Indian secretary in his name, which may be true. Even so, however, Heliodorus’ permission was indeed a tacit approval of another civilisation. Tarn also accepted the opinion of older scholars who regarded the three precepts as the summary of two paragraphs of the *Mahabhārata*.¹⁰⁶ However, that interpretation is now questioned. For after Tarn, in Ai-Khanoum archaeologists discovered a stone with maxims from Delphi of a similar content, advising restraint, renunciation and rectitude, which, if kept on, could make one ‘to die without regret’¹⁰⁷ or lead one ‘to heaven’. Perhaps Bactrian-Greeks brought these precepts to India, thus integrating Greek moral concepts with Indian religious ethics.

Although the Greeks would eventually become Indianised, they tried for a long time to preserve their own culture, or at least to combine Greek cultural elements with Indian local culture. In this way, the process of Indianisation was to some extent also one of Hellenisation. The Buddhist art of Gandhara was the fruit of mutual influences of Greek and Indian cultures.¹⁰⁸ First, the identification of Indian

¹⁰³ Garuda was also ridden by Amoghasiddhi.

¹⁰⁴ Burstein 1985, 72.

¹⁰⁵ Tarn 1951, 380.

¹⁰⁶ Tarn 1951, 380–81.

¹⁰⁷ The text has been translated more than once into English but the meaning is same. For example, the translation by Bernard is: ‘In childhood, learn good manners; in youth learn to control your passions; in middle age learn to be just; in old age learn to be of wise counsel; die without regret’ (Bernard 1982, 1570). See also Austin 1981, 315 (no. 192); Mairs 2014, 189; Boardman 2015, 86.

¹⁰⁸ There is much discussion on the origin, explanation or historical background of the Gandhara art. The present article only deals with the role played by the Indo-Greeks. However, I do not deny the Indian origin of the art of Gandhara or the influences it underwent from other civilisations.

deities with their Greek counterparts, and especially the conversion of Greeks to Buddhism, laid the foundation of the Buddhist art of Gandhara. For only such an identification could have brought the Indo-Greek artists, who perhaps were familiar with Indian religious concepts and figures, or had converted to Buddhism, to portray the Indian deities, the Buddha or other figures of Buddhism in a Greek artistic style or with recognisably Greek attributes. Secondly, the anthropomorphism in Greek religion certainly stimulated the worship of the Buddha in human form. For why would the Buddha, powerful as he was, not be depicted in human form? After all, he was believed to have been a real man, not a vague figure of myth as many Greek heroes. Thus, conversion of Greeks to Buddhism and assimilation of Buddhist figures to Greek deities were the prerequisites of Gandhara art. Hence, it is no surprise that the Buddha could appear like Apollo, and Vajrapani like Heracles.

Judging from the coins, we can distinguish two phases in the process of assimilation of Indian deities and religious concepts to their Greek counterparts. In the first phase, represented by the coins of Agathocles and Pantaleon, Indian deities and cults are acknowledged, but Buddhism is still represented in a metaphoric way by its symbols the lion, the Bodhi tree, the Stupa, etc.¹⁰⁹ The second phase is represented by the coins of Menander. Besides Indian deities and religious concepts displayed each by a single figure or symbol, we find mixed Indo-Greek images, such as head of elephant/club (Buddha/Heracles), head of bull/tripod (Shiva/Apollo) and 'Wheel of Dharma'/palm branch (Buddhist doctrine/victory and peace).¹¹⁰ These images suggest that the Greeks not only accepted Indian deities, but consciously assimilated them to some of the Greek gods. Although the image of the Buddha had not been conceived yet, they sensibly equated the Buddhist doctrine with symbols standing for peace and victory in Greece, which shows that they had become acquainted with Buddhist lore. Since they could be able to show the images of Indian deities on their coins it would not be long for them to create the images of Buddha on their coins or in other forms. However this mission seems to be completed in the Indo-Scythian and Kushan periods. The first defined standing image should be dated to Azes II (*ca.* 35/30 BC–12/10 BC) or to his descendants,¹¹¹ and the first coin with the image of Buddha and the inscription 'BODDA' was issued by the Kushan king Kanishka (*ca.* AD 78–114). Of course there must be some preliminary images of Buddha appearing before them. So it could not be denied thoroughly the influence of the Indo-Greeks, especially those Buddhists among

¹⁰⁹ Bopearachchi 1991, 381, pls. 7, 9 (Agathocle, 9–11; Pantaléon, 6); 1993, 23.

¹¹⁰ Bopearachchi 1991, 381, pls. 31–33 (Ménandre, 1; Soter, 25, 28–30, 36–37).

¹¹¹ Errington *et al.* 1992, 186–92.

them, though we could not have direct evidence to attest what roles and to what extent they played for the appearance of image of Buddha and the formation of the Gandhara art.

Gandhara art is substantially the combination or fusion of the spirit of Indian Buddhism and the Greek art of sculpture as well as Greek religious ideas and mythical stories. From Greece to India, from Greek god to Indian Buddha, the birth of the Gandhara art underwent a long process.¹¹² With its development, scenes from the life and death of Buddha became its main subjects, and Greek architectural elements, costumes and mythical figures were also absorbed in it. It is generally accepted on the basis of archaeological finds that the height of development and the greatest spread of Gandhara art fell in the period of Kanishka, but its origin undoubtedly went back to the time of the Indo-Greeks. The discovery of Ai-Khanoum has provided indirectly supporting evidence, such as the Ionic, Doric and Corinthian orders, and stone sculpture of Greek deities and human figures. The Bactrian Greeks created sculpture in stucco, which was rare in Greece, formed around a framework of lead rods or sticks, smeared with mud or plaster.¹¹³ This art form became a distinguishing feature of Gandhara art, especially of the Indo-Afghanistan style,¹¹⁴ and further influenced Buddhist sculptural art in China and Central Asia. Judging from the strong realism in the images on Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins, presumably there might be a unique style of art in Bactria ruled by the Greeks, which they brought with them when they entered India. Its integration with Buddhism undoubtedly facilitated the birth of the Gandhara art which would spread to South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia and East Asia and exert an enormous influence even today.

At the time of the disappearance of the Indo-Greek kingdoms in India around the beginning of the Christian era, the Yavanas as Greeks had gradually merged with the Indian population. But that does not mean that the effects of a long period of

¹¹² Although Marshall dates the first flowering of Gandhara art to the 1st–2nd centuries AD, he ascribes its formation to the period the Indo-Scythians, namely shortly before the beginning of the Christian era. He considered the cultural heritage of the Indo-Greeks one of the factors stimulating the birth of Gandhara art, and traced the influence of the Greeks back to the 2nd century BC (Marshall 1960, xv, 5–6, 17–25; 1951, 42–43). Boardman displays systematically and thoroughly the whole course of how the Greeks and their art entered Asia as far as Central Asia and India, particularly how the Greek art were combined with Indian Buddhism and promoted the birth of Gandhara art (see Boardman 2015).

¹¹³ Bernard 1982, 154, 158.

¹¹⁴ Greek sculpture, as it is preserved, is mainly in stone, the Gandhara sculpture in stucco (see Marshall 1951, 75).

interaction between the two peoples and the two civilisations also disappeared. Apart from Gandhara art, the other legacy of Hellenistic culture introduced or developed by the Yavanas or Yonas also exerted a considerable influence on Indian astronomy, medicine, literature, the Indian script and coins, even on urban planning.¹¹⁵ These foreign influences had been absorbed into Indian culture and become part of it. The process was to some extent reciprocal, both Hellenisation and Indianisation taking place more or less at the same time but in different fields. The Scythians, Parthians and Kushans who later invaded India were in their turn and to varying degrees influenced by this mixed culture, and at the same time added some cultural elements of their own to it (for example, in the images on their coins). Thus, the question whether the history of the Yavanas belongs to the history of the Hellenistic kingdoms or to the ancient history of India is meaningless.¹¹⁶ In terms of the character of their civilisation, the Indo-Greeks in Bactria and India certainly belonged to the Hellenistic world; but from a geographical point of view, in view of regional or national history, it is reasonable that their history formed also part of the ancient history of India (including modern-day Pakistan and Afghanistan), for the simple fact that they mainly inhabited north-western India. Therefore the conclusion of Narain that 'the Greeks came and saw, but the Indians won', is also reasonable to some extent. In view of what happened in most of the Hellenistic world, such seems to have been the common fate of all Greeks who once ruled oriental lands. Such an outcome, however, can not diminish the historical importance of those Hellenistic kingdoms and the profound influence of the Hellenistic civilisation which had existed in oriental lands for more than three centuries. In this sense, Tarn's judgment that the Bactrian kingdom, including the Indo-Greeks, was the fifth Hellenistic kingdom is also justified.¹¹⁷ As far as the integration of Indian and Greek civilisations was concerned, the disappearance of the Indo-Greeks did not mean a victory for the Indians, but signified the successful integration of these two cultures and two peoples.

¹¹⁵ See Jairazbhoy 1963, 48–109. But the author suggests that Gandhara art was influenced by Rome, so he did not mention it in his chapter 'Greek influence in India'.

¹¹⁶ According to Klaus Karttunen, in terms of keeping to their conclusions, both Tarn and Narain were 'to excess... In fact both did rather well from their particular viewpoints. Tarn, however, in addition to his hypotheses, could not really understand Eastern history (and was much too sure that he did), while Narain seems to have had an erroneous idea of the meaning of Hellenism' (see Karttunen 1997, 271).

¹¹⁷ Mairs also insists that 'the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kingdoms were very much part of the Hellenistic world' (Mairs 2014, 177).

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A HISTORIOGRAPHY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH AT MEROË, SUDAN*

ANNA LUCILLE BOOZER

Abstract

This article joins together a substantial survey of antiquarian and archaeological research at ancient Meroë (Sudan), capital of the Meroitic kingdom (*ca.* 7th century BC–4th century AD, most broadly), with an exploration of contemporaneous historical events in Sudan, Egypt and Europe. This contextual approach makes it possible to trace influences upon past archaeological research trends and the changing views upon Sudanese heritage within Sudan and internationally.

Introduction

This article explores early archaeological research in Meroë city (Sudan) through the lenses of broad archaeological trends and regional history. Based upon our current knowledge, Meroë city was one of the most significant administrative, religious and artistic centres of the ancient kingdom of Kush between approximately the 7th century BC and the 4th century AD.¹ It is regarded as one of the oldest and most significant urban settlements in Africa south of Egypt. Despite its national and international importance, research at Meroë has often lagged behind the peripheral regions of Kush. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Salvage Campaigns in the 1970s, followed by the present concerns over dam building in Sudan, have focused archaeological attention to threatened areas instead of Meroë itself.² Moreover, excavations within Meroë have experienced significant time lags between excavation and final publication, which has hindered more thorough archaeological interpretations of the material.

The present work recounts the history of research at Meroë city in order to embed this regional research history within broader trends in Sudanese archaeology, Egyptology, archaeology and world historical events in Sudan, Egypt and Europe

* Andrew Bednarski, Giovanni Ruffini and Ian Rutherford read and commented upon a draft of this paper. Anonymous referees provided valuable suggestions, for which I am most grateful. All errors remain my own.

¹ Meroë is located at 16.54° N and 33.44° E, *ca.* 120 km north-east (downstream) of modern Khartoum (Török 1997b, xxi). The dates given are rough brackets only and are debated by scholars still today.

² Earlier, smaller, rescue projects also took place (see below).

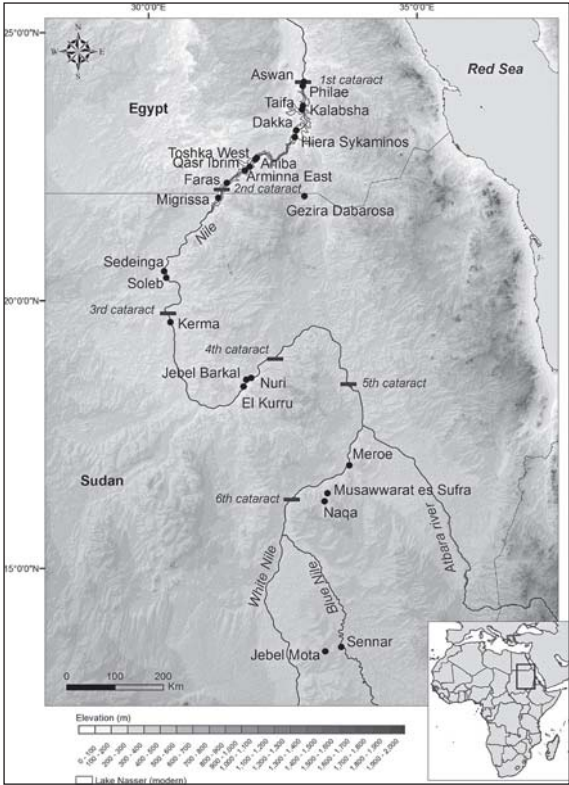


Fig. 1: Map of Sudan
(QUEST, University of Reading).

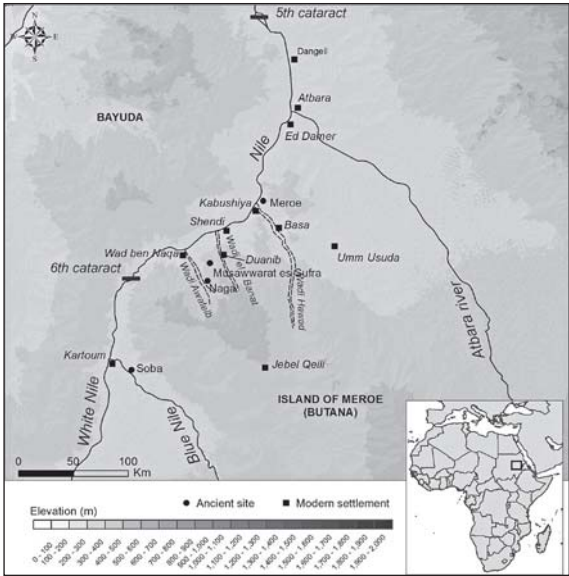


Fig. 2: Map of the Island of Meroe
(QUEST, University of Reading).

(Figs. 1–2).³ This historiography of early research at Meroë provides four useful outcomes. First, it enables us to understand this site as both a geographical and an academic periphery. Meroë's placement within Sudan cannot be severed from the development of archaeology in Sudan as well as the contours of the history of Sudan itself.

Second, this research survey enables us to understand changes in monument preservation. When Meroë was first explored, in the early 18th, 19th and 20th centuries, many structures were still visible and in good condition that were subsequently destroyed or damaged. A historiographical approach to these monuments, as prior scholars saw them, helps us to comprehend the fragmentary records that remain and the potential causes behind the monuments' destruction. These causes can inform present and future decisions about heritage preservation and presentation.

Third, past research developments enable us to understand the contours of current research projects within the region and, most significantly, highlight the engagement between foreign and Sudanese researchers in Sudanese archaeology. Fourth, this overview promotes a holistic understanding of how expeditions perceived Meroë's historical development, as well as how these perceptions changed over time.

The temporal parameters of this paper, 1772–1984, cover the range between the first European discovery of Meroë until the end of Peter L. Shinnie's excavations at this site.⁴ The end of Shinnie's excavations marked a shift in site management towards multiple projects being pursued at the site, many of which are active today. In reviewing this research history, I work through the evidence chronologically, embedding each major research expedition within its archaeological and historical framework. There is insufficient space to fully enumerate and explain the observations and discoveries of each expedition, although I have highlighted particularly significant missions as well as monument descriptions and techniques.⁵

³ As the Arabic sources on Meroë have been destroyed for the most part, and what does remain are not accessible to most Western scholars, this article relies primarily upon contemporary western accounts of this disciplinary history. For a recent consideration of the Merowe Dam Archaeological Salvage Project, its aftermath, and its impact upon the selection of archaeological sites threatened by dam construction, consult papers in Anderson and Welsby 2014.

⁴ Research after Shinnie continues at Meroë and these projects are noted in brief, as appropriate, below.

⁵ See www.Meroecity.org for representative publications of research at Meroë. For a recent overview of Meroë, including present-day campaigns, see Boozer forthcoming.

Classical Sources

After its collapse, Meroë largely disappeared from the historical record, but the memory of this important city was preserved in Greek and Roman sources, where the region was known as Aithiopia. This Graeco-Roman perspective influenced subsequent researchers who were educated in a Classical tradition. A brief review of these texts helps to underscore subsequent interpretations and biases.⁶

Strabo and the Elder Pliny provide us with early accounts of Roman-Meroitic interactions shortly after Rome's annexation of Egypt. Rome appears to have contacted Meroë in an attempt to create a client kingdom with them, which means that Meroë would agree to subordinate their own military, economic and political interests to those of Rome. This agreement did not last long. Unrest to the south of Aswan appears to have been supported by the armies of Kush. The Roman forces at Aswan were depleted as many of their numbers were withdrawn to fight in the Arabian campaigns of 24 BC. The Kushites seized their chance and sacked Aswan with an army of 30,000 men and destroyed imperial statues that had been set up at Philae (Strabo 17. 1. 53–54). Garstang's excavations at Meroë in 1910 revealed a fine over-life-sized bronze head of the emperor Augustus, which had been buried underneath the threshold of one of the smaller temples (see below). This head may have belonged to one of the bronze statues from Philae, although Strabo claims that all of the statues were returned to the Romans early on in the fighting.⁷ Strabo and Pliny the Elder provide us with contemporary Roman reactions to these events, while a Kushite perspective is lacking.⁸

A potentially highly significant historic episode, which may have seriously impacted the Triacontaschoinos, the 'frontier' region between southern Roman Egypt and Meroë, occurred at the end of the 1st century BC with the Roman campaign of Petronius against the Meroites after the Meroitic attack on Aswan.⁹ Sources state that Gaius Petronius, the prefect of Egypt, pushed back the invaders to Pselchis (Dakka) with the force of one legion and auxiliaries.¹⁰

⁶ Additional, Christian sources mention the Kingdom of Kush more generally. For example, we find mention in the Acts of the Apostles (see Hofmann 1988) and Christian exegetists commenting on the Song of Songs (among others) (for example Benz 1969, 225–26).

⁷ Török (1989–90, 181–82) doubts that such a statue would have been in place at Syene in 23 BC because he suggests a date later than 25 BC for the head, based upon stylistic comparanda.

⁸ An inscription set up by Akinidad and Amanitore at a small baked-brick temple at Hamadab (several kilometres south of Meroë city) provides the Kushite views of these events, but we only have hints as to the meaning of this inscription. It seems to date to 10 BC or later (Griffith 1917, 168). Early explorers did not know about these inscriptions.

⁹ Unfortunately, the archaeological evidence for this event remains unclear, as opposed to the archaeological evidence for the Kushite sackings of Aswan.

¹⁰ Strabo 17. 1. 53–54: 10,000 infantry and 800 horses. Negotiations took place at Pselchis, but they broke down, and the Romans moved south, taking Pselchis and the fortress at Primis (Qasr

Pliny records that Nero sent an exploratory party south while contemplating an attack on Aithiopia and this southern journey was the instance when they met a Kushite queen (Pliny *NH* 6. 35. 181). Seneca recounts that the expedition met a Kushite king and notes that there were marshes of such concentrations that the entangled plants were impenetrable (Seneca *Naturales Quaestiones* 6. 8. 3).¹¹ The Jewish Revolt of AD 66 put Nero's ambitions on hold and he died in AD 68. From this time on, there is a gap in Western knowledge about Meroë until the 18th century, when European explorers visited the site for the first time.

18th-Century Background

The 18th century opens with the vicinity of Meroë under fairly stable political conditions. The Sennar was the capital of Funj Sultanate (also known as the Blue Sultanate). The Funj ruled the north of Sudan from the early 16th century until 1823, although the state had begun to weaken already in the 18th century. The Funj held firm control over the economy and were strongly militarised with a standing army. It is also notable that the Funj converted to Islam from traditional African religions and Christianity in 1523, which contributed to the spread of Islam in north-east Africa. At this stage in scholarship, it is not clear that any Funj texts or maps informed European inquiry in the region surrounding Meroë.¹²

The first Europeans began to enter the Middle Nile region during the early 18th century and their perceptions of the region derived predominately from the classical

Ibrim) (Welsby 1996). Two Roman camps have been found less than 1 km north of Qasr Ibrim and these camps almost certainly date to the time of this campaign (Horton 1991, 271, fig. 3). Although the internal arrangement of these camps is unclear, both of them have the wall on one side of their gateways curved inwards, forming a *clavicula* which can be paralleled at the Roman camp found near Philae at Shellal (Reisner 1910, 56). Mergissa, 100 km upstream from Qasr Ibrim, has another Roman camp with *claviculae* at the entrances (Welsby 1996, 69). The *clavicula* is a diagnostic feature of Roman camps and can be found across the empire (for example in northern Britain and Palestine) (Welsby 1996, 68).

¹¹ There has been great speculation on the basis of these accounts. For example, Hintze suggested that there were two expeditions to Kush; the first expedition, which Seneca reported on, found a queen on the throne and took place in approximately AD 62; the second expedition, which Pliny reported on, found a king on the throne and took place in AD 66 or 67 (Hintze 1973, 131). Welsby, for his part, argues that Seneca's description sounds like the Sudd, the swamps of the White Nile over 1000 km upstream from Meroë (Welsby 1996, 70). It is entirely possible that these expeditions were forays into Kush to consider possible takeover by Rome.

¹² This lack may be due to inaccessibility or to the widespread destruction of local documents in these regions. It is possible that the Funj Chronicle could provide useful information. A succession of 19th-century Sudanese writers provides an account of Nilotic Sudan (910/1504–5 to 1288/1871) for these chronicles (see Holt 1999).

sources described above.¹³ The Napoleonic campaign in Egypt (1798) opened up the region to a new wave of European fascination in the Nile Valley, often with strong antiquarian interests.¹⁴ An increased number of expeditions ensued.

James Bruce (1772)

It was in this climate of massive growth in exploration, collection and recording in Egypt and Sudan that Europeans first visited Meroë. The Scottish traveller James Bruce (1730–94) first tentatively identified Meroë in 1772, on the basis of the Temple of Amun (M 260–280).¹⁵ Bruce was returning north along the east bank of the Nile from a journey to discover the source of the Blue Nile when he encountered Meroë:

We saw here heaps of broken pedestals...pieces of obelisk, likewise, with hieroglyphs, almost totally obliterated. The Arabs told us these ruins were very extensive, and that many pieces of statues, of both men and animals, had been dug up there...It is impossible to avoid risking a guess that this is the ancient city of Meroë.¹⁶

Remarkably, Bruce does not mention the pyramids of Meroë, which have been the focal point of most antiquarian and modern-day interest at Meroë. Although not explicit, this account suggests a long-term local interest in the site, which manifested itself in the form of digging up the ruins. The invasive nature of such excavations only increased with European interest in the site. Bruce passed by Meroë without additional investigations. The Swiss traveller, scholar and geographer, Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784–1817), also passed by the ruins of Meroë, but did not investigate the site further.¹⁷

Exploration and Treasure-Hunting at Meroë (1821–85)

The 19th century ushered in a phase of profound political instability in Sudan. In 1821, Muhammed Ali (1769–1849), the ruler of Egypt, arranged a massacre for the Mameluks in Cairo. Muhammed Ali's Turko-Egyptian armies pursued those

¹³ There were Arab travellers to the region, but they do not mention the antiquities, see Vantini 1975. On other foreign visitors, see Loth 1986.

¹⁴ Starkey and Starkey 2001, 1.

¹⁵ Bruce 1790, 295. On Bruce, see J. Reid 1968; Bredin 2001; Bierbrier 2012, 83. The 'M number' is the present-day designation for the temple. For ease of identification, these numbers are projected backwards for these monuments throughout the present work.

¹⁶ Bruce 1790, 295.

¹⁷ Burckhardt 1819, 275.

Mameluks who escaped into Nubia and conquered Sudan, thereby ending the last vestiges of the Funj Sultanate of Sennar.¹⁸ The Funj had been at the apex of the political structure of post-Christian Nubia.¹⁹ This Turco-Egyptian invasion was part of a planned territorial expansion that focused on the famed resources of the south: slaves and gold. This conquest intertwined the fortunes of Sudan with Egypt more than in the previous phase, although it is notable that these two regions have become entangled and disentangled episodically over many thousands of years. Sudan was accessible to exceptionally adventurous travellers, except for the period between 1885 and 1895, when the religious leader, or Mahdi, Muhammad Ahmed ibn Abdallah (1844–85), initiated an unstable period of independence.²⁰ The Anglo-Egyptian colonial regime was established in 1895, putting an end to this independence.

The fortunes of the Shendi region, the area around ancient Meroë, were turbulent at this time. With the decline of the Funj Sultanate of Sennar in the late 18th century, the Ja'aliyyin, the dominant ethnic group of the region, ruled Shendi.²¹ The Ja'aliyyin *makks*, or kings, experienced extreme economic exploitation under Turco-Egyptian rule and moved south and west from their long-term homeland centred upon al-Damir. Multi-directional migration was common to this region at this time and nomads inhabited the region around al-Damir.²² With the Egyptian expansion of their dominion into Sudan, many people of Shendi joined with northern Sudanese and the Mahdi to drive the Turks and Europeans out of Sudan. After 1821, this region experienced a dramatic transition into commoditisation and monetarisation. Muhammed Ali's agricultural policies were extended south and he required the production of compulsory cash crops (sugarcane, indigo, cotton), which severely pressed regional farmers and also resulted in the movement of Egyptians into the region to manage the factories and mills. The situation only worsened in the decades that followed. All of these events surely impacted the archaeology, although most contemporary accounts of this region were lost during this mid-19th century turbulence.²³

The *Description de l'Égypte* and the development of Egyptology following the Napoleonic expedition to Egypt inspired scholarly interest in the ancient

¹⁸ Sennar was located on the Blue Nile over 250 km from its confluence with the White Nile (Adams 1984, 597–98).

¹⁹ Adams 1984, 597.

²⁰ Holt 1958.

²¹ On the Funj, see Holt 1999; Adams 1984, 597–609.

²² Adams 1984, 607.

²³ On the Shendi region at this time, see Bjørkelo 1989. Bjørkelo's work clearly illustrates the issues inherent in working through the lacunose historical sources for this period and locale in Sudan.

monuments and history of areas further south of Egypt.²⁴ European adventurers followed Egypt's conquering army and initiated a new phase of travel and exploration in the region until the Mahdi's revolution, when travel became more difficult.²⁵ Chief among these explorers were Frédéric Cailliaud and Louis Linant de Bellefonds. Although Linant de Bellefonds visited Nubia and Sudan in 1821–22, his travel accounts were not published until more than a century later (1958), which substantially diminished their impact.²⁶

Frédéric Cailliaud (1821)

Frédéric Cailliaud (1787–1869) was a French traveller and mineralogist. As a result of his companionship with the Italian antiquarian Bernadino Drovetti (1776–1852), he met Muhammed Ali, who eventually made him the official mineralogist for the Egyptian government and assigned him the task of finding the ancient emerald mines that the Ptolemies supposedly operated and which Arab historians described.²⁷ Cailliaud was successful in the mission and assigned to more treasure-seeking explorations. In addition to his mineralogy work and explorations in Egypt, Cailliaud also undertook explorations in Sudan and Meroë.²⁸

Cailliaud was financed by the French government and given a government mandate to continue the scientific efforts started by the Napoleonic expedition, to explore those areas it failed to reach; namely the oases of the Western Desert and the lands of Nubia. Cailliaud attached himself to the army of the conquering Egyptian viceroy and travelled to Sudan, publishing four volumes of his accounts in 1826, along with plans, maps and plates. Within these accounts we find the first detailed description of Meroë's ruins.²⁹

When Cailliaud encountered Napata, a city on the west bank of the Nile downstream from Meroë, he momentarily thought that he was seeing Meroë.³⁰ In

²⁴ Clayton 1982. For a more measured account of the influence of the *Description* on different national trajectories of Egyptological study, see Bednarski 2005.

²⁵ Hakem 1978, 36–37; Holt 1961, 35–36. For traveller publications that mention Sudan and sometimes Meroë (in brief), consult Horn 1994.

²⁶ Linant de Bellefonds 1958. Margaret Shinnie, Peter L. Shinnie's first wife (see below), spearheaded the publication. Some of Linant de Bellefonds' other accounts were published more swiftly, such as Linant de Bellefonds 1872–73; 1868.

²⁷ On Cailliaud, see Chauvet 1989; Bierbrier 2012, 99. Drovetti, who was well-known for his destructive techniques used to acquire antiquities, was appointed by Napoleon as French consul to Egypt.

²⁸ Bierbrier 2012, 99.

²⁹ See the recent Bednarski 2014.

³⁰ Cailliaud 1826–27, 43. Napata was capital of the Napatan city-state, which preceded the Meroitic city-state (see above).

particular, he was misled by the modern name of Merowe, a common confusion. Once Cailliaud reached the correct region for Meroë, he used the latitude calculated by Eratosthenes to help him verify the location of ancient Meroë.

Cailliaud's guides had told him of *târabyls*, which were described as large stones that were piled one above the other like steps to hide chambers filled with gold and silver in antiquity. This description increased his curiosity and primed Cailliaud to focus on the pyramids. In late April 1821, Cailliaud reached Meroë. His guide told him that they would soon be able to see the *târabyls*. He first caught sight of the tops of a host of pyramids, their tips illuminated by the sunlight. Towards the west, he then spied a second group of pyramids. And, finally, he noticed what he describes as a large open space, only a short distance from the river, which was covered with ruins and piles of rubble. With this evidence he was certain he had found the pyramids and city of Meroë.³¹

Cailliaud published an account of his travels in Sudan and included images, plans and accounts of the pyramid cemeteries located 4 km north-east of Meroë city. These pyramids were subsequently identified as the burial place of Meroitic kings. Cailliaud's images were not technically as gifted as those from the Lepsius expedition. On the other hand, they are of great value since they did not glorify Meroitic architecture as Classically inspired, but rather emphasised the less-idealised proportions of the architecture.³²

Less-significant explorers followed Cailliaud. The British clergyman George Waddington (1793–1869) published a journal of his travels to the region as part Muhammad Ali's conquering army of 1820 with another British clergyman, Barnard Hanbury (1793–1833).³³ Waddington's account mentions Meroë and the confusion between Meroë and modern Merowe, a town located upstream from Meroë at a significant bend in the Nile.³⁴ The French traveller Pierre Constant Letorzec (1798–1857) visited Meroë as part of the Cailliaud expedition and then again in 1820–2, making observations with a sextant.³⁵ Letorzec left graffiti commemorating his visit within the pyramids of Meroë (Fig. 3). In 1823 the German naturalist and explorer Eduard Rüppell (1794–1884) paid a visit to the pyramids of Meroë and left us with a panoramic rendering of the site.³⁶ Most importantly, Rüppell described the destruction of the south end of the upper part of the pyramid

³¹ Cailliaud 1826–27, 142.

³² Cailliaud 1826–27, pl 1, II, 150–75.

³³ On Waddington, see Bierbrier 2012, 562. On Hanbury, see Bierbrier 2012, 241.

³⁴ Bierbrier 2012, 562; Waddington 1822, 185, 318. He was well-aware of Bruce's travels, which he quotes (Waddington 1822, 185), as well as those of other early antiquarian explorers.

³⁵ On Letorzec, see Bierbrier 2012, 327.

³⁶ On Rüppell, see Bierbrier 2012, 479.



Fig. 3: Graffiti on the interior walls of the pyramids left by P.C. Letorzec (author’s photograph, 2013).



Fig. 4: Graffiti on the exterior walls of the pyramids left by von Pückler-Muskau, among others (author’s photograph, 2013).



Fig. 5: Graffiti on the exterior walls of the pyramids left by Boulton and Drovetti, among others. This wall is the same wall as depicted in Fig. 4 (author’s photograph, 2013).

belonging Amanishakheto (Beg N 6).³⁷ As we will see, his observation contradicts the story of Ferlini who claimed he found the treasure of the queen five years later in 1834 under the top of the pyramid.³⁸

The English naval commander, explorer and politician Lord Prudhoe (1792–1865) travelled to Egypt and Nubia in 1828 and brought many antiquities back to England.³⁹ Unfortunately, there is no published record of Prudhoe's experiences in Sudan. We also know of a visit by the Austrian officer Eduard Ferdinand Callot (1793–1862) in 1832.⁴⁰ The British traveller George Alexander Hoskins (1802–63) followed these explorers in 1832–33, visiting numerous significant sites in both Egypt and Sudan.⁴¹ During these explorations, Hoskins became acquainted with the Scottish Egyptologist Robert Hay (1799–1863), the English artist Francis Arundale (1807–53), the English artist and architect Frederic Catherwood (1799–1854), and the English artist, Egyptologist and curator Joseph Bonomi the Younger (1796–1878).⁴² Hoskins published an account of his travels, which include numerous descriptions, drawings and plans of Meroë, and particularly focusing upon the pyramids.⁴³ Hoskins also left unpublished portfolios of drawings made during his journey, which are now housed in Oxford. John Lowell jr (1799–1835) along with the Swiss painter Charles Gleyre (1806–74) visited in 1835.⁴⁴ The German nobleman Hermann Ludwig Heinrich von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) visited in 1837 and left graffiti of his visit on the pyramids at Meroë as well as elsewhere (Fig. 4).⁴⁵ During this period, the Austrian geologist Josef Russegger (1802–63) was one of the first visitors to doubt the Pharaonic dating of the pyramids as suggested by Cailliaud and Hoskins.⁴⁶ He was rightly convinced that he recognised Ptolemaic

³⁷ Rüppell 1829, 114–16, pl. V.

³⁸ Ferlini 1938, 13–15. On the significance of this contradiction, see Hinkel 1985. On additional doubts cast upon Ferlini's account, see Markowitz and Lacovara 1996.

³⁹ Lord Algernon Percy, 1st Baron Prudhoe, later 4th Duke of Northumberland. On Prudhoe, see Ruffle 2001; Bierbrier 2012, 423. The so-called Prudhoe Lions are the best known of these antiquities and were brought back from Nubia to the British Museum (Ruffle 1998).

⁴⁰ Callot 1854–55 VII, 38–52. On Callot, see Bierbrier 2012, 100–01.

⁴¹ On Hoskins, see Bierbrier 2012, 266.

⁴² On Hay, see Bierbrier 2012, 246–47. On Arundale, see Bierbrier 2012, 27. On Catherwood, see Bierbrier 2012, 107–08.

⁴³ Hoskins 1835.

⁴⁴ The Lowell diaries are now stored at the Boston Athenaeum, with early copies in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The Gleyre sketches and water colours are stored in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and some Gleyre drawings can be found in the Griffith Institute. See also MacDonald 1985. On Lowell, see Bierbrier 2012, 340. On Gleyre, see Bierbrier 2012, 214.

⁴⁵ von Pückler-Muskau 1846–48 I, 9–13. On von Pückler-Muskau, see Bierbrier 2012, 446–47.

⁴⁶ Russegger 1841–49 II, 1, 491.

and Roman influences in them.⁴⁷ These early explorers drew an increased number of European scholars to Sudan, who came ready to study and record its monuments.

Giuseppe Ferlini (1830s)

Chief among this wave of explorers was Giuseppe Ferlini (1800–70), a doctor and amateur explorer/archaeologist from Bologna, Italy.⁴⁸ Ferlini had worked as a surgeon for the Egyptian military employed in Sudan and had worked for brief periods in Greece and Egypt. Ferlini was first stationed in Sennar and in Kordofan and then transferred to Khartoum. When Ferlini quit the service in 1834, he applied to the Egyptian military governor for permission to excavate. He first worked at Wad ban Naqa, Naqa and Mussawwarat es-Sofra. Ferlini then turned his attention to the pyramids of Meroë.⁴⁹

The local accounts of *târabyl* (see above) may have shaped Ferlini's mission as he was focused on recovering gold and silver at great cost to the ancient monuments. Ferlini's quest for treasure at Meroë was initially unsuccessful, but he picked up his pace and supposedly found jewellery in one (the pyramid of Amanishakheto, Beg N 6).⁵⁰ According to Cailliaud's sketches, this pyramid was one of the best preserved of those still standing at the time.⁵¹ Ferlini claims that he hired four workers from neighbouring villages and ordered them to dismantle the pyramid from the top down. Spectacular finds were said to be located in chambers within the pyramid, along with some construction equipment used by the pyramid builders.⁵² Additional stories suggest Ferlini blew off the tops of many of the pyramids he explored subsequently in his zest for treasure, which created the peculiarly truncated form that is visible today. His accounts of this work are littered with remarks labelling 'the Blacks' who aided his work as 'greedy'.⁵³

Many scholars now suspect that Ferlini's story was devised to mislead competitors. There are several strands of evidence that argue against Ferlini's account. In particular, Rüppell's panoramic drawings of the pyramid field show that the southern part of the top of this pyramid was missing some years before Ferlini's arrival. Additional evidence against Ferlini's account include the sequence and size of the

⁴⁷ Hinkel 2000, 15.

⁴⁸ Bierbrier 2012, 189–90.

⁴⁹ Priese 1992, 12.

⁵⁰ See also Priese 1992 for the finds and jewellery recovered.

⁵¹ Beg. N denotes Begarawiya North, named after the local village.

⁵² Priese 1992, 13–14.

⁵³ Ferlini 1937, 339–40.

substructure and superstructure, the use of the *shaduf* in the construction of the pyramid proper, and a number of golden objects, similar to those found by Ferlini, that Reisner later found left in the burial chambers of Beg N 6.⁵⁴

Ferlini published an account of his work and a catalogue of his finds in Bologna in 1837. A French translation followed in 1838.⁵⁵ Ludwig I of Bavaria purchased part of the *cache* in 1840, which is now on display in the Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst in Munich. The remainder of the cache was still in the hands of an agent in London in 1842, where Karl Richard Lepsius became acquainted with it before he left for his Royal Prussian Expedition. Lepsius recognised the significance of the objects prior to his own trip to Meroë and urged the Berlin Museum to purchase the remainder of the objects.⁵⁶ Berlin eventually acquired them in 1844 and four additional seal rings were acquired from Ferlini's heirs in 1913.⁵⁷

The destructive nature of Ferlini's work at the Meroë pyramids has been commented upon numerous times by scholars.⁵⁸ Also, his work has unambiguously drawn archaeologists and looters to Meroë for excavations, both illicit and official. Both Europeans and locals seem to have looted Meroë, as indicated by the aforementioned accounts, Lepsius's records (see below) and records of finds now located in Sudan's National Museum.⁵⁹

Karl Richard Lepsius and the Royal Prussian Expedition (1842–45)

With the growth of Egyptological research more broadly, more systematic recording of Nubian antiquities began, most notably with the Royal Prussian Expedition (1842–45).⁶⁰ The massive Prussian expedition, led by Karl Richard Lepsius (1810–84), advanced south to the 'Island of Meroë' and produced numerous maps, drawings and squeezes.⁶¹ These illustrations were published in his monumental work in 1848–59, which proved to be a landmark in Nubian studies, due to Lepsius's vast

⁵⁴ For critiques of Ferlini's story, see Hinkel 1985; 2000; Markowitz and Lacovara 1996.

⁵⁵ Ferlini 1937, Ferlini 1938. Ferlini's account is also published in translation in Budge 1907, 285–307. For more recent information, see Boldrini and Ferlini 1981; Priese 1992.

⁵⁶ Priese 1992, 14.

⁵⁷ Priese 1992, 15.

⁵⁸ The critiques are too numerous and apparent to list here. See Priese 1992 for a critique and citations.

⁵⁹ Lepsius 1852, 206, letter dated 22 April 1844.

⁶⁰ Lepsius 1849. On Lepsius, see Bierbrier 2012, 325–26.

⁶¹ The 'Island of Meroë' expression has aroused many conjectures about the original topography of Meroë, but it is most likely to refer to the enclosure of the region surrounding Meroë within three rivers: the Atbara, the Nile and the Blue Nile. A squeeze is a multidimensional mirror-image illustration of an inscription. It is formed by pressing soft, wet, mouldable paper, pulp, latex or plaster into a low-relief inscription. When the material is dry and removed, it forms a solid object. The decoration

knowledge and the skill and care of his draftsmen, although Lepsius (and his draftsmen) had a tendency to 'classicise' Nubian architecture and art.⁶² Lepsius's expedition at Meroë (1844) produced measurements and drawings that superseded those of Cailliaud, although he failed to identify that the city he recorded so meticulously was Meroë. Lepsius even attempted an early analysis of Nubian languages.⁶³ These works paved the way for new scientifically grounded research on the Meroitic cultures of Sudan.

Lepsius shaped the contours of archaeology in Sudan in a decidedly less-positive direction as well. He supposed the existence of two major ethnic types in Africa; a 'Hamitic' ('Caucasoid') in the north and a 'Negroid' in the south, suggesting that these distinct types were separated from each other by a zone of interchange.⁶⁴ Subsequent writers described the region as divided between the 'superior Caucasoid' and the 'inferior Negroid' races; interpreting Nubian history in terms of alternating periods of cultural development resulting from 'Caucasoid' influences upon the 'Negroid' peoples (see below). These ideas also tapped into the growing interest in Darwinian evolutionism, which served as grounding for the privileging of certain 'races' and the idea that specific peoples brought about cultural change through migration and diffusion.⁶⁵ In essence, these perspectives underscored an unspoken racism. This colonialist and ethnocentric approach to Sudanese history dominated interpretations until the 1960s and 1970s, although some of the baggage associated with this view persists at times even today (see below).⁶⁶

After the middle of the 19th century, the number of known visitors increased. Among these visitors were three students from Trinity College, Cambridge, H.D. Barclay, M. Boulton and the famous F. Galton.⁶⁷ In 1846, the Melly family from Liverpool visited.⁶⁸ In 1851, the American, Bayard Taylor (1825–78) visited.⁶⁹ G. Drovetti, son of the French consul in Cairo, visited in 1852 and left his name

of 49 wall scenes in the offering chapels were recorded. On Lepsius, see Bierbrier 2012, 324–26, Mehlitz 2011.

⁶² Lepsius 1849.

⁶³ Lepsius 1880.

⁶⁴ Lepsius 1880. On the history of the so-called 'Hamitic Hypothesis', see MacGaffey 1966; Hofmann 1976, 3–4; Trigger 1978; 1994.

⁶⁵ On Darwinian evolutionism in archaeological thought, see Trigger 1989, 110–13, 148–50.

⁶⁶ Racism is deeply rooted in Sudan and can be thought of as both internal racism and international racism. Among the many Sudanese peoples, this racism is more historical and cultural than it is ethnic (Collins 2008, 8). The racism discussed here is based upon colour and ideology and has been more typical of the foreigners, mostly Europeans, working in Sudan.

⁶⁷ Hinkel 2000, 15.

⁶⁸ On André Melly (1802–51), see Bierbrier 2012, 366–67.

⁶⁹ See Bierbrier 2012, 535.

on the pyramids near the name of Boulton (Fig. 5).⁷⁰ The Austrian R. Buchta took the first known photographs of Meroë's pyramids in 1874. The names of well-known visitors can be found carved on the surface of the structures (Figs. 3–5). Often, names with the dates of 1898 and 1899 can be assigned to British soldiers.⁷¹

Another critical advance in the field of Meroitic studies occurred in 1862, when five large granite stelae, along with fragments of other stelae, were accidentally discovered in the ruins of Gebel Barkal.⁷² On the basis of the stelae, scholars argued that Meroë was a 'debased echo' of Egyptian civilisation and fuelled ethnic biases already found in Lepsius's work.⁷³ Despite these inherently adverse views on Meroitic culture, these stelae provided insights into the nature of kingship and the division between Napatan and Meroitic phases.⁷⁴ This phase of exploration, treasure-hunting and writing came to an end abruptly. Nubia and Sudan were cut off from the main stream of archaeological investigation as a result of the Mahdist revolution of the 1880s and 1890s, only to re-emerge under British colonial rule.⁷⁵

Historical Context, 1898–The First World War

Sudan's period of short-lived independence under the Mahdi and his successor, Khalifa Abdullahi (1881–98), came to an end in 1898. Under the Anglo-Egyptian Conventions of 1899, the international frontier between Egypt and Sudan was established at 22° N. Sudan was now in a period of colonial rule under the condominium of Britain and its nominal partner, Egypt. Under British colonial rule, British archaeologists, namely Egyptologists, were encouraged to visit this new territory.⁷⁶ Egyptological interests would continue to dominate virtually all research in Sudan for the best part of a century.⁷⁷

Sir (Ernest Alfred Thompson) Wallis Budge (1857–1934), an English Egyptologist based at the British Museum, was one of the most renowned travellers to visit

⁷⁰ On Bernadino Drovetti (1776–1852), see Bierbrier 2012, 161–62.

⁷¹ Hinkel 2000, 15.

⁷² Reisner 1921a; Grimal 1981; Goedicke 1998.

⁷³ Hakem 1978.

⁷⁴ Erman 1907, 197–99. The chronological division between the Napatan Period and the Meroitic Period is still debated today. Napatan generally refers to the period before the 4th century BC and Meroitic generally refers to the period after the 4th century BC. These terms were created primarily due to the belief that the capital of Kush was 'transferred' from Napata to Meroë in the 4th century (Török 1997a, 5). For a survey of the literature on the question, see Hofmann 1971, 65–67, Török 1992. Note that Török disagrees with some of Hoffmann's interpretations.

⁷⁵ Hakem 1978, 38; Cleveland 2004, 106, 124.

⁷⁶ Hakem 1978, 38.

⁷⁷ Adams 1998.

Sudan in this new phase of colonial rule.⁷⁸ Budge visited Sudan from 1897 to 1905 and published his interpretations in two volumes, which represent the first comprehensive account of the region.⁷⁹ Budge described existing monuments and summarised the writings of earlier explorers. In particular, Budge casually excavated at the royal cemeteries of Gebel Barkal and Meroë in order to collect antiquities for the British Museum.⁸⁰ Troops furnished by Sir (Francis) Reginald Wingate (1861–1953), Governor-General of the Sudan, made paths to and between the pyramids at Meroë, sinking shafts to aid this mission. This objective resulted in poor archaeological methodologies being employed at this site once more. We know nearly nothing about these expeditions.⁸¹ Since Budge's excavations were aimed at acquiring material for the British Museum at low cost with respect to time and effort, they did little to increase our knowledge about these sites. Although Budge's publications helped to bring attention to the archaeology of the region, his destructive methods and colonialist perspectives created serious damage to monuments and interpretations.⁸²

Another British Museum official, Philip David Scott-Moncrieff (1882–1911), joined Budge in 1905–06 and did clearance and conservation at Buhen.⁸³ Scott-Moncrieff also published descriptions of the reliefs at Naqa and Mussawwarat es-Sofra, which emphasised the Greek components of these monuments and de-emphasised the Egyptian character of these Meroitic reliefs, much as Lepsius had done previously.⁸⁴ The Meroitic context was not stressed, which was detrimental to understanding the importance of these two significant Meroitic religious sites.

The building and subsequent heightening of the Aswan Dam began during this period and this dam construction was to have an enormous impact upon archaeology in Sudan. The first dam was begun in 1898 and completed in 1902. In 1907 the Egyptian government decided to increase its height and plans to increase it even more persisted until the creation of the High Dam. The original low dam construction entailed that the area along the Nile between the First Cataract and Wadi es-Sebua would be affected and that many sites in this area would disappear. The Egyptian Antiquities Service became concerned, and Gaston Maspero (1846–1916)

⁷⁸ On Budge, see Bierbrier 2012, 90–92.

⁷⁹ Budge 1907.

⁸⁰ Budge 1928, 79–80; 1907.

⁸¹ The Meroë Archival Project is currently reconstructing possible objects recovered using the National Museum register.

⁸² It is notable that he and Flinders Petrie disagreed about the concept of an invading Caucasian 'Dynastic Race' (on Petrie, see Silberman 1999). On Budge's destructive methods, see Hinkel 2000, 15.

⁸³ Scott-Moncrieff 1907.

⁸⁴ Scott-Moncrieff 1908.

himself visited the area between 1904 and 1905 to assess the work required and produced a report on their condition.⁸⁵ Maspero commissioned the British Egyptologist Arthur Edward Pearse Brome Weigall (1880–1934) to inspect Lower Nubia down to Abu Simbel.⁸⁶ Weigall's report was the first record of archaeological sites in this area of Lower Nubia.⁸⁷ This work paved the way for a series entitled *Les Temples immergés de la Nubie*, which was published by the Antiquities Service. English, French and German scholars recorded and studied a range of temples from the Pharaonic, Roman and Meroitic Periods as a result of Maspero's initiative. This 'rescue' mentality towards the archaeology of Sudan will appear episodically from this point forward and never fully recede from influencing research agendas in Sudan.⁸⁸ This mentality is detrimental to the development of research projects and the full analysis of material from previous campaigns, rescue or otherwise. Moreover, the strong emphasis on temples and tombs, as established by early scholarly work in Sudan, to the detriment of settlement archaeology, continues to this day.

In response to the heightening of Egypt's original Aswan Dam, the first systematic research in Nubia began with a rescue mission known as the First Archaeological Survey of Nubia (1907–11).⁸⁹ The University of Chicago also conducted a reconnaissance survey of northern Sudan during 1905 and 1906, which was followed by extensive excavations at Kerma as well as significant Pharaonic, Napatan and Meroitic sites.⁹⁰ Sir Henry (Solomon) Wellcome (1853–1936) formed the Wellcome Expedition for the excavation of Gebel Moya (1911–14) and also helped to finance Garstang's subsequent excavations at Meroë.⁹¹ Other famous researchers, such as the British Egyptologist Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862–1934), were attracted to Sudan at this time.⁹²

The British government in Sudan recognised the problems of organising an appropriate administration to meet the responsibilities created by the rescue of Sudan's substantial cultural heritage and began to allocate funds to maintain this heritage. In 1903, the Consul-General for Egypt and the Sudan, Evelyn Baring, 1st Earl of Cromer (1841–1917), had declared that nothing could be done in the field of archaeology and entrusted the legal and executive control of antiquities to the Governor-General, Wingate, who was then head of the Sudanese government.⁹³

⁸⁵ Maspero 1911.

⁸⁶ On Weigall, see Bierbrier 2012, 570.

⁸⁷ Weigall 1907.

⁸⁸ This rescue mentality continues today, as is also noted by Török (Török 1997a, 5).

⁸⁹ Reisner 1910; Firth 1912; 1915; Firth 1927.

⁹⁰ Breasted 1908.

⁹¹ On Wellcome, see Bierbrier 2012, 571–72.

⁹² On Griffith, see Bierbrier 2012, 227–28.

⁹³ Hakem 1978, 42.

In 1904, John Winter Crowfoot (1873–1959), who had accompanied Budge in his travels, was given responsibility for the administration and care of the antiquities in Sudan and he made a tour to record and assess the work under his charge.⁹⁴ Crowfoot had been the Assistant Director of the Education Department of the Sudan government and was asked to take on the Antiquities Service as a part-time duty and with no budgetary provision.⁹⁵ An area at Gordon Memorial College (now the University of Khartoum) was set aside for the display of objects.

The Governor-General of the Sudan promulgated the Antiquities Ordinance in 1905. It was the first law that regulated archaeological research and also prohibited the illicit transportation or dealing in antiquities in Sudan. As part of this Antiquities Ordinance, a Board of Museums and an Acting Conservator of Antiquities were established.⁹⁶ Peter Drummond served as Acting Conservator of Antiquities (1908–21).

The development of an antiquities service, legislation and a fledgling museum in Sudan parallels similar developments in Egypt, the Middle East and the Arabian Peninsula. In many respects, these authorities exemplify broader issues of colonialism, nationalism and eventual independence in these regions.⁹⁷ The establishment of formal antiquities services can be seen as relics of colonial occupation, in which heritage and archaeology were a significant resource that foreign occupiers wished to control. This control often benefitted the coffers of museums from their home nation, rather than protected local heritage. The subsequent transformation of these antiquities authorities from foreign-run to domestic-run institutions reflected a broad desire for national independence and local interest in heritage, as we will see.

These visits, publications and promotions of heritage drew additional European archaeologists to Sudan. Many of these archaeologists, usually British, continued to emphasise the role of Egypt in shaping Sudanese history and archaeology. This emphasis upon Nubia's coloniser mirrored the contemporary colonial status of Sudan and it is notable that the primary researches during this phase came from Britain. The Governor-General, Wingate, invited the Revd Archibald Henry Sayce (1846–1933), a British Assyriologist and linguist based at the University of Oxford, to visit Sudan to assess the archaeology. Wingate travelled up the Blue and White Niles and toured Naqa, Mussawwarat es-Sofra, Meroë and Gebel Barkal by camel. Sayce's visit led to the eventual excavations at Meroë by Garstang. Moreover, it was

⁹⁴ Crowfoot 1911. On Crowfoot, see Bierbrier 2012, 136.

⁹⁵ Bierbrier 2012, 136.

⁹⁶ Hakem 1978, 42. On Scott-Moncrieff, see Bierbrier 2012, 498.

⁹⁷ Potts 1998; D. Reid 2002; Magee 2012.

Sayce who originally dubbed Meroë the ‘Birmingham of Africa’, since Birmingham was the chief industrial city in Sayce’s native England, a moniker that has influenced research on metallurgy at Meroë for many years.⁹⁸

John Garstang (1910–14)

In 1909, Sayce returned focus to Meroë city when he suggested to John Garstang (1876–1956) that he investigate the site further.⁹⁹ Garstang’s excavations at Meroë are still the largest settlement site excavations in Sudan so far, even compared to Shinnie’s later work at this same site (see below). Garstang was born in Britain and trained in mathematics at Oxford. Between 1897 and 1908, Garstang excavated Roman sites in Britain as well as sites in Egypt, Nubia, Turkey and Syria. He became a professor of archaeology at the University of Liverpool (1907–41) just prior to his work at Meroë.¹⁰⁰

Garstang had worked in Egypt since 1901 and was working at Abydos when the prospect of excavating at Meroë arose.¹⁰¹ The initial goal of the Sayce-Garstang project was to unearth the ‘fabled royal city’ where the ‘Table of the Sun’ stood.¹⁰² Garstang later attempted to connect the building periods of Meroë to known historical events. Garstang’s work emphasised the importance of Egyptian and Hellenistic influences and imports upon Meroë, rather than the indigenous components of its development.¹⁰³ The contemporary colonial rule in Sudan normalised this emphasis. Although Garstang introduced photography as a recording technique and attempted to make accurate plans, he was unaware of contemporary methodological developments in archaeology that related to vertical and horizontal stratigraphy.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁸ Garstang *et al.* 1911, 55. It is worthwhile noting that Revd A.H. Sayce was primarily an Assyriologist. His claim has had remarkable tenacity, despite insufficient evidence. On iron-working at Meroë, see Trigger 1969; Phillipson 1977; Shinnie and Kense 1982; Tylecote 1982. Shinnie was dubious at first, but changed his views later (see below). For doubts about Meroitic iron-making dominance, see Amborn 1976. Large slag heaps can be found at the eastern edge of the city, which appear to mark the craft quarter, but definitive evidence for Sayce’s claims have yet to be produced. UCL Qatar, Directed by Jane Humphris, has a new, scientifically grounded expedition that focuses on metal-working at Meroë. Sayce in connection with Garstang’s Meroë expedition, completed some test excavations in the Western Necropolis, which was then most probably recorded as Cemetery No. 800 (Sayce 1923, 366). For more on Sayce, see Davies 2014.

⁹⁹ On Garstang, see Bierbrier 2012, 208; Shore 1985.

¹⁰⁰ Albright 1956.

¹⁰¹ Török 1997b, 1.

¹⁰² Herodotus 3. 17. 18. See also Török 1997b, 2. They believed this structure to be Temple M 250 (Török 1997b, 2).

¹⁰³ Török 1997b, 3.

¹⁰⁴ Török 1994. Such techniques were employed in Egypt prior to and during Garstang’s time working there, most notably by Petrie. It is remarkable that Garstang ignored these developments.

Garstang primarily focused upon the 'Royal City', which is a walled precinct that is roughly rectangular in shape, measuring approximately 275 × 137 m. A labyrinth of buildings slumbers within these walls, many of which are monumental in size and ornamentation. Most of the buildings are composed of mud brick with exterior faces of baked brick and a few buildings built of stone. Large, square buildings, nearly identical in size, are located near the centre of the walled enclosure and are believed to be palaces. Other buildings have been interpreted as storage magazines, audience chambers and domestic quarters for the palace staff. There was also a small prostyle temple in front of which was found the famous bronze head of Augustus, which the Meroites may have looted from Egypt.¹⁰⁵

One of the most distinctive buildings of the site is the so-called 'royal bath', which is a water sanctuary.¹⁰⁶ This shrine was part of a larger complex associated with the royal residence. It had a basin at its centre, which was supplied with the water of the Nile flood through a water duct, thereby serving as a symbolic Nile source. Both the architecture and the sculpture suggest the influence of Ptolemaic dynastic and ruler cults and centre upon representations of Dionysos.¹⁰⁷

Adjoining the enclosure, on its eastern side, is the Temple of Amun, which was dedicated to the twin cults of Amun of Thebes and Amun of Napata. It also housed the guest cult of Amun of Kawa.¹⁰⁸ The Temple of Amun is the southern equivalent of the great temple of Gebel Barkal, the site of greatest religious symbolism for the Kushites. Additional temples line a processional street through Meroë in this vicinity.

The buildings in the Royal City were repaired and rebuilt innumerable times, which created a very complex tell formation of occupational history.¹⁰⁹ As a result, the original ground topography is a struggle to interpret.¹¹⁰ Needless to say, Garstang's difficulties with stratigraphy and phasing entail that he was unable to disentangle these numerous and interleaved phases adequately.

¹⁰⁵ This head of Augustus (BM 1911,0901.1) is emblematic of imperial and colonial relationships, having first been used as Roman control in Egypt, taken by the Meroites to Meroë and placed in front of a temple for trampling purposes, and then finally brought to England by archaeologists during a period of colonial rule in Sudan.

¹⁰⁶ S. Wolf and H.-U. Onasch, as part of the German Archaeological Institute, are currently working in this area of the site (*cf.* Wolf and Onasch 2003).

¹⁰⁷ Vlach 1984; Török 1997b, chapter 23.

¹⁰⁸ The cult of Amun at Meroë seems to have emerged only in the Late Meroitic Period (Hofmann and Tomandl 1987).

¹⁰⁹ A 'tell' is a type of archaeological mound created by long-term human occupation and abandonment upon the same spot.

¹¹⁰ Adams 1984, 314–15.

A major contribution of Garstang's mission was that the site was identified definitively as ancient Meroë in 1920 by an inscription found in excavations along the Amun Temple walls. Research focused upon the Amun Temple because ancient writers mentioned the Amun Temple at Meroë city. Moreover, the mention of the city of *Mer(?)* in a hieroglyphic text of a stela of King Apelta (late 7th–early 6th century BC) found in fragments at Temple M 250, a temple located approximately a kilometre to the south-east of the late Amun temple (M 260) appeared to corroborate this identification.¹¹¹ Although the identification of the site as Meroë had been supposed for a long time, these records verified this conjecture for the first time.

Francis Llewellyn Griffith (1862–1934), a British Egyptologist, joined Garstang in the first season of excavation and was particularly interested in issues related to problems of Meroitic script.¹¹² Griffith laid the foundations for research into the Meroitic language and published the first collections of Meroitic texts.¹¹³ Originally, Griffith was drawn to Meroë because he hoped to find a lengthy bilingual inscription, which has yet to come to light. The Meroitic language is still poorly understood today.¹¹⁴

The documents and finds from Garstang's excavations are now housed in the collections of the Garstang Museum at Liverpool University.¹¹⁵ Garstang's fieldwork was interrupted by the First World War, which was not expected to last long. The postponement of research and publication went on for many years and the results were not published in final form until Laszlo Török's multi-volume publication in 1997.¹¹⁶ These poor publication practices, due in part to historical events beyond the control of the archaeologists, plagued early archaeology in Sudan more broadly.

¹¹¹ Török 1997b, 1. This inscription fragment was not published by Garstang and was lost after the excavations were interrupted in 1914 (Török 1997b, 1). See also Török 2009.

¹¹² The University of Pennsylvania Expeditions in Lower Nubia exposed a large number of Meroitic cursive inscriptions in 1907–1908, which aroused particular interest in understanding Meroitic. Griffith had studied Meroitic cursive grave stelae and offering tables from Shablul and Karanog, which had been excavated by David Randall-MacIver and (Charles) Leonard Woolley (1907–10). On Griffith, see Bierbrier 2012, 227–28.

¹¹³ Griffith 1911b; 1911a; 1912; 1922.

¹¹⁴ For a recent, comprehensive introduction to Meroitic, see Rilly and de Voogt 2012.

¹¹⁵ Garstang's objects in the Liverpool Museum can also be found in Bienkowski and Southworth 1986, 69–80.

¹¹⁶ Török 1997b. A new project, led by Alan Greaves (University of Liverpool), will digitise the photographs from the Garstang expedition.

The Interwar Period and the Second Archaeological Survey

The First World War brought major changes to archaeology in Sudan. Donors ceased providing funds for many expeditions immediately after the First World War, which created a lull in established excavations, although rescue efforts remained strong and heritage protection improved considerably. Due to the problems with finding excavation funding, many expeditions in Nubia postponed their research year after year and failed to produce final reports, much like Garstang. Simultaneously, researchers were drawn to Egypt, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Anatolia due to spectacular discoveries in these areas.¹¹⁷

Survey work resumed in Lower Nubia after the First World War when it was decided to increase the height of the Aswan Dam yet again. The Egyptian Antiquities Service put British Egyptologists Walter Bryan Emery (1902–71) and Sir (Archibald) Laurence Patrick Kirwan (1907–99) in charge of this survey.¹¹⁸ In the period 1929–34, the Second Archaeological Survey of Nubia extended survey coverage as far south as the Sudanese frontier.¹¹⁹ These rescue efforts focused upon mortuary remains, neglecting settlement sites once more.¹²⁰ At this same time, however, important developments took place in later prehistoric and Pharaonic sites in Lower Nubia, as well as a preliminary survey of mediaeval remains.¹²¹

There were considerable developments within the Sudanese Antiquities Service during this period. Drummond's tenure as Acting Conservator of Antiquities was passed to the British archaeologist Frank Addison (1885–1958), who served in the Antiquities services as well as a staff member at Gordon Memorial College from 1921 to 1931.¹²² George Walter Grabham (1882–1955), a government geologist, combined the office of Acting Conservator of Antiquities with his other duties (1931–39), as others had done.

As the demands of antiquities maintenance grew in complexity, it became clear that a full-time, permanent post was required. At the beginning of 1939, the British government established the post of Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology and attached it to the Education Department.¹²³ The British archaeologist

¹¹⁷ Hakem 1978.

¹¹⁸ On Emery, see Bierbrier 2012, 176. Emery was trained at the Liverpool Institute of Archaeology, where Garstang was based. On Kirwan, see Bierbrier 2012, 297.

¹¹⁹ Emery and Kirwan 1935.

¹²⁰ Adams 1984, 76.

¹²¹ On developments in later prehistoric and Pharaonic sites, see Steindorff 1935; 1937. On the survey of mediaeval remains, see Monneret de Villard 1935; 1938.

¹²² On Addison, see Bierbrier 2012, 8.

¹²³ Hakem 1978, 42.

Anthony John Arkell (1898–1980) became the first to hold the office of Commissioner for Archaeology and Anthropology (1939–48).¹²⁴

George Andrew Reisner (1920–23)

Only the American archaeologist George Andrew Reisner (1867–1942), sponsored by Harvard and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, continued to excavate in Sudan during the inter-war period.¹²⁵ He focused on the Kerma culture, Gebel Barkal, Nuri, El Kurru, as well as the North, South and West cemeteries of Meroë. In so doing, Reisner excavated all of the known royal cemeteries of Kush, representing a continuum from the 9th century BC to the 4th century AD. On the basis of this research, Reisner worked out a chronology of Sudan for about 14 centuries and established a cultural sequence divided on the basis of archaeological evidence into Napatan and Meroitic Periods.¹²⁶ In total, Reisner examined 151 cemeteries and over 8000 individual graves.¹²⁷ Reisner published final reports only for his work at Kerma. Reisner's assistant, Dows Dunham (1890–1984), published his other excavations published posthumously.¹²⁸

The Reisner/Dunham publications cover the West, North and South cemeteries. The northern cemetery has more than 800 graves. Among these, there are approximately 80 superstructures built in the shape of pyramids for members of the royal family. These were dated from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD.¹²⁹ In the southern cemetery, 24 pyramids are recorded out of some 220 burials. This number includes the pyramids of the first two kings, dated to the first half of 3rd century BC, to be buried at Meroë.¹³⁰ The northern cemetery holds the remains of some 38 pyramids belonging to Meroë's rulers. The Reisner/Dunham dating of these burials showed continuity for 600 years, from 250 BC to AD 350.¹³¹ All of these pyramids, regardless of cemetery location, had a small chapel in the form of a one-room temple at the pyramid's east side complete with a pylon and sometimes a small portico or prostyle and *temenos*. The interior walls of the chapels

¹²⁴ Shinnie 1981, Bierbrier 2012, 25–26.

¹²⁵ Bierbrier 2012, 459–60. On Reisner, see also Scharff 1945–51; Dunham 1942; 1972; Winlock 1942; Brunton 1942; Myers 1942; Gardiner 1942.

¹²⁶ Reisner 1918; 1921b; 1922; 1923.

¹²⁷ Adams 1984, 71.

¹²⁸ The delay was in part due to Reisner's diminishing eyesight in his final years, but primarily to his exacting requirements for publication. See Dunham 1950; 1955; 1957; 1963; 1970; Dunham and Chapman 1952, Dunham and Janssen 1960. On Dunham, see Bierbrier 2012, 165–66.

¹²⁹ Dunham 1963.

¹³⁰ Dunham 1963.

¹³¹ Dunham 1957.

typically were decorated with funerary scenes in relief. Grounded upon this research upon cemeteries, Reisner consigned the fall of Meroë to about the year AD 350 and placed it at the hands of Aezanes, king of Axum.¹³² Reisner's chronology had a profound impact on all subsequent research on Meroë, whether in agreement or disagreement.¹³³

Reisner's contemporaries considered his methodologies to be meticulous.¹³⁴ His understanding of stratigraphy was thought to be as important as Petrie's to the development of stratigraphic excavation in Egypt and Sudan.¹³⁵ In particular, his understanding of stratigraphy was critical to the development of 'sequence dating', which he used for reconstructing the chronology of ancient Sudan. Dunham's publications on Meroë reveal much about Reisner's methodologies as well as the detail that was recorded for objects.¹³⁶ Reisner and Dunham suggested that the majority of the pyramids were plundered in antiquity and they made determinations of looted depositions and undisturbed floor depositions as well as funerary deposits.¹³⁷ The reports provide information about the superstratum, enclosure, chapel, foundation deposit, substratum, burial and objects recovered. Plans and drawings accompany these lists of contexts and objects.¹³⁸ Aside from the chronological and depositional interpretations, Reisner and Dunham did not provide interpretations of the tombs. Subsequent scholars have pursued more interpretive models of the architecture.¹³⁹

More recent scholars have noted the damage that Reisner did to the cemeteries. For example, Hinkel and Yellin have noted the unrecorded destruction of many offering chapels and the displacement of pyramid and chapel blocks throughout the cemeteries. This practice caused an irreparable loss of information about the reliefs and architecture. These subjects, discussed little in the published reports, were

¹³² Reisner 1923, 75, 76.

¹³³ For agreement, see Dunham 1947; Arkell 1955, 171–73. For disagreement, see Bradley 1984, Shinnie 1955, 82; Monneret de Villard 1938, 37; Yellin 2014.

¹³⁴ Dunham 1942.

¹³⁵ Myers 1942.

¹³⁶ Dunham excavated with Reisner, who taught him at Harvard, for many years. On Dunham, see Bierbrier 2012, 165–66. For Dunham's autobiography, see Dunham 1972.

¹³⁷ Dunham 1957, 2.

¹³⁸ The designation of a superstratum and a substratum reflects the ways in which pyramid construction followed older traditional burial customs in the region. The substratum consisted of a varying number of burial chambers deeply cut into the ground or sandstone substrata with a staircase leading down to them. A grave mound of one kind or another was formed over the burial only after digging the substructure and after the burial took place. The superstratum was composed of the pyramid proper, an offering chapel and often a *temenos*.

¹³⁹ For example, Hinkel 1997; 1999; 2000.

obviously of little interest to that expedition.¹⁴⁰ Hinkel estimates the clearing of the site during 1903 and 1921–22 amounts to an extraordinary estimated volume of debris and stones at 10,000 m³.¹⁴¹

Reisner also detrimentally impacted the treatment of small finds from Meroë. His removal of a substantial portion of Meroitic antiquities to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was the largest transfer of material from Meroë out of Sudan.¹⁴² The collections of this material today, while still housed at the Museum of Fine Arts, are mostly in storage. The vast majority of the Reisner finds has not been studied. This comprehensive appropriation and subsequent storage of significant Sudanese antiquities is paralleled at many museums across the globe.

In addition to his influential research upon chronological divisions, Reisner promoted the idea that ‘progressive periods’ of the history of the Middle Nile region were connected to the influx and domination of the superior Hamitic peoples, while ‘decline periods’ were connected to African peoples from the south.¹⁴³ The ‘Hamitic Hypothesis’ explained dissimilar archaeological assemblages as the result of different groups of people moving into regions, rather than changes in material culture due to internal social changes.¹⁴⁴ At the time, it was a commonly held view that Hamitic peoples must have been the source of positive change or development and that African people created negative change and decline.¹⁴⁵ Physical anthropologists tended to support such colonialist interpretations.

Reisner’s promotion of the Hamitic Hypothesis for the Middle Nile region influenced both contemporary and subsequent scholars, who believed that an African society was inherently weak and was therefore either dependent upon imitating a superior model (for example Egypt) or responsible for periods of decline.¹⁴⁶ For example, James Henry Breasted (1865–1935), founder of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, promoted racial designations such as the ‘Great White Race’ and the ‘Black Race’ with the explicit mention that only the ‘Great White

¹⁴⁰ Hinkel 2000, 16; Yellin 2014, 78.

¹⁴¹ Hinkel 2000, 16.

¹⁴² Some material is housed in the National Museum in Khartoum, but the quantity split between the museums is not entirely clear. The Reisner/Dunham reports include a ‘location index’ which provides the object number, provenance and museum number (if known) for each recovered object. Unfortunately, many objects do not have a museum number and their current location is unknown.

¹⁴³ Reisner 1919.

¹⁴⁴ See Adams 1984, 91–92, Trigger 1989, 152–53.

¹⁴⁵ For example, Reisner describes a process introducing Egyptian culture followed by ‘degeneration during long periods and revival by the importation of Egyptian’ (Reisner 1923, 24).

¹⁴⁶ Unfortunately, the Hamitic Hypothesis had more of an impact than the work of other contemporaries who opposed the migration hypothesis (Junker 1925) and even critiqued the concept of ethnic periodisation (Steindorff 1935, Chapter 1).

Race' was responsible for the development of civilisation. These arguments were based, in part, upon physical anthropology, which was manipulated to substantiate this world-view.¹⁴⁷

From the Second World War to 1984

Regional surveys in Sudan only began again after 1959 in advance of the construction of the Aswan High Dam, which would flood vast areas along the Nile from Aswan to the Island of Dal south of the second cataract. UNESCO issued an appeal to the nations of the world to help rescue Nubia's past from oblivion. The international response was overwhelmingly optimistic and supportive.¹⁴⁸ These surveys extended systematic field-work in Sudan as far south as the southern end of the Batn al-Hajar region, between the Second and Third Cataracts. The High Dam Campaign instigated a phase of more systematic handling of a wide range of archaeological sites in Sudan. While the full reports of the Survey of Sudanese Nubia have never been fully published, the survey greatly increased our understanding of this region. Several monumental volumes followed upon the flooding of the region, which drew yet more interest to the archaeology of Sudan.¹⁴⁹ The remarkably expansive international group of archaeologists, art historians and ethnographers generated an unusually broad professional and public response to this previously little-known African region and served as a foundational generation of scholars focused upon Sudan.¹⁵⁰

The UNESCO Salvage Campaign helped to create new paradigms within the archaeology of Sudan. Most positively, the substantial archaeological evidence from the survey undeniably proved that the various phases of Middle Nile cultures should be interpreted as 'successive stages in the cultural development of the same people'.¹⁵¹ Moreover, many of those who excavated as part of the UNESCO Campaign were trained in American anthropological archaeology, the so-called 'New Archaeology', which made them less-eager to generalise about archaeological evidence and seek sequences of cultures.¹⁵² This perspectival shift put an end to the Hamitic

¹⁴⁷ Abridge 2012.

¹⁴⁸ Responses came from Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Ghana, India, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, the Scandinavian countries, Spain, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Egypt and Sudan.

¹⁴⁹ See, for example, Emery 1965; Trigger 1976; Adams 1984.

¹⁵⁰ Török 1997a, 21–22.

¹⁵¹ Adams 1984, 5.

¹⁵² Fuller 1997, 106–08. Unfortunately, the 'New Archaeology' approach also seriously criticised the historical analysis of archaeological data and drove a division between disciplines. Adams, one of

Hypothesis and paved the way for the start of research that would focus upon the archaeology of Sudan in its own right.

Despite such positive developments, it would be some years before a Sudan-focused research agenda would emerge from the shadows of colonialist interpretation. Barring the work of the American archaeologist William Y. Adams (1927–), the major works from the Campaign continued to reflect Egyptocentrism in archaeological research in Sudan. Even today, scholars still look almost exclusively to Egyptian influences to explain developments and shifts found in Sudanese states when the explanations for change might be internal, sub-Saharan or multiplex.¹⁵³

The Antiquities Service experienced exponential growth during this period.¹⁵⁴ Peter Lewis Shinnie succeeded Arkell (1948–58) in the post of Commissioner. During Shinnie's tenure, the antiquities on display in the corridors of Gordon Memorial College were transferred to a nearby house, which was converted into an archaeological museum. Moreover, the Antiquities Service was enlarged to include an assistant commissioner and two antiquities officers.¹⁵⁵

After many years of effort, Sudan emerged from Anglo-Egyptian rule as the independent Republic of the Sudan on 1 January 1956. The National Unionist Party of Sudan steered sweeping Sudanisation across the country and particularly in the north of Sudan. This decision aroused vociferous criticism in both Britain and Sudan as approximately 800 British and Egyptian posts were Sudanised. The replacements to these posts derived almost exclusively from Sudan's north.¹⁵⁶ The Antiquities Service was Sudanised as part of this process with the appointment of Thabit Hassan Thabit (d. 1996) and Negm el din Mohammed Sherif (1927–94) as Antiquities Officers.¹⁵⁷ In 1951, a new Antiquities Ordinance was passed, and in 1955, the Antiquities Service saw full Sudanisation. It is notable that Arkell's well-known book, *A History of the Sudan*, was published during the Sudanisation phase and was presented as an offering 'to the Sudanese...all the knowledge which has been accumulated...about their past history'.¹⁵⁸ Despite this gesture, Arkell had not fully broken free from the baggage of colonialist perspectives, which litter this overarching history. The Sudanised Antiquities Service got off to a busy start. The Khartoum National Museum was opened officially in 1972 and the Antiquities

the premier archaeologists of the period, was often criticised by his contemporaries for being suspicious of historians.

¹⁵³ Edwards 2004, 7–9. For a critique of the campaign, see Adams 1992.

¹⁵⁴ For comparative developments in the Middle East, see Magee 2012. For the Arabian Peninsula, see Potts 1998. For Egypt, see D. Reid 2002.

¹⁵⁵ Hakem 1978.

¹⁵⁶ Collins 2008, 65.

¹⁵⁷ On Thabit, see Bierbrier 2012, 537. On Sherif, see Bierbrier 2012, 507.

¹⁵⁸ Arkell 1955, v. On Shinnie, see Bierbrier 2012, 507–08.

Service launched the ambitious and successful International Campaign to Save the Monuments of Nubia in the early 1970s.

Substantial changes also occurred in archaeological education in Sudan. The Board of the Faculty of Arts established the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum in 1964. The department was intended initially for post-graduate teaching and offered a Higher Diploma in Egyptology, supervised by Mustafa Amir. One class of four students graduated, including the late Akasha Mohammed Ali, who subsequently served as Deputy Director General of the Sudan Antiquities Service. Shinnie, whose post was Sudanised previously, was brought back to serve as Head of Department from 1965-70. During this time, the Department taught Archaeology to Honors students of the Department of History. Nine students graduated in 1970, two of whom, Ali Osman and Abbas SidAhmed Zarroug, became key figures in Sudanese archaeology. Abdel Gadir Mohammed, the next Head of Department after Shinnie, initiated a new BA in Archaeology, which continues to this day.

Peter Lewis Shinnie (1965–76, 1983–84)

Peter Lewis Shinnie (1915–2007) directed the largest scale excavations in Meroë city after Garstang.¹⁵⁹ Unusually, Shinnie published a monograph on the site before he ever worked there, indicating his long-term interest in the site.¹⁶⁰ Shinnie excavated at Meroë (1965–76, 1983–84) as the director of a joint expedition of the Universities of Calgary and Khartoum (as the expedition was entitled in its final form).¹⁶¹ These excavations covered the broadest range of architectural types yet explored at Meroë. Shinnie's excavations were the first to expose domestic houses, industrial areas and components of the urban layout, in addition to exploring the site's many temples.¹⁶² Shinnie's background shaped his interests and methodologies profoundly.

Shinnie was born in London and read Egyptology at Christ Church, Oxford. Despite this background, he pursued archaeology on the side and his first field-work took place at Maiden Castle, Dorset, with Mortimer Wheeler (1890–1976). Wheeler's famous excavations at this site shaped the excavation techniques that

¹⁵⁹ Shinnie's own memoir provides useful background to his excavation philosophy: Shinnie 1990.

¹⁶⁰ Shinnie 1967b. In Sudan, he is often referred to as 'Shinnie Meroë'.

¹⁶¹ Ahmed M. Ali Hakem co-directed this mission for a short period of time while Shinnie was based at Calgary and Hakem at Khartoum.

¹⁶² The major excavation reports are Shinnie and Bradley 1980b; Shinnie and Anderson 2004.

Shinnie employed at Meroë.¹⁶³ It was at Maiden Castle that Wheeler devised the 'Wheeler Method' or what he called the system of 'accumulative squares' (also called the grid or box system).¹⁶⁴ This technique entailed sinking a square with sides of at least ten feet, then extending it in any direction by further squares, leaving between them baulks of uncut soil of sufficient width to uphold the weight of an individual removing excavation spoil. In this way, each square provided four clear sections for drawing and photography. Wheeler was well known for his advancements in section-drawing and this technique suited his own interests in this direction.¹⁶⁵ Shinnie went on to excavate other Roman and Iron Age sites in Britain after his training with Wheeler. He remained strongly influenced by this technique (Fig. 6).

Following his graduation from Oxford, Shinnie worked as a Communist Party organiser and as a temporary assistant at the Ashmolean Museum. When the Second World War broke out, Shinnie served as a Royal Air Force pilot, flying bombers. As part of this role, Shinnie served as an intelligence officer and interpreted aerial photography in order to identify Italian archaeological sites as non-targets.¹⁶⁶

After the war, Shinnie returned to the Ashmolean Museum and spent a season working with Leonard Woolley at Tell el Atshana, a Bronze Age site in Turkey. Shinnie's first permanent job in archaeology was as assistant commissioner for archaeology in Anglo-Egyptian Sudan under Arkell, whom he later succeeded as commissioner. Between 1946 and 1958, Shinnie excavated across Sudan. During this period, he developed an interest in exploring Sudanese archaeology as separate from that of Egypt. In 1953, Shinnie founded the journal *Kush* and provided collections of material to the Antiquities Service, which were used to establish the antiquities museum in Khartoum. After the Sudanisation of senior posts in Sudan, Shinnie relocated to Ghana, only to return to Sudan to join the Department of Archaeology at the University of Khartoum (1966–70) and then finally moved to the University of Calgary (Canada) in 1970.¹⁶⁷

Shinnie's approach to Meroë was unique in that he focused more upon domestic and industrial remains than prior excavators of the site. This approach was intended to balance the extensive work of others, such as Griffith and Reisner, on Meroitic cemeteries. In particular, Shinnie hoped to establish a ceramic sequence among the

¹⁶³ Other pioneering archaeologists who trained at Maiden Castle included Stuart Piggott, J. Desmond Clark, Beatrice de Cardi and Rachel Maxwell-Hyslop.

¹⁶⁴ Hawkes 1982, 170.

¹⁶⁵ Hawkes 1982, 86–88.

¹⁶⁶ David 2008; Clark 2007; Obituary 2007.

¹⁶⁷ David 2008; Clark 2007; Obituary 2007. Shinnie moved first to Uganda (1956–57) and then to Ghana (1958–66). See also Peter Shinnie's unpublished memoirs (University of Calgary Archives, Accession 2013.029, Files 1.13 and 2.01–2.03).



Fig. 6: Peter Lewis Shinnie with his mentor, Mortimer Wheeler (courtesy of the University of Calgary Archives).



Fig. 7: The North Mound at Meroe, as it appears in 2015. The trench was not backfilled. Note the subsidence of the wall baulks (author's photograph, 2012).

domestic areas.¹⁶⁸ His excavations brought new techniques and interest in understanding the chronological depth and stratigraphy of the site. Shinnie introduced a modified version of Wheeler's box method, as described above. This method, although not favoured in archaeology today, had advantages for recording both the horizontal and vertical components of an excavation. It was considered to be cutting-edge at the time Shinnie began to employ it. With Shinnie's strong interest in recording diachronic change, it is not surprising that he wished to emphasise section drawings. A difference between the Wheeler method and the Shinnie method was that Shinnie sometimes took down baulks in arbitrary 20 cm spits, rather than following the stratigraphy. In so doing, he recorded all of the material excavated in more detail than the original excavation of the square. The stated aim of this approach was to test his stratigraphic interpretations of the grid squares.¹⁶⁹ Shinnie was dedicated to his modified Wheeler method throughout his career.¹⁷⁰

Shinnie began his excavations at Meroë with a long trench running east to west across the site, known as the 50-line (for its north to south orientation on the site grid). This trench exposed domestic remains as well as temples, towards the western end of the trench. Domestic remains underlay the temples. Another major trench was excavated on the north mound between 1965 and 1972, which also contained domestic and industrial material (Fig. 7). Both trenches revealed sequences of intensive occupation interleaved with strata that could be interpreted as natural accumulations (wind or water) and dumped material (domestic and industrial).¹⁷¹ Generally, there was continuity in material culture until the top levels, which exhibited a more diverse range of both Mediterranean and local material.¹⁷² The Mediterranean goods appear to have been both imports and local imitations, according to the excavators, but the small finds were never fully documented and analysed. The absence of complete documentation was due, in large part, to the abrupt end of Shinnie's work at Meroë in 1984, due to the conflict between northern and southern Sudan.¹⁷³

¹⁶⁸ Shinnie 1967a, 13.

¹⁶⁹ For example, see T.T.5 (Test Trench 5) Shinnie and Bradley 1980b, 70.

¹⁷⁰ Shinnie 1973. Shinnie's notebook, which he used to plan his methodology and documentation strategy for Meroë specifically includes brochures and references to Wheeler's excavations (University of Calgary Archives Accession 2013.029, File 8.03). Shinnie maintained correspondence with Wheeler for the rest of Wheeler's life (for example, see University of Calgary Archives Accession 2001.031, Files 1.07, 2.27).

¹⁷¹ Bradley 1984, 197.

¹⁷² Bradley 1984.

¹⁷³ Shinnie mentions his concerns about this conflict in numerous letters, currently housed in the University of Calgary archives.

Although the published excavation reports and articles do not fully contextualise the finds such that individual households can be reconstructed with any rigor, the finds and extant records allow for more modern approaches to the material. These finds, although not regarded as socially or economically meaningful at the time, supply critical data about domestic life in the city.¹⁷⁴

In the course of the 50-line trench excavation, Shinnie discovered several small temples and pursued those temples in greater detail than the houses. These temples provide intriguing glimpses into the religious life of the city, although re-examinations of the finds and decorative motifs (reliefs and wall plaster) will promote this objective further.¹⁷⁵ Shinnie and Bradley also re-examined some of Garstang's temple material in the course of their research, although they did not endeavour to create a systematic reconstruction of Garstang's research, which was only attempted by Török some years later.¹⁷⁶

Conclusions

This brief historiography makes antiquarian observations and excavations more accessible to Meroë researchers and contributes to additional useful outcomes. With this overview in place, this conclusion addresses the disciplinary history of Sudanese archaeology, changes in monument preservation in Meroë, the contours of current research projects and research priorities.

First, Meroë's location in Sudan impacted its development within archaeological research.¹⁷⁷ Antiquarian explorers were the first to visit and publicise the archaeology found at this site. Before archaeology became a formal discipline, antiquarian discoveries and publications commonly brought antiquities to light for the first time. Sudan, as a peripheral area of Egypt, experienced antiquarian exploration to a less-intense degree than did Egypt and other areas of the ancient world. Increased specialisation in archaeology at the turn into the 20th century took a long time to manifest itself in Sudan. This trajectory is later than other regions in North Africa, the Middle East and (notably) Egypt, which experienced major stratigraphic excavations in the late 19th century under Flinders Petrie. Tourism at Meroë, and in

¹⁷⁴ Currently under study by the Meroë Archival Project (MAP), directed by Anna Lucille Boozer. On the perceived unimportance of the small finds at Meroë, see Shinnie and Bradley 1980a.

¹⁷⁵ Krzysztof Grzymski, one of Shinnie's students has pursued additional research at Meroë, although he did not excavate with Shinnie at Meroë (Grzymski and Osman 2003; Grzymski 2004; 2008). Shinnie's small finds are currently under study by MAP.

¹⁷⁶ Török 1997b. See also Shinnie and Bradley 1981.

¹⁷⁷ On Egyptology vs. African Archaeology and an African-American interest in Meroë, see Harkless 2006.

Sudan more broadly, is still minimal compared to Egypt. This lack of tourism has contributed to the impression that Sudanese heritage is not as significant as its northern neighbour's heritage.

Second, this historiography enables us to understand changes in monument preservation. Meroë's location helped to preserve many of the monuments from European excavation and collecting until the end of the 19th century, when we see Meroitic antiquities moving onto the market. Even so, Meroë appears to have experienced long-term interventions by local inhabitants. Meroë experienced numerous damaging treasure-hunting projects (Ferlini) led by Europeans after their first contact with the site as well as highly destructive approaches by museum collectors (Budge) and excavators (Garstang), as well as the mass-export of antiquities (Reisner). This pattern of early approaches to excavation and collection mirrors patterns found in Egypt and the Middle East.¹⁷⁸

Third, the contours of current research become clearer when reviewing the research history of Meroë. Monuments, such as pyramids, tombs and temples, took priority over domestic and industrial remains, largely due to the focus on treasure and museum objects (for example Ferlini, Budge and Reisner). This focus was not uncommon in the early days of North African and Middle Eastern archaeology, as is particularly clear in Egypt, Sudan's northern neighbour.

It is evident, from looking back at prior research, that there has been long-term Sudanese interest in Meroë, although the details of this interest are lost to us due to the destruction of records in the region. Local stories and contributions rarely receive the attention they merit in publications. As Ali Osman has noted, there is a causal interconnection between an understanding of the past and the shaping of the future. He strongly advocates for a 'nationalist archaeology' in Sudan as a potential way forward towards national stability in a country that has experienced profound turmoil.¹⁷⁹ Others have noted that archaeology can serve an important role in integrating the varied communities of Sudan and there have been parallel developments for employing heritage as a unifying force in other African countries.¹⁸⁰ Recognition of both positive and negative local roles in archaeology has been given more recently in other regions, which could be employed usefully in Sudan.¹⁸¹

It is worthwhile highlighting that the production and maintenance of heritage is often seen as a global world heritage that belongs to humanity as a representation

¹⁷⁸ D. Reid 2002; Garrison 2012; Chevalier 2012.

¹⁷⁹ Salih 1992, 226.

¹⁸⁰ On heritage as a tool for integration in Sudan, see Elamin 1999. On other African countries, see Trigger 1989, 376, 344–45. See also Schmidt 1995; Schmidt and Patterson 1995. On the development of African Archaeology in general, see Robertshaw 1990.

¹⁸¹ Dural 2007; Matthews 2011; Al-Houdalieh 2012; Boozer 2013. See also Schmidt 1990.

of a generic human past. This view loses sight of local practices and histories as well as locally specific investments in the way that their own heritage becomes part of the global understandings of the past.¹⁸² A look back at Meroë suggests numerous positive outcomes for increasing Sudanese involvement in archaeological missions at Meroë, and particularly an involvement in which Sudanese stakes can be expressed and honoured. It is notable that, at this stage, Sudan's Meroitic past is often learned in school rather than in the home, meaning that this past is not considered to be an integral, personal component of Sudan's past.¹⁸³

As plans move forward for the new UNESCO-branded conservation and presentation of Meroë as a tourist destination, we may find changes in Sudanese perspectives on Meroë, in both positive and negative directions. For example, UNESCO rules lead, in many cases, to a complete decontextualisation of the chosen site. By prioritising an aesthetically pleasing site, a sanitised version of the past is privileged above the 'eyesores' of the present.¹⁸⁴ This sanitisation process can create conflict. Careful consideration of the stakeholders – the government, archaeologists, locals, tourists and so on – will be critical to the success of this venture.

Fourth, re-examining past research allows us to see more clearly what archaeological evidence explorers examined closely, and what evidence they missed. It is clear that the 'public' remains, temples and funerary monuments at Meroë (and Sudan more broadly) always drew the most attention. This focus should not be surprising since it replicates work elsewhere in Egypt and the Mediterranean. Even so, it is clear that this type of data collection has overshadowed settlement archaeology, and particularly material culture analyses, which highlight components of daily life. Others have pointed out that researchers such as Reisner did not prioritise the scenes depicted on the pyramids, showing a clear preference for architecture and phasing.¹⁸⁵ Moreover, the colonialist and often racist views of Sudan's past peoples shaped research trajectories in unfortunate and erroneous directions. Auspiciously, select scholars began to steer the discipline in more positive directions.

In summation, Meroë's rich past has been explored increasingly intensively over the past two hundred years. This research history has resulted in a mass diaspora of material across the globe, while the site of Meroë experienced many waves of excavation. As a new generation of scholars returns to this unparalleled site, it is hoped that we can join together disciplinary, local, national and international interests in bringing Meroë back into the light.

¹⁸² Meskell and Preucel 2004, 317; Bernbeck and Pollock 2004; Muscarella 2012, 115.

¹⁸³ Egyptians have had a comparable relationship to their Pharaonic past (Hassan 1998, especially 204–05).

¹⁸⁴ Bernbeck 2012, 102.

¹⁸⁵ Yellin 2014.

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TRACES OF A CENTRAL ASIAN TEXTILE ON THE WALLS OF AN EARLY MEDIAEVAL SPANISH CHURCH*

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Abstract

Three friezes decorate the Visigothic church of Santa María de Quintanilla de las Viñas. The motifs are unique to the church. There are no Western prototypes for them, but the forms do look suspiciously like motifs known from Central Asian textiles. A Central Asian textile entering Spain prior to AD 711, earlier than those known from mediaeval church treasuries, poses interesting questions about the means of exchange and the reasons for it. Sasanian Persian motifs were part of the visual iconography of international court art by the 7th century AD, and their presence in Spain suggests that Visigothic nobles were using an iconographic language developed by the courts at Ctesiphon and Constantinople.

Introduction

Sculpted friezes run around the exterior of the east end of the small mediaeval church of Santa María de Quintanilla de las Viñas (or Nuestra Señora de las Viñas) in the Spanish province of Burgos (Fig. 1). The east end survives as the square apse and crossing from what has been reconstructed as a small basilica church with a nave two and a half times the width of the aisles.¹ Nothing like this exterior sculpture treatment is to be found on any other early mediaeval church in Spain or in Europe. The most likely source for the motifs was a Central Asian item, probably a Persian Sasanian or Sogdian textile, but the reliefs were the product of a local Spanish workshop. They were a creative reconsideration of a prototype in a different medium and were made to work in a quite different cultural setting.

The Friezes

The exterior friezes are not the same in all three surviving sections of the east end and crossing. Three rows decorate the back side of the apse, two of which continue around both sides and onto the exterior back walls of the crossing. Starting on the

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¹ The church is an important monument of early mediaeval Spanish architecture and has spawned a lengthy bibliography (see Andrés Ordaz and Abásolo Álvarez 1980, 11–16; Cruz Villalón 2004).

south are two continuous bands. The lower is formed of decorated *rinceaux* arranged in a regular running leafy spiral pattern of two parallel bands joined together at regular points that surround either a five-petal flower or a grape cluster (Fig. 2). A shell or tree form completes a band when the spiral pattern is not long enough to fill it. This pattern continues around to the north side. The upper frieze, which likewise continues around the apse and onto the north side, is carved with a pattern of intersecting circles formed by a single hatched band that encloses a single motif: a left or right facing profile bird or a frontally facing tree. One bird with the tail feathers lifted (for which there are two variants) could be a peacock since the lifted tail curves over and is clearly intended to be noticed (Fig. 3b). The second has no noticeable tail feathers and must be a guinea hen (Fig. 4).² The third has a more slender raised tail and is most likely a cock or rooster (Fig. 3a). This decoration is found on the south and north walls of the apse and east walls of the crossing. However, the portion of the upper frieze that continues around to the east side of the apse differs. Here the circles enclose six-petal flowers or one of three cruciform monograms: F N L A, Δ N L A and F N C R (Fig. 5). The east end exterior wall also possesses a third frieze above the other two. It too has the intersecting circles formed of a single hatched band encircling quadrupeds which are up too high to easily distinguish. The frieze bands break down into those that encircle flowers or grapes, those that encircle birds, those that encircle quadrupeds and those that encircle flowers or monograms.

There is nothing to suggest that these friezes are not part of the original fabric of the church. In fact the motifs from the lower and upper friezes on the south and north sides are found together carved onto the stones of the arch inside the church defining the entrance to the apse from the crossing. Here the running leafy spiral pattern is used to enclose the grape bunches and five-petal flowers at the starting points on either side of the arch. Single birds or grape bunches appear in the upper portion of the arch. On the two supports for the impost blocks for the spring of the arch can be seen the same parallel bands joined together that form the leafy spiral but here modified to form a circle that encloses the head of SOL or LUNA. The decorative sculpture was part of the initial design of the building and was intended to visually unite the interior and the exterior. The carving technique used for the friezes is consistently of high quality. The artist or artists responsible for these sections executed the motifs with comfort. The various passages show no signs of hesitation. The circles forming the continuous spirals or the interlocking hatched pattern are all consistent and well done, as are the elements that fill each roundel.

² I do not think that it can be a partridge as suggested by Dodds 1990, 20.

It was a well-trained and skilled workshop that sculpted these. No similar grand exterior sculptural treatments can be found in early mediaeval Spain or elsewhere in Europe.

The Date of the Church

There is no internal dating evidence for the church. The monograms on the exterior and a votive inscription, + OC EXGVVM EXIGVA OFF ΔO FLAMMOLA VOTVM, carved on the upper portion of the frame for the figure of SOL on the left side block below the impost block of the arch separating the apse fail to provide any clear datable material.³ It is possible that the inscription refers to Flammola, the wife of the 10th-century count of Cerezo de Río Tirón, Gundisalvus Telliz,⁴ but the frame looks to have been cut back to take the inscription,⁵ indicating that it was added after the building of the apse.

The design of the building itself indicates a late 7th-century date. The squared off apse relates it to San Juan de Baños in Palencia, a church with a secure Visigothic foundation inscription.⁶ The Church of San Pedro de la Nave in Zamora, dated to the 7th century from dendrochronological evidence and the presence of a 7th-century horologium at the entrance to the apse,⁷ shares the square apse set off from the crossing and preceded by a basilica form with a nave roughly two and a half times the size of the aisles.⁸ The walls for all three churches are of well-cut limestone blocks laid in neat horizontal courses. Hauschild has argued that Visigothic ecclesiastical architecture continued to be built using late Roman construction

³ For a review of the earlier literature, see Cruz Villalón 2004, 102–03. For a complete discussion of the state of the research, see Schlimbach 2011, 193–205. More recently an argument has been put forth that the churches are actually the product of the 8th century after the Arab conquest of Spain, but during a period when the Visigothic societal structure remained in place (Chavarría Arnau 2010, 160–62, with notes).

⁴ Pérez de Urbel 1929; Sepúlveda González 1986.

⁵ I am basing this conclusion on a comparison of photographs from Andrés Ordax and Abásolo Álvarez 1980, pls. 24–25 and Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, pl. 149 a–b.

⁶ The inscription names king Reccewinth, who ruled between AD 649 and 672, the benefactor, thus identifying the church as a royal foundation (see Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, 204–09, pls. 102–109b).

⁷ Caballero Zoreda and Utrero Agudo 2005, 170; Caballero Zoreda 2012, 129. For the problems with the dendrochronological dating, see Caballero Zoreda 2002, 97–98. The date span is too wide to rule out the possibility that the church could have been built during the first decades of the Arab rule.

⁸ Caballero Zoreda (2002, 91) has argued for a regional grouping of churches in the Burgos, Rioja and Basque areas that shared common architectural features in which he would include Quintanilla and La Nave.



Fig. 1: Quintanilla de las Viñas, east end from the north (Wikimedia, photographer www.pmrmaeyaert.com).



Fig. 2: Quintanilla de las Viñas, two exterior friezes (author's photograph).



Fig. 3: Quintanilla de las Viñas, A (left) encircled Cock, B (right) encircled peacock (Wikimendia, photographer www.pmrmaeyaert.com).



Fig. 4: Quintanilla de las Viñas, encircled Guinea hen (Wikimedia, photographer www.pmrmaeyart.com).



Fig. 5: Quintanilla de las Viñas, lower frieze with monograms Δ N L A and F N L A and upper frieze with quadrupeds (author's photograph).



Fig. 6: Sasanian stucco guinea fowl. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1932. 32.150.13 (www.metmuseum.org).

formulas and techniques seen in the wall-constructions.⁹ The design and construction similarities between San Juan, San Pedro de la Nave and Quintanilla provide good reasons for assigning Quintanilla a late 7th-century date.¹⁰

Sasanian Sources

The two friezes with interconnected encircled animals, birds and trees prompted Helmut Schlunk, in the 1930s, to propose that a Sasanian source had most likely inspired the sculpted bands, but he could offer nothing but stylistic considerations to connect a Persian prototype to the reliefs and the suggestion that the vehicle of transmission was a lost textile.¹¹ The intervening decades have supplied much new evidence from archaeological excavations in Central Asia and from reconsiderations of visual materials, surviving textiles and textual evidence from Central Asia, the Near East and the Byzantine world. Although the missing textile prototype is still not available, it is now possible to suggest a much more nuanced understanding of the natures of the sources that might have inspired the bands, the probable places of their origins, and how they might have arrived and functioned in early mediaeval Spain.

By the 6th century AD stucco reliefs in repeated patterns including birds and animals encircled by roundels were common decoration on Sasanian palaces. The carved stone reliefs at Quintanilla could reflect this tradition, though in a quite different medium. A comparison of one of the Quintanilla birds with a stucco relief from the Sasanian palace of Ctesiphon in Iraq (Fig. 6) shows the closeness: Fully rounded plump birds in profile view with different sections of feathers indicated by variations in surface treatment. The Sasanian example, which follows the pattern known from most surviving stuccos, exists in isolation encircled by a decorative roundel unlike the Spanish examples which are encircled by an interconnected hashed band. Still the similarities certainly suggest a relationship. However, the biggest difference cannot be ignored; the Persian guinea hen is mould-made stucco, the Spanish work a carved stone bas-relief, two quite different processes which required different skill-sets and levels of competence. The individual responsible for the Ctesiphon stucco relief could have been a trained labourer. The person who

⁹ Hauschild 1996, 1–8; Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, 97. This theory has a longer pedigree than just Hauschild, see Dodds 1990, 11.

¹⁰ Caballero, Arce and Utrero 2003 argue that Quintanilla is part of a family of early mediaeval churches that share common architectural features found across north-central Spain and built between the 6th and the 10th centuries AD.

¹¹ First made in his 1936 dissertation (see Schlimbach 2011, 217. See also Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, 100).

sculpted the Quintanilla relief was a skilled artist with years of training. Since there is no evidence of association between the two courts, there is little reason to posit a direct means by which an architectural decoration in Iraq could have influenced the architectural sculpture for a church in Spain.

There are, however, several examples of Eastern silks in Western church treasuries that show single animals contained within circular forms. None of the fabrics themselves have dateable markers. Volbach argued that these imported Eastern patterned-silks served as the catalyst for the development Campanian sculpture in the 9th–13th centuries.¹² Muthesius has suggested that they were Middle Byzantine products inspired by earlier Sasanian textiles¹³ that had entered the Byzantine realm either in diplomatic exchanges before the mid-7th century or during the later 7th century when the region was flooded with Sasanian art following the Arab conquest of the Sasanian empire.¹⁴ The Byzantine versions that came west were initially diplomatic gifts in marriage proposals from the court at Constantinople to the Ottonian court from where they were redistributed to wrap or rewrap relics during the process of translation. These silks entered too late to influence the friezes at Quintanilla.

To date only one Sasanian site, Shahr-Qumis, has yielded any textile fragments, and these are not patterned silks. Among textile fragments from the Egyptian site of Antinoë (ancient Antinoöpolis, modern Sheikh Abadeh) are two generally accepted to be Sasanian originals.¹⁵ One shows pearl roundels encircling winged horses, their necks wrapped in flowing ribbons, the other, a procession of rams, their necks also wrapped in the flowing ribbons¹⁶ but not separated into individual roundels. The repeated animal pattern, resembling what is also known from the Sasanian stucco work, and the high quality of the silk weaving have led most scholars to agree with a Sasanian origin. Early Islamic sources refer to Fars province as an area of high quality textile production, which may have been the case in the Sasanian period as well.¹⁷ Pfister posited that Shapur I (AD 242–272) had founded the royal weaving workshops and staffed them with Western weavers taken prisoner.¹⁸ It was these royal weavers that translated the stucco animals into textile motifs. Based on Kröger's work on the development of stucco work, the textile patterns

¹² Volbach 1942.

¹³ Muthesius 1997, 45–46, 119–26,

¹⁴ Shalem 1994, 77–81.

¹⁵ Musée des tissus, Lyons: inv. nos. 26.812/11 and 26.812/10. Musée du Louvre: inv. no. E. 29376

¹⁶ Bivar 2006, 13: these images with the floating ribbons decorating the animals' necks probably associated them with royal traditions.

¹⁷ Daryaei 2003, 3.

¹⁸ Pfister 1948, 59 and 65.



Fig. 7: Detail of the Boar Hunt Relief from Taq-i-Bustan (author's photograph, 2011).

of animals encircled by roundels could not have happened earlier than the 6th century.¹⁹

Most of what we know about Sasanian patterned textiles comes from images on Sasanian gilt silver plates and the sculpted representations of dressed figures in the royal entourage from the abraded reliefs of the boar and stag hunts at Taq-i-Bustan (Fig. 7). These reliefs have no internal dating evidence, but it is agreed that they are no earlier than the 5th century AD.²⁰ Peck noted that the caftan worn by the king and the courtiers had probably only been recently introduced into Sasanian realms from further east in Central Asia. It does not appear in any other reliefs but is found on late Sasanian metal work of the 6th–7th centuries. The decoration on the caftans, which must represent a woven pattern as in the two Antinoë pieces, includes encircled animals (Oarsman in Boar Hunt) – sometimes placed within a pearl roundel (Arrow Bearer in Boar Hunt), birds framed in a lozenge (Oarsman in

¹⁹ Kröger 1993, 63.

²⁰ Sheppard 1981.

Boar Hunt) and encircled rosettes (King's caftan in Boar Hunt). Earlier painted images which feature costume details do not represent encircled animal or bird motifs.²¹ To find another representation of a caftan decorated with encircled animals it is necessary to leave the Sasanian empire and move to the Sogdian site of Afrasyab (Samarkand) where painted figures on the walls of the Hall of Ambassadors are depicted wearing decorated caftans. The caftan of a figure on the west wall is embellished with the mythical Persian *senmurv* set within pearl roundels, a motif also known from Sasanian stucco work.²² The Afrasyab paintings are dated to the mid-7th century,²³ not long after the fall of the Sasanian empire to the Arabs, and the figure wearing the caftan with *senmurv* pattern has been identified by Mode as Yazdigard III, the Sasanian king who fled to the T'ang court.²⁴

Sogdian Textiles

Several processing figures in the Hall of the Ambassadors wear caftans decorated with encircled animals, and one has a caftan with unframed birds. The ambassador from Chaglan is depicted on horseback and dressed in a caftan with some type of motif encircled by a pearl roundel, while a pair of camel riders sits atop a textile decorated with something that is encircled by a pearl roundel. It is certainly possible that high ranking Sogdians had also adopted the court dress as seen at Taq-i-Bustan,²⁵ but as has been noted, the Taq-i-Bustan representations are so far unique in a Sasanian setting, and the Afrasyab paintings remain the earliest evidence for the patterned caftan in Sogdiana. If Peck is correct about the caftan being introduced from Central Asia and if the woven pattern of encircled animals was popular with Sogdian nobles, then the translation of the architectural stucco decoration of animals in roundels into a textile pattern could just have likely taken place in Sogdiana²⁶ and then was reintroduced into the Sasanian realm. There is a gilt silver plate in the collection of the Hermitage,²⁷ most likely the product of a Sasanian royal

²¹ See Compareti 2011 for a survey of Sasanian painting; Kawami, Becker and Koestler 1987, for the paintings at Kuh-e Khwaja which range the entire Sasanian period.

²² The British Museum inv. no. BM135913.

²³ There is an inscription in room 1 that names King Vargoman who is known to have begun his rule in the 650s (Raspopova 2006, 65).

²⁴ Compareti 2011, 29–31; Mode 1993, 59–75. The identification is not universally accepted.

²⁵ For Sasanian influence on Sogdian dress, see Yatsenko 2003/06, 'Sasanian influence'.

²⁶ The notion of a Sogdian source for the production of silks with animals in roundels was first proposed by Shepherd and Henning 1959, who identified Zandani – the location labelled as the production place for a silk textile fragment in Huy, Belgium that shows paired stags in a roundel – as a village near Bukhara in ancient Sogdiana.

²⁷ The State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg inv. no. S. 47 (reproduced in Spuhler 2014, fig. 1.9). The plate was found in Perm quite far from the Iranian heartland. Marshak identifies the

workshop, on which there is a figure leaning on cushions who is dressed in a costume with single animals encircled in pearl roundels. The bottom cushion is also decorated but with the same controlled rhythmic spiral grapevine motif found at Quintanilla.

The grapevine iconography was being used as early as the ceiling mosaics of Santa Costanza, and it continued to inspire responses from sculptors throughout the eastern Mediterranean into the Umayyad period. But the particular treatment at Quintanilla with the clearly defined and assiduously maintained rhythmic spirals onto which the vine and grapes are grafted can be found on the columns from the church of Notre Dame de la Daurade in Toulouse.²⁸ The 5th-century church very likely served as the royal chapel for the Visigothic kings who ruled from Toulouse until AD 508. This motif looks to have had an established Visigothic association, though perhaps reinforced with a Sasanian Persian connection.

The sculptural frieze decoration at the Spanish church San Pedro de la Nave shows a carved version of a pattern of encircled grape clusters quite similar to that which decorates the bottom cushion on the plate and the friezes at Quintanilla. Moreover, there are encircled birds, similar in treatment to those at Quintanilla, though on the interior capital blocks. These birds, however, are placed within joined *rinceaux* which include the grape motif. The similarity in the treatment of the motifs between the Persian and the two sets of Spanish examples is striking. The artists for these images were all responding to the same sources which must have been textiles.

The Hermitage plate and the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs would seem to indicate that in Sasanian settings there was a difference in textile categories. The encircled animals and birds belong to fabric used for dress while the spiralling grapevine motif belongs to textiles used for cushion covers. The same may not have applied in Sogdiana since the camel riders from the painting at Afrasyab sit on a cloth with a pearl roundel pattern.²⁹ However, the distinction in the Sasanian context may not be minor. Bolts of cloth and finished garments may both have circulated as items of exchange but in different settings and for different purposes.

seated figure as an emperor because of the apparent crown, though it resembles none of the known Sasanian crowns, *Grand Exhibition* 1988, no. 197.

²⁸ Column from church of Notre Dame de la Daurade, Toulouse: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 21.172.2 (Weitzmann 1979, 668, no. 595).

²⁹ It should be noted that among the paintings (Room 18, sector XXV) at the Sogdian site of Panjikent there is one which is reproducing a wall hanging with pearl roundels; these are, however, empty of animal depictions (Raspopova 2006, fig. 38).

The Movement to the West

Large pieces of Central Asian cloth do not survive in Western contexts, but the textile collection from the Shōsō-In, the imperial treasure house in Nara in Japan, does contain a large piece of fabric probably woven in a Western workshop.³⁰ It makes clear that decorative textiles in raw form, rather than as finished cushions or clothing, did get traded.

By the 4th century AD, silk fabric had acquired a value in Byzantine ecclesiastical settings. It was used as a binding for liturgical and scriptural manuscripts. In the 6th century it was being used for vestments. It may even be possible to identify the dress shown on some of the representations of Jesus and the saints as reproducing the kind of silk clothing worn in the court and now considered appropriate for Christ and the saints. By the late 8th century, silk had acquired a more specific role, one that would increase in importance over the coming three centuries, the wrapping of relics. Because the Christian Latin West had no regional source for local silk until Roger of Sicily established a workshop in Palermo in the second half of the 12th century, any silk used in the West had to be imported from the Byzantine, the Sasanian or the Sogdian realms or later the Islamic territories. However, based on the surviving evidence of silk fragments from Western church treasuries, the vast bulk of this silk entered Latin Christendom during the late Ottonian period, and most of it was probably produced in imperial Byzantine workshops or workshops in the Islamic areas which imitated the Byzantine forms, though earlier Central Asian silks probably also came via Byzantine trade routes, facilitated by the connections of Rhandanite Jews.³¹ To date no silk fabric earlier than the 12th century survives in a Spanish context or in a collection even though it was in the 8th century that the conquering Arabs first established sericulture and silk weaving on the peninsula, and Spanish silk is mentioned along with that from Alexandria and Byzantium in the *Liber Pontificalis* (Leo IV, 9).

During the early 7th century, as Islam took hold on the Arabian Peninsula, the land routes through the peninsula and the sea routes around it became dangerous to use. During this period, it seems that an earlier route, perhaps first developed by Justinian, which connected Central Asian trade to Constantinople via the Caspian and Black Seas, was reopened. A number of Sogdian patterned textiles, probably tailored clothing items, moved west via this route beginning possibly in the 7th century and continuing perhaps as late as the 9th century.³² The actual surviving

³⁰ The origin for this piece of fabric is disputed. It is identified as a two-coloured *aya* to be used as a covering for a stand, and could have been the product of a Japanese workshop using recognised Persian motifs (see Shosoin Office 1965, 96, pl. 104).

³¹ Muthesius 1995, 136, 139.

³² For a discussion of the dating problem, see Knauer 2001, 127.

textiles from this trade do not share the exact motifs found on the Spanish churches, but floral forms, birds and animals, including the *senmurv*, encircled by pearl roundels, appear on a few of the fragments from Moščevaja Balka.³³ A complete caftan and mantle are among the finds,³⁴ but most of the textiles from the Caucasus site are in fragmentary condition, testifying to the fact that high quality fabric was often cut into smaller units to serve as payment for the shipment of goods through the region.³⁵ The value of the finished garments of patterned cloth was as currency to be cut down as needed for payments. The fragments were then used to embellish local clothing which is why they are found in the graves. However, based on what has survived in Western church treasuries, it would seem that most of the pieces that found their way to Western Europe must have already been in fragmentary form limiting the amount of compositional information the Western artists had to use as inspiration.

There is evidence for Sasanian tailored garments in a Western setting. At the Antinoë cemetery were discovered two riding coats of Persian style.³⁶ C14 provides them mid-5th-century to early 7th-century dates. They could have been made in Egypt for wealthy local Egyptian merchants who favoured Persian styles or resident Persian merchants, but just as likely, it could have been brought to the trading town by resident Persians.³⁷ There is a surviving coat from an unknown provenance, now in the collection of The Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 8), and an unprovenanced caftan in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,³⁸ both of which are probably of Sogdian manufacture and which offer a good idea of the types of finished garments that might have made their way to the West in complete form. Those garments made with patterned silks would have provided a much richer source of visual information for artists in other media.

Under Khusrau II (r. AD 590-628) Sasanian armies took possession of Egypt and held it from AD 618 to AD 629, which certainly would have reinforced a

³³ Ierusalimskaya and Borkopp 1996, cat. nos. 1, 3, 71, 81, 97, 98, 99, 100, 103 106, 107.

³⁴ Ierusalimskaya and Borkopp 1996, cat. nos. 1 and 4. The caftan is actually pieced together, and fragments of similar fabric have been found in collections in France, England and Italy (Vogelsang-Eastwood 2004, 221).

³⁵ Knauer 2001, 131–32.

³⁶ These were found in Gayet's third campaign in 1898 in the region that he designated the 'Nécropole byzantine' (Hoskins 2004, 8; Calament 2004). The coats are now in Berlin in the Museum für Byzantinische Kunst, inv. nos. 9695 and 9923.

³⁷ Evans and Ratliff (2012, no. 114) and Vogelsang-Eastwood (2004, 220–21) note that the riding coats from Antinoë represent an older Iranian style of coat, one not found in representations in Iran after the 4th century AD. Their later presence in Egypt might testify to a distinct local style of imitated Persian wear that had become popular in Egypt.

³⁸ Silk and Linen caftan, Caucasus region, 8th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996.78.1 (Knauer 2001).



Fig. 8: Prince's Coat, 700's. Iran or Central Asia, Sogdiana (8th century).
 Silk; weft-faced compound twill, samit; 48 × 82.5 cm.
 The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchased from J.H. Wade Fund, 1996.2.1.

Persian connection with Egypt and provided a direct line of transport between the Sasanian or Sogdian looms and Western buyers. However, Sasanian engagement with the Red Sea region and probably the trading centre at Antinoë dates at least to the previous century when the Sasanian empire became involved in a proxy war with the Byzantine empire.³⁹ This was a war in part driven by Sasanian control of Asiatic trade. Late Sasanian or Central Asian coats decorated with animals in roundels could have been seen in early 7th-century Egyptian settings like Antinoë or even Alexandria.

There would appear to have been several vehicles for moving Sasanian or Sogdian cloth from its places of manufacture to the Mediterranean. There was a northern direct trade from the Sogdian realm into the Byzantine region as testified to by the finds in the Caucasus which introduced fragmentary images. Sasanian and possibly

³⁹ Bowersock 2013. For a discussion of the Sasanian engagement with the Persian Gulf, see Daryaei 2003.

Sogdian fabrics and garments were to be found in Egypt at least by the 6th century the result of trade as well as the presence of resident Persians in the region. These would have provided much larger patterned compositions. Weavers in and around Constantinople produced versions of Eastern motifs, and these eventually found their way to Western Europe, and probably much the same happened in Antinoë and other Egyptian sites with strong Persian presence or connections. The fall of the Sasanian empire released many court textiles which then found their way to the West, and eventually Arab weavers began to produce Sasanian inspired cloth. There was also a long standing tradition of gift giving in both the Sasanian and Byzantine courts. Among the items that the Sasanian emperor gifted to his courtiers at the Nawruz and Mihrajan festivals was luxurious clothing.⁴⁰ It seems safe to assume that among the items sent as part of diplomatic exchanges with the Byzantine court would have been the highly sought after Sasanian silk textiles made into Sasanian court attire. How these textiles, now in the eastern Mediterranean, moved west to Iberia can only be answered by considering more the historical context of the church itself at Quintanilla de las Viñas.

Visigothic Spain and Eastern Textiles

There were three possible vehicles for getting a Central Asian textile or textile fragments to Spain in the second half of the 7th century AD. The first, a direct connection between the Sasanian and Visigothic courts has been ruled out since there is no evidence for any type of communication between the two realms. If the story of Saint Frutuoso of Braga's aborted pilgrimage to the Holy Land, as told by Valerius of El Bierzo,⁴¹ is at all indicative of what high ranking Visigothic clergy did, then there is the chance that some type of interaction might have occurred, particularly in the frontier zone between the Byzantine East and the Sasanian West, the so called 'barbarian plain' where there were important early Christian pilgrimage sites that formed part of the political capital of both Byzantine and Sasanian emperors.⁴² The second possibility is more likely, a connection via the Byzantine court at Constantinople. The Byzantine emperors used high quality silk textiles as items in diplomatic relations.⁴³ A textile could have been a prestige gift, and could have been either an original Sasanian textile or a Byzantine made copy. Though the references of specific Visigothic Spaniards making the trip to Constantinople are few,⁴⁴ this

⁴⁰ Morony 2011, 36.

⁴¹ The author is no longer accepted to be Valerius of Bierzo.

⁴² E. Fowden 1999.

⁴³ Muthesius 1995, 165–72.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of the references, see Schlimbach 2011, 228–31.

line of transmission cannot be ruled out. Among those who must have commuted between the peninsula and the court were high ranking Visigothic aristocratic clerics now manning the upper echelons of the Catholic Visigothic church after the conversion of Reccared in AD 589, along with Eastern prelates coming to the far West. Gift-giving would have played a prominent role in such circles and provided an avenue of exchange. Dodds has argued that the Visigothic court imitated the Byzantine court in the types used for coinage, court ritual and protocol and court vestments. Canepa has stressed just how important silk clothing was within the settings of the Byzantine and Sasanian courts. Moreover, the style of the costume was important in identifying one's position and rank within the court itself.⁴⁵ Isidore of Seville includes a short discussion of silk in the *Etymologies* (19. 22. 13–14), but he offers no indication of what role silk played in the Visigothic kingdom. If the 7th-century Visigothic court was following Byzantine protocol, then the acquisition of silk textiles and clothing cut in the appropriate style was significant. The importance of silk in ecclesiastical settings in Visigothic Spain would have driven the need for its acquisition. The cult of relics was already established in the Catholic West, and with the conversion from Arianism to Orthodoxy, the new Visigothic Catholic prelates became quite concerned with rooting out or laying claim to older Arian relics on the peninsula. As Visigothic nobility became more integrated into the Spanish church's hierarchy, the court in Toledo would have been a natural source for silk that had arrived as part of diplomatic gift exchange. The court itself was already making use of lavish textile displays for the couches and walls of the palace in Toulouse before the movement onto the Iberian Peninsula. Sidonius Apollinaris' description of a royal banquet (*Letters* 1, 2, 6) as possessing Greek elegance and ceremony (*uideas ibi elegantiam Graecam* and *publicam pompam*) could well suggest the presence of Eastern silk fabrics. In Merida, the economic capital of the Visigothic kingdom on the Iberian Peninsula, bishop Mazona had his church slaves dressed in *clamides olisericas*,⁴⁶ silk cloaks, the fabric for which had to have come from Eastern sources and could have been patched together from fragments decorated with woven patterns of roundels enclosing animals or birds. It would seem most likely that it was through this court channel that Sasanian patterned silks in the form of either complete garments or Byzantine imitations of the patterns from Sasanian court dress could have been redistributed on the Iberian Peninsula.

Perea's recent new analysis of the crowns from the Guarrazar treasure has revealed a third route. The crowns date to the mid-7th century, and Perea has shown that

⁴⁵ Dodds 1990; Canepa 2009, 205–06. See discussions of servants' costumes as distinct from royal costumes on the Taq-i-Bustan reliefs in Peck 1969, 104–10, 113–14.

⁴⁶ *Vitas sanctorum partum emeretensium*.

the sapphires and garnets were sourced from Sri Lanka.⁴⁷ The most likely means of obtaining the stones was through the port of Alexandria. The trans-shippers were most likely Christians, either Persian Nestorians, who had a community at the port of Mahātittha and maintained a major monastery at Kharg Island in the Persian Gulf,⁴⁸ or Syrian Christians who, as subjects of the Sasanian empire, seem to have controlled much of the trade in the Persian Gulf, Indian Ocean and Red Sea. Justinian had already established connections with Eastern Christian communities in India as a means of obtaining silk, circumventing the Sasanian control of the northern routes.⁴⁹ Syrian Christians and Jews under Byzantine authority were the major players in the long distance trade between the eastern and western Mediterranean and had communities in Marseilles and several Visigothic cities.⁵⁰ This was primarily a trade based on the movement of luxury goods, such as the Eastern wines of which Gregory of Tours (*History of the Franks* 10. 7. 29) and Sidonius Apollinaris (*Carmina* 17. 15–16) were so fond, and included would have been silk textiles, probably all displayed in periodic, informal markets set up when a shipment of such items arrived. This type of trade might have allowed for bolts of patterned silk fabric such as decorate the cushions on the Hermitage silver plate to have come to the far West, but it seems unlikely that this would have been the venue for the transfer of tailored silk court costumes intended for ceremonial dress and decorated with encircled animals and birds. There would have been little opportunity for merchants to have accessed such objects with perhaps the exception of Alexandria under Sasanian occupation when perhaps some degree of court ritual was being observed. It may well be that the two accepted Sasanian fragments from the cemetery at Antinoë were buried during this short period. Otherwise, there was little reason for a Sasanian court garment to have been part of the kit of a merchant, at least until the Arab conquest of Ctesiphon and the release of court silks into the general economy. It is certainly possible that Syrian merchants got their hands on some of these looted textiles after AD 642 and might have carried them to Visigothic Spain along with the gemstones for the crowns. However, if I am correct about the two distinct categories of Sasanian patterned silks – the court dress with the animals and birds placed within roundels and the cushion and coverlet silks decorated with patterns like the grapevine – then it might have always been possible for merchants to have obtained the latter category of textile.

⁴⁷ Perea 2001, 269, 285.

⁴⁸ Whitehorse and Williamson 1973, 43–45.

⁴⁹ Daryaei 2003, 5.

⁵⁰ Muthesius 1995, 137–38; García Moreno 1972. Anti-Jewish legislation was a common enough feature in Visigothic law codes to suggest that there was a population of some size on the peninsula (King 1972, 131–37).

Significance of Sasanian Motifs in Visigothic Spain:

Quintanilla is not the only place where we can see Sasanian textile motifs translated into another medium and placed within a sacred space. The ceiling decorations on the corridors of Hagia Sophia bear designs that ultimately are derived from textiles. During the 6th–7th centuries AD, Sasanian court art held an elevated position in the global exchange that had developed in the Late Antique world and influenced decorative patterns as far east as Japan and west into the Byzantine world. It should come as no surprise that the motifs would have appealed to Visigothic aristocrats. By using them in this manner, as decoration on the exterior walls and the interior arch, the designs were repurposed from their original intent and perhaps neutralised of their non-Christian associations. Even after the fall of the Sasanian empire, the vestigial Sasanian cultural power retained significance. The Sasanian emperor Khusraw was one of the six world rulers represented as paying homage to the patron of the Umayyad bath complex at Qusayr ‘Amra in modern Jordan.⁵¹ These image patterns on court clothing were symbolically charged. In the San Vitale mosaic, Justinian wears a tunic decorated with a duck set within a roundel, a motif appropriated from the Sasanian court repertoire. Sasanian forms could increase or lend imperial authority to an image. Even in the far West, such forms could have currency. Bivar has even suggested that it was the Sasanian or Sasanianising motifs on the silks that gave them meaning and made them appropriate for wrapping relics. Clearly it was not the specific Iranian cultural meanings that many of these motifs possessed which were tied to local traditions, but rather the style and the presentation of figures within roundels, almost like seals as Bivar has pointed out, that gave them their significance in a Christian setting.⁵²

Much has been made of the three monograms that are found in the frieze. One, Δ N L A, could reference Count Danila, who is known from the Sixteenth Council of Toledo of AD 693.⁵³ Tejado Sebasión found, among the metallic remains in the excavations of Visigothic castros in the Rioja region, parts of six belt buckles. These probably reflect a Byzantine influence in the form of hierarchical badges of dress worn as statements of status which had become encoded in Byzantine military costume. Among the fragments was a small plaque with a monogram. This may be the result of more specific influences from the Italian-Byzantine region where such monograms seem to have served as statements of power, auto-representations. It may well be that such means of making self-statements had entered the Iberian

⁵¹ G. Fowden 2004, 197–214

⁵² Bivar 2006, 20–21 (and for specific iconography of certain images, 10–13).

⁵³ García Moreno 1974, 44.

Peninsula where Danila took it one step further with the monograms on the exterior walls of his church.

The connection would make the building of a church at Quintanilla an aggressive act by a Visigothic noble laying claim to authority in the old Hispano-Roman church which now, with the conversion of Reccared, had to accept the infiltration of Visigothic aristocrats. The nobles who signed the acts of the councils formed a small sub-elite among the Visigothic nobility from whose ranks the kings were selected. This small group, of perhaps no more than twenty families according to Collins, formed the power elite and was responsible for enthroning and dethroning kings. It would have been suitable for such an individual, during the problematic period of the late 7th century to assert his independence by building a church most likely in the region of his familial estates. This was a time of internal discord beginning with the revolt against Reccewinth in AD 653. Nobles found themselves exiled and their lands confiscated by one king only to then be recalled and the estates returned by his successor.⁵⁴ Building a church on estate lands offered a type of physical manifestation of the local noble's position. It was clearly a practice that dated back to the 6th century and had been a source of some tension between the episcopal clergy and the aristocracy as revealed in several canons promulgated in the councils. Often these churches were private chapels and served as funerary monuments. The church at Quintanilla could have operated in such a manner since evidence for a burial has been found in the region of the nave, though it seems to have been a clerical tomb, which might argue against the church having been intended to serve as a private chapel for Danila and his family. It must have been Count Danila who required the integration of imagery with strong pan-Eurasian imperial associations into his church, and he must have supplied the textiles with zoomorphic forms, probably as fragments either from a complete Sasanian costume or as Byzantine pieces, to be the inspiration for the images enclosed within the spirals and perhaps a larger piece of cloth for the grapevine motif. In doing so, Danila was engaged in the process integrating prestige foreign items into a domestic setting. During the last half of the 7th century, centralised power of the Visigothic kings had declined, and local aristocratic power bases were being developed, in part by endowing monasteries and churches. The church was itself constructed in the one of the most heavily Gothic regions of the peninsula, the band stretching from Valladolid to Burgos to Soria, an area that had been dominated by vast villas, including one possible imperial villa, in the period prior to the Visigothic ascent in

⁵⁴ Collins 2004, 95. For the possible archaeological evidence of this turmoil in the form of the fortifications, see Tejado Sebastián 2010, 174–79.

Spain and may have passed wholesale into the hands of Visigothic nobility. Aristocratic church building was a means of reinforcing a claim.

The carving of the friezes on the apse of the church at Quintanilla is inventive and high quality work. There is enough uniformity to the execution to suggest that no matter how many hands were involved there was a single master overseeing the project. Some of the encircled birds at San Pedro de la Nave look close enough to those in the friezes at Quintanilla in the treatment of the bodies and the sectoring off of different feather types to posit some overlap of workshops, though most of the friezes in San Pedro, while the same in terms of motifs, are distinct in terms of execution from the Quintanilla examples, and must be the product of a different workshop. But here again, the quality of the carving is quite high.⁵⁵

Whether these decorative elements carried a deeper iconographic message is more difficult to determine. The grapevines might well be connected with the older Visigothic royal chapel in Toulouse, though they continued to maintain their older traditional associations in Early Christian iconography, but their specific stylistic treatment also made them part of this pan-Eurasian Sasanian imagery. In the Late Antique period, Christians had become quite good at making pagan images work in Christian contexts. The birds that appear most commonly in Sasanian works are cocks and guinea hens. Both birds could be worked into Zoroastrian religious iconography. In the *Avesta* the cock accompanies Sraosha, the angel responsible for defending humanity against demons, and he welcomes the new day and calls mankind to prayer. The guinea fowl, as all birds, was the creation of Ohrmazd, the power of good, and attacked the vermin that were the creation of Ahreman, the spirit of evil. Such iconography had no meaning in Visigothic Spain, but it was not difficult to make a guinea fowl into a peacock, especially by raising the tail. There are three distinct bird types represented in the frieze at Quintanilla, but one could have been read as a peacock, and as such it fit comfortably into Christian symbolism, representing the incorruptibility of the flesh, a common visual reference to the resurrection. One of the birds resembles the Sasanian cock, and could have carried a somewhat similar meaning in early Christian contexts, that of watchfulness and vigilance as well as willingness to fight the good fight. It may be best to see this as the appropriation and domestication of imagery the significance for which lay in its association with a powerful rival cultural force.

⁵⁵ There is a belt buckle from the Visigothic necropolis at Jaén with a design in openwork of birds placed within framing roundels that looks remarkably close to the carved birds on a capital at San Pedro de la Nave (Schlunk and Hauschild 1978, 227–28, pls. 133b–c). While it is possible that a belt buckle served as the inspiration for the sculpted forms, it seems more likely that the craftsman who made the buckle took inspiration from the sculpted image.

What the church at Quintanilla de las Viñas appears to represent is an aristocratic self-statement of local authority that takes the form of a church wrapped in a textile. The textile patterns place the church within the larger orbit of pan-imperial discourse that stretched from the Sasanian court through the Byzantine court to the Visigothic court. That similar motifs can be found at other churches suggests that this was a wider movement than just the act of a single noble. The shared stylistic features of some of the carvings at San Pedro de la Nave and Quintanilla would indicate that a couple of workshops were quite heavily engaged in this type of work, and the skill of the execution would suggest that they had been doing this for some time. What makes Quintanilla different is the manner in which the motifs are used, to create horizontal bands around the exterior of the apse end. What Danila's sculptors have done is to turn the church into a relic by treating it as being wrapped in prestige cloth which we can safely assume any other court noble, high ranking cleric or the king himself would have immediately recognised.

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THE ANKARA SILVER BOWL

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Abstract

The present contribution gives an extensive overview of the literature on the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl and ends with my own opinion on its dating and interpretation.

The Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of a silver bowl exhibited in the collection of the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara, Turkey, takes a crucial position in the discussion on the earliest use of the script (Fig. 1). Therefore, it seems worthwhile to review the opinions of the various authors who addressed the subject and add my own thoughts about it.

The inscriptions of the Ankara silver bowl have been published first by David Hawkins in 1997 and, in order to enhance its accessibility, reprinted with addenda in *Studia Troica* 15 (2005). As I could lay a hand only on this latter version, I start my review with this publication.

According to Hawkins,¹ then, the Luwian hieroglyphic legends run as follows in transliteration and translation:

Inscription 1

§1 *zi/a-wa/i-ti* CAELUM-*pi* **a-sa-ma-i(a)*
REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ *273 *i(a)-sa₅-zi/a-tá*
REX *ma-zi/a-kar-hu-ha* REX PRAE-na

This bowl Asmaya, the man of the land Hattusa, *dedicated(?)* for himself before King Maza-Karhuha,

§ 2 *tarali-wa/i-zi/a-wa/i* (REGIO) REL+*ra/i*
MONS.[*tu*] LABARNA+*la hu-la-i(a)-tá*

when Tudhaliya Labarna smote the land of Tarwiza—

§ 3 **a-wa/i-na* **a-pa-ti-i(a)* ANNUS-*i(a)*
i(a)-zi/a-tà

it in that year he made.

Inscription 2

§ 4 *zi/a* CAELUM-*pi* SCRIBA 2
piⁱ-t[iⁱ]-x[...] *414 [...]

This bowl the second(-rank) scribe Benti?-[...], the *414 [... inscribed(?)].

For comparisons, the author points to a bronze bowl from the Kastamonu treasure, which according to its Luwian hieroglyphic inscription has been dedicated by a Hittite official named Taprammi, whose term in office fell in the later part of the Hittite Empire period.

¹ Hawkins 2005, 194.

Presumably the silver bowl under discussion has been referred to already by Emmanuel Laroche,² who, if so, specified its provenance as Karkamis. As far as the use of the script is concerned, it stands out that the three verbs, each governing its own phrase the beginning of which is marked in each case by the sentence introductory particle *-wa*, are written out syllabically. Hawkins considers this a feature typical of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions of some length from the reigns of Tudkhaliyas IV (1239–1209 BC) and Suppiluliumas II (1205–1190 BC) like the ones on the altar stones from Emirgazi, along the sides of a water basin at Yalburt, and on the rock monument of Nişantaş at the Hittite capital Boğazköy. In his opinion clearly distinct is the inscription on the inner side of a chamber in the dike of a large water reservoir called the Südburg monument in Boğazköy, also from the reign of Suppiluliumas II, which is singled out by the logographic nature of its writing.

As to the contents, it deserves note that the repetition of the title REX 'king' in § 1 to flank the personal name *Maza-Karhuha* in a sort of aedicula is regular on seals at least from the time of Suppiluliumas I (1350–1322 BC) onwards. Furthermore, it so happens that the name of the king in question is written with the sign *315 *kar* solely attested for inscriptions from Karkamis. Now, the latter observation tallies with the fact that the second element of this personal name, *karhuha-*, corresponds to the form of address of the stag-god typical for Karkamis, *Karhuhas*, as mentioned for the first time in the annals of Suppiluliumas I. No doubt, this theophoric onomastic element induced Laroche to attribute a Karkamisian provenance to the silver bowl. As opposed to this, the country name Tarwiza in § 2 leads Hawkins in a totally different direction, as in his opinion the closest comparable evidence is formed by cuneiform Taru(w)isa, the Hittite equivalent of Homeric Greek Troy, situated in the northwest corner of Asia Minor. Next, it is remarkable that the dating formula characterised by the adverb REL+*ra/i* 'when' in § 2 and the expression **a-pa-ti-i(a)* ANNUS-*i(a)* 'in that year' is paralleled for the Südburg inscription §§ 1 and 18. Finally, the second inscription, referred to here as § 4, specifies the name of the scribe of which the first element presumably corresponds to Khurritic *Benti-* as in *pi-ti-SARRUMA* attested for seal impressions from the Nişantepe archive at Boğazköy.

In the following, Hawkins distinguishes two categories of evidence, the one epigraphical and the other historical, the first of which suggests a dating to the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV (though he ends this section with the observation that a dating to the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II in the late 15th or early 14th century BC cannot be ruled out), whereas the second points to a link with the events of the Assuwa campaign of Tudkhaliyas I/II. As far as epigraphic evidence is concerned, the tradition of digraphic royal seals (inscribed in Hittite cuneiform as well as Luwian hieroglyphic) is traced back to the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II. The only earlier seal in Hawkins's opinion is that of the king of Tarsus Ispatakhshus, a contemporary of Telipinus (1525–1500 BC) of the Old Kingdom period. In his overview of the attestation of Luwian hieroglyphic signs in the various sources for the period from the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II in the late 15th or early 14th century BC up to that of Khattusilis III (1264–1239 BC), in which he claims to be exhaustive,³ a prominent position is taken by the so-called cruciform seal from the reign of Mursilis II (1322–1295 BC) which records the names of kings and queens from the Old Kingdom period and the Empire period. Now,

² Laroche 1960, xxx.

³ 'Indeed the only data' (Hawkins 2005, 199).

if the cruciform seal informs us indeed about the lay-out of the seal of Tudkhaliyas I/II, the possibility that the *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas as mentioned in § 2 of the text on the Ankara silver bowl may be identified with Tudkhaliyas I/II indeed gains weight. In connection with the historical evidence, the identification of Tarwiza with cuneiform Taru(w)isa 'Troy' would clearly indicate that the commemorated event belongs to the Assuwa campaign of Tudkhaliyas I/II because this is the only event in which Taru(w)isa features.⁴ How a king of Karkamis should be integrated into the Assuwa campaign remains unclear, but the observation that from the reign of Suppiluliumas I onwards all the Late Bronze Age kings of Karkamis are known by name and hence that 'A king of Karkamiš named *Maza-Karhuha* could only be accommodated in the reign of Tudhaliya I/II'⁵ surely hits the nail on the head – that is to say under the condition that we restrict our survey to the Bronze Age. With this latter observation in mind, it is of relevance that Tudkhaliyas I/II is reported to have been military active in North Syria and to have defeated Aleppo, an important city in the neighbourhood of Karkamis.

In his conclusions, Hawkins remarks about the dating of the Ankara silver bowl that 'If forced to offer an opinion, I would say that the historical links with Tudhaliya I/II should probably be given more weight than the lack of epigraphical parallels (really an argument *e silentio*), which might urge a later dating.'

Clelia Mora in her 2007 discussion of the Ankara silver bowl⁶ departs from the transliteration and translation as presented by Hawkins.⁷ She considers the main problems to be the identification of the persons mentioned, the date of the object, and the place of its production. First of all, one wonders whether Maza-Karhuha is a king of Karkamis? In that case Mora fairly admits that he must be dated to before the Empire period. But she also allows for the possibility that it is the name of a divinity. As to the location and date, the arguments of Hawkins are mentioned that the use of the sign *315 *kar* points to Karkamis and that the country name Tarwiza recalls cuneiform Taru(w)isa of Tudkhaliyas I/II's Assuwa campaign. However, in the opinion of Mora 'This would give us an unexpected early dating for a hieroglyphic inscription of such a length', and the early hypothesis of Hawkins would at present make the document unique. Therefore Mora prefers a later dating, to the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV or even to the period after the Bronze Age during the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age.

In order to substantiate her later dating, Mora sums up a number of arguments. In the first place there are, apart from the seals, no Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions dating from the period before the end of the 14th or beginning of the 13th century BC. Furthermore, it is maintained that the prevailing use of syllabograms is the hallmark of a late dating. This latter opinion is based on the view that the Luwian hieroglyphic script developed from a primitive logographic phase, when it was not fit for the writing of complex texts, to a full-blown logo-syllabic phase only attested for the latter part of the Late Bronze Age, when the writing of complex texts became possible. In line with these two basic tenets, it comes as no surprise that all features of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl which Mora

⁴ So also Alp 2001, 29–30.

⁵ Hawkins 2005, 200.

⁶ Mora 2007, 517–19.

⁷ Hawkins 2005, 194.

subsequently sums up, like the use of the sign *315 *kar*, of the title *labarnas*, of ‘initial-*a*-final’ (marked by * in the transcription), of phrases marked by the adverb *REL+ra/i* or *HWAr(ā)* ‘when’ (for which Mora refers to Karahöyük-Elbistan § 2 of the 12th century BC instead of Südburg § 1 as Hawkins does), are paralleled only for texts of later date than the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II.

If the inscriptions indeed date to the later part of the Late Bronze Age or more in specific the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, one thing is clear, namely that Maza-Karhuha cannot be king of Karkamis but must be a local North Syrian dignitary of unknown origin. This is Mora’s most likely scenario, but she does not exclude the possibility (with Maza-Karhuha now being out of the way) that the Tudkhaliyas of the Ankara silver bowl is to be identified with namesake Karkamisian rulers as mentioned in the Early Iron Age texts Karkamis A16c and Karkamis fragments a/b, a great king,⁸ or Kelekli, a king who married the daughter of the country-lord Sukhis II, the term of office of the latter being safely situated in the second half of the 10th century BC.⁹

In a section devoted to the Ankara silver bowl, Ilya Yakubovich¹⁰ follows the transliteration of Hawkins, but suggests a different translation of § 1 (p. 14):

- § 1 This bowl Asamaya, man of Hattusa, bought from (lit. ‘in the presence of’) the king Maza-Karhuha.
 § 2 When Labarna Tuthaliya smote Tarwiza,
 § 3 in that year he (Tuthaliya) had it made.

The difference is formed by his interpretation of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-zi/a-* in line with *contractus asa-* ‘to buy’ in Cekke § 6, where however it is associated with the adverb *CUM* or *KATA+s(i)-nà*, not with the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PARA-na* ‘in front of’ as in the present text. In view of this observation, the new interpretation may safely be discarded. The same verdict applies to the inference that the bowl had been forged in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, but bought as an antique object by Asmaya from Maza-Karhuha during the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV.

However, the main concern of the section in which the Ankara silver bowl features is not with this inscription itself, but with the origins and development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script more in general. Starting point is the early date as envisaged by Hawkins, who, as we have seen, prefers a date in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, and the latter’s association of the inscription with a military event in the west on the basis of the identification of the country name Tarwiza with the cuneiform place-name Taru(w)isa ‘Troy’. In contrast to Hawkins, Yakubovich takes this particular association as an argument for a western Anatolian provenance of the bowl. In so doing, he can next call into play an argument of Hawkins for a western Anatolian homeland of the Luwian hieroglyphic script, namely structural similarities with Cretan Linear A and Mycenaean Linear B.

The view of Yakubovich on the origins of the Luwian hieroglyphic script are most clearly set out in his monograph of 2010.¹¹ Here he distinguishes as much as four phases or stages:

⁸ Hawkins 2000, 82, 590–91.

⁹ Hawkins 2000, 92–93.

¹⁰ Yakubovich 2008, 14–18.

¹¹ Yakubovich 2010, 286–89.

Stage I: pictographic representations on Anatolian cylinder seals of the Colony period, 20th to 18th century BC;

Stage II: symbols like *369 VITA and *370 BONUS on stamp seals of the Old Kingdom period (ca. 1650–1500 BC); to this stage belongs the sealing of Ispuṭakhsus of Kizzuwatna, as we have noted in the above a contemporary of the Hittite king Telipinus, which Yakubovich for its assumed uniqueness in the region ascribes to Hittite influence;

Stage III: rudimentary writing system with syllabograms appearing next to logograms on seals from the early 14th century BC; a case in point is the sealing with the name of the wife of Tudkhaliyas III (1370–1350 BC) *sà-tà-tu-ha-pa* as dug up in Maşathöyük; this stage ‘does not yet give the impression of an elaborate system capable of rendering complex messages’¹² and still abounds in logographic renderings of personal names like MONS.TU ‘Tudkhaliyas’ and PURUS.FONS.ma_x ‘Suppiluliumas’;

Stage IV: full-fledged writing system as attested for monumental inscriptions of some length from Fraktin and Aleppo dating from about the time of the reign of Khattusilis III in the 13th century BC; in this stage the connection is made for the first time between the Anatolian hieroglyphic script and the Luwian language, and so in the mixed Hittite-Luwian environment at the capital of the Hittite Empire, Khattusa.

Now, working from this four-staged model of the development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script, the monumental inscriptions and seals or sealings discovered in western Anatolia, which all date to the period after the conquest of Arzawa by Mursilis II during the late 14th century BC, are due to the influence of the ‘long arm’ of the Hittite empire, in other words: the script is introduced in this region by Hittite scribes from Khattusa. *Ergo*: Hawkins’s suggestion of a western Anatolian origin of the Luwian hieroglyphic script cannot be maintained, and a complex text as that on the Ankara silver bowl, if from the west or not, is only conceivable for Stage IV in the development of the script.

Yakubovich’s model of the development of the Luwian hieroglyphic script is highly influential and therefore presented here *in extenso*. However, it can only be maintained by the grace of an insufficient knowledge of the earliest attestations of the Luwian hieroglyphic script. For starters, Yakubovich seems to be unaware of cylinder seals from western Anatolia of which the stamp side is inscribed with the legend *á-su-wi* ‘Assuwiya’ written out syllabically which belong to the period of the greatness of the Assuwan League before its defeat by the Hittite great king who owing to the work of Jacques Freu of 2007 can positively be identified as Tudkhaliyas II (1425–1390 BC) sometime in the late 15th century BC.¹³ To these seals from western Anatolia with Luwian hieroglyphic legends dating from the period before its inclusion to the Hittite empire may be added a seal from Alacahöyük with the legend *KURUNT HANTAWAT á-su-wi* as this likely belonged to the king of Arzawa and leader of the Assuwan League, Piyamakuruntas, who is reported to have been deported by Tudkhaliyas II, after his defeat, to Khattusa within the bend of the Halys river.¹⁴ Furthermore, it deserves attention that Yakubovich is unacquainted with the stamp seal from Beycesultan also from western Anatolia, which dates from ca. 2000 BC and therefore confronts us with

¹² Yakubovich 2010, 288.

¹³ See Mora 1987, Ia 1.2 and 1.3.

¹⁴ Mora 1987, XIIb 1.1; cf. Bryce 2005, 124–26.

the earliest datable evidence of the Luwian hieroglyphic script.¹⁵ In fact, we may conclude that the author has overlooked the entire corpus, modest though it may be, of Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions which entails 18 seals or sealings and 41 individual signs among which feature a substantial number of syllabograms, thus proving that the script was logo-syllabic and thus capable of recording complex texts from the very start.¹⁶ Also the connection with the Luwian language is there from the very start, as in the legend on the stamp seal from Beycesultan features the enclitic conjunction *-ha* ‘and’ – not to mention the fact that this is embedded in the acrophonic principle according to which the syllabic values are deduced from logographic ones and which, notwithstanding Yakubovich’s Hittite bias, in the overwhelming majority has a bearing on Luwian vocabulary words.¹⁷ Even his assumption that the sealing of Ispatakhsus is unique for the region of Kizzuwatna is incorrect, as among the Middle Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions we come across the Indilimma seal of unknown origin but plausibly attributed to Tarsos. To this may be added the seal-ring with, as far as the category of seals is concerned, the longest Luwian hieroglyphic legend, Borowski 26, in which Tarsos is explicitly mentioned and which for the mention of a king may safely be assigned to the period of the 16th or 15th century BC – the reign of Sunassura II of Kizzuwatna, a contemporary of the Hittite Great King Tudkhaliyas II,¹⁸ serving as a *terminus ante quem*.¹⁹

In 2009 Zsolt Simon dedicated a paper to the discussion of the Ankara silver bowl. His transliteration of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions follows Hawkins’s, but his translation in German reads as follows:²⁰

- § 1 Diese Schale hat Asamaya, der Hethiter, selbst vor dem König Mazi/a-Karhuha dargebracht.
 § 2 Als Tudhaliya, der Labarna, das Land von Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a besiegt hat,
 § 3 in jenem Jahr hat er es getan.
 § 4 Benti?-[...], Schreiber im zweiten Rang, der *414, hat diese Schale [... geschrieben?].

With respect to § 3, Simon makes a point about the fact whether the accusative *genus commune* of the enclitic pronoun *-na* can refer to the object as CAELUM-*pi* or KATANA-*PIA* ‘bowl’ or ‘dedicatory bowl’ may well be a neuter. But such a distinction is inconsequential with a view to the evidence for frequent incongruency in gender. On the other hand, his suggestion that the dedicator Asmaya may well be the subject not only of § 1 but also of § 3 may well be correct.

About the question of the date of the silver bowl, Simon presents an overview of the previous literature consisting of Hawkins 2005, Mora 2007 and Yakubovich 2008. In this overview he sides with Yakubovich about the assumption that ‘die hieroglyphen-luwische

¹⁵ Mora 1987, XIIb 3.3.

¹⁶ Woudhuizen 2015a, 20–28.

¹⁷ Woudhuizen 2015b, 345–47.

¹⁸ Freu 2001, 31.

¹⁹ Poetto and Salvatori 1981, 31–34, tav. XXVI; Woudhuizen 2015b, 15.

²⁰ Simon 2009, 247–48.

Schrift (...) bis Hattušili III. für das Verfassen komplexere Texte ungeeignet gewesen zu sein [scheint]'.²¹ Next, he criticises Hawkins's identification of the country of Tarwiza with cuneiform Taru(w)isa on account of the fact that interchange between [z] and [s] is problematic. Yakubovich accepts this identification, though, and even points in this connection to a text of Tudkhaliyas IV in which preparations for a campaign against Taru(w)isa are related – a view which according to Freu is entirely unfounded.²² Furthermore, the latter author takes Maza-Karhuha as a king not of Karkamis but of some other Syrian or Anatolian political entity. A similar position is maintained by Mora, who, as we have noted, for the identification of the Tudkhaliyas mentioned also favours Tudkhaliyas IV, but does not exclude namesake kings of Karkamis of later, post-Bronze Age, date.

Next, Simon sets out to discuss the possibilities for the identification of the name of the ruler Tudkhaliyas more in detail, for which in his opinion 5 options are relevant: Tudkhaliyas I/II (= in fact a grouping together of two kings who need to be distinguished), Tudkhaliyas III, Tudkhaliyas the younger (= the son of Tudkhaliyas III murdered before his accession to the throne), Tudkhaliyas IV, all of the Hittite Empire period, and Tudkhaliyas of Karkamis (in fact, as we have noted above, a Great King Tudkhaliyas V as referred to in Karkamis A16c and fragments a/b and a later king, Tudkhaliyas VI, a contemporary of Sukhis II). In order to settle this matter, arguments are put forward in order to decide between these five options. On the basis of epigraphic parallels, the first three options are excluded. On the basis of the fact that the inscription on the bronze bowl from the Kastamonu treasure is largely of logographic nature, Tudkhaliyas IV, from the period of whose reign this bowl dates, is according to Simon also to be excluded. This leaves us with Tudkhaliyas of Karkamis, which option is open since the feature 'initial-*a*-final' in the opinion of Melchert is not confined to the latest phase of the Late Bronze Age but continues into the earliest phase of the Early Iron Age. With this deduction tallies that Maza-Karhuha even as a ruler of some other Syrian or Anatolian political entity than Karkamis cannot be a contemporary of Tudkhaliyas IV as we are well informed about his higher and lower functionaries in all parts of his realm.

After discussing the possibilities of the continuous use of the title *labarnas* in the period after the Bronze Age, of the auto-ethnonym REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ 'man of the land of Khatti', which in the opinion of Simon is restricted to the Hittite Empire period and therefore excludes identification of Tudkhaliyas with the Early Iron Age ruler of Karkamis as well, etc., the author draws the conclusion that none of the five options for the identification of Tudkhaliyas applies. As a solution to the problem, then, Simon postulates a *Tudkhaliyas V who was a son of Suppiluliumas II and reigned in the early 12th century BC after the change of the capital from Khattusa to an unknown location supposedly located in Tabal. This postulated King *Tudkhaliyas V gave the Ankara silver bowl as a gift of honour to Maza-Karhuha, a contemporary king of unknown location, in commemoration of the event of his victory against the land of Tarwiza presumed to be located somewhere in eastern Anatolia. Together a whole lot of unknowns, and therefore I consider this scenario a nice example of *ignotum per ignotius*.

²¹ Simon 2009, 250.

²² Freu 2010–11, 189–90.

S.P.B. Durnford in his contribution of 2010 on the Ankara silver bowl tried to cope with the dichotomy between the historical considerations, which favour an early dating in the reign of Tudkhaliyas I/II, and the epigraphical evidence suggesting a substantially later dating, in the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, as noted by Hawkins in an unprecedented way. In his opinion, the inscriptions belong to the Late corpus (1100–700 BC), but the events these record are rooted in imperial history the memory of which is somehow preserved, orally or in literature. The silver bowl itself is in this scenario considered an heirloom of the descendants of Asmaya, living in Karkamis, and these latter added the inscription on the basis of historical information from the past transmitted to them. The story preserved in this manner is the victory of Tudkhaliyas I/II over the country of Tarwiza, which Durnford in line with Hawkins identifies as Taru(w)isa of the Assuwa campaign – actually the feat of Tudkhaliyas II as per Freu 2007. The expression REGIO.HATTI VIR₂ ‘man of Hatti’ in Durnford’s line of thinking is an exonymic designation of Asmaya who has relocated from Hatti to Karkamis – a Late Bronze Age form of address considered still valid long after the fall of the Hittite empire for the descendants of Asmaya.

In regard to epigraphic criteria, Durnford acknowledges that the text is in Late Bronze Age writing tradition, as the double bars below the signs *209 *a* and *376 *i*, *zi*, the hallmark of texts in Early Iron Age scribal tradition, are still lacking, as is the writing of the nominative and accusative singular endings, yet another Late Bronze Age criterion. Furthermore, the use of ‘initial-*a*-final’ starts in the Late Bronze Age texts but continues, as shown by Melchert, in texts dating up to the early 1st millennium BC. A basic tenet in judging the epigraphic situation is formed by the idea that the Luwian hieroglyphic script started off as a logographic writing system developing phonetic renderings by means of syllabic signs only in a later stage, see the discussion of Yakubovich’s four-tiered system in the above. This allows the author to consider the inscriptions to be of Late Bronze Age vintage but actually written down later because of the fully phonetic renderings of the verbs, introductory particles with enclitics, etc.

Durnford’s translation of the inscriptions shows some novelties and runs as follows:²³

- § 1 This bowl for himself *A-sa-ma-i(a)*, man of Hatti/Hattusa, forged[?] during the reign of king *Ma-zi/a-Karhuha*.
- § 2 The land of *Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a* when Tudhaliya *labarna* smote,
- § 3 it in that year he made.
- § 4 This bowl the second(-rank) scribe *Pi²-t[i²]-[...]*, the[?] *414, [...-ed].

In the first place he interprets the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PARA-na* in line with Hittite *pēran* as ‘during the reign of’. The person whose reign in this manner is referred to, Maza-Karhuha, is considered a king of Karkamis dating from the period before the reign of Suppiluliumas I, who, as we have noted, installed his descendants as vice-regents here. Secondly, the sign *273 is identified as an anvil and suggested to be used as a determinative of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-za-*, which accordingly expresses the meaning ‘to forge’.²⁴ In this scenario, Asmaya comes

²³ Durnford 2010, 55, table 1.

²⁴ So also Lebrun 2011, 223.

into consideration as the silver smith who forged the bowl. Both these suggestions in my opinion are unwarranted, the interpretation of the postposition *PRAE-na* or *PARA-na* should remain within the frame of the relevant Luwian parallels, whereas *273 does not depict an anvil, but an *ureaus* or cobra in attacking position, a typically Egyptian symbol of royal power to be found in depictions of the Egyptian crown. Irrespective of the fact that Durnford is right or wrong in following Hawkins's identification of the country of Tarwiza with cuneiform Taru(w)isa, his observation that both these geographic names appear to be based on the IE Anatolian root **tāru-* 'wood, tree' may well be of interest to a final solution.

The problem of the identification of the *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas mentioned in the text of the Ankara silver bowl has also drawn the attention of Freu. In his discussion of the topic he departs from Hawkins's transliteration of the two inscriptions, whereas the translation rendered in French reads as follows:²⁵

- § 1 Ce vase Asamaya le hittite l'a lui-même déposé devant le roi Mazi/a-Karhuha,
 § 2 alors que [Tudhaliya], le labarna, avait vaincu le pays de Tara/i-wa/i-zi/a,
 § 3 en cette année il l'a fait.
 § 4 Benti-[...] (?), le scribe de second rang [a inscrit] ce vase.

Now Freu considers three options of relevance: Tudkhaliyas I (1465–1440 BC), Tudkhaliyas IV (1239–1209 BC), or an unrecorded *Tudkhaliyas V postulated in like manner as Simon does for the earlier part of the 12th century BC in the so-called Dark Age.

As to the interpretation of the text, Freu maintains that the silver bowl is a gift of a Great King Tudkhaliyas to King Maza-Karhuha by means of an intermediary of a Hittite high functionary, Asmaya. Accordingly, the latter is subject of § 3.

In connection with the dating, the author adheres to the common view that the script cannot be earlier than the period of Tudkhaliyas IV and Suppiluliumas II in the final stage of the Bronze Age. As opposed to this, historical considerations sparked off from the identification of the country of Tarwiza with cuneiform Tar(w)isa rather point into the direction of the time of the Assuwa campaign by Tudkhaliyas II in the late 15th century BC. If a king of Karkamis, Maza-Karhuha cannot be situated in the period of the Late Bronze Age from Suppiluliumas I onwards and therefore would also provide an argument in favour of such an early dating. However, as observed by Simon, the identification of Tarwiza with Taru(w)isa is uncertain because of the problematic interchange between [z] and [s] and the Kastamonu bronze bowl shows that dedicatory inscriptions of similar type were still largely logographic at the time of the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV. Furthermore, Maza-Karhuha may have been a ruler of some other political entity in Syria or Anatolia than Karkamis. Following this trail, Freu is much impressed by Simon's postulated *Tudkhaliyas V, son and successor of Suppiluliumas II who reigned somewhere in Tabal after the evacuation of the capital Khattusa in the first half of the 12th century BC. As noted in the above, for all its unknowns this is a *non sequitur*.

²⁵ Freu 2010–11, 185–86.

In his contribution on the Ankara silver bowl of 2013, Federico Giusfredi presents a handsome overview of the literature up till then, with the exception of Freu 2010–11. The key to the problem of the dating of the object in the view of this author is the identity of Asmaya. In regard to this issue, Giusfredi develops his argument from his alternative reading of REGIO.*HATTI* as REGIO.DOMINUS. This leads him to the following translation in which I have given the English rendering of REGIO.DOMINUS as ‘country-lord’:²⁶

- § 1 This bowl Asmaya himself, the country-lord, the VIR₂, dedicated in front of the King Mazi-Karhuha
 § 2-3 when [Tu]dhaliyas the *labarna* smote the land Tarwiza, in that year he made it.
 § 4 This bowl Pit(?)..., the ‘second rank’ scribe ...

On the basis of the identification of the title of *Asmaya* as ‘country-lord’, it becomes possible to identify the Tudkhaliyas in the text of the Ankara silver bowl with the Great King Tudkhaliyas V of Karkamis as mentioned in Karkamis A16c and the fragments a/b. In Karkamis during the early phase of the Early Iron Age there were two dynastic lines ruling together, that of great kings whose pedigree no doubt can ultimately be traced back to the last known Karkamisian king, Kuzitesup, and that of their vice-regents known as the house of Sukhis. In the long run, the line of great kings declined to be merely king (Kelekli) and was ousted altogether by Katuwas, the son of Sukhis II and descendant of Sukhis I, who expelled the grandsons of Great King Uratarkhuntas, Ar(nu)wantas and Ruwas, from Karkamis, after which event these latter took up their abode in the region of Malatya according to the inscriptions from Darende, Gürün, and Kötükale.²⁷ Now, Great King Tudkhaliyas V was a predecessor of Great Kings Sapazitis and Uratarkhuntas ruling sometime in the 11th century BC. In similar vein, then, the country-lord Asmaya may have been a predecessor of the country-lord Sukhis I also officiating in the 11th century BC.

If this reconstruction applies, according to the text of the Ankara silver bowl Asmaya the country-lord was sent by his Great King Tudkhaliyas V to Tarwiza, which in Giusfredi’s scenario is ruled by the otherwise unknown king, Maza-Karhuha, in order to hand over a diplomatic gift, the silver bowl itself. The author even goes as far as to suggest that Maza-Karhuha had been enthroned in Tarwiza by Tudkhaliyas V after the latter’s military victory over it. One of the premises of this reconstruction is that inscriptions during the 11th century BC must be assumed to be still written in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition, without double bars below *209 *a* and *376 *i, zi*. In the light of the recently discovered inscription by the Philistine king Tatas baptised Aleppo 6, which is assigned to this early period,²⁸ this is unlikely to be the case. On the contrary, the occurrence of *210 *ya* or *ā* in Karkamis fragment b belonging to the reign of Great King Tudkhaliyas V definitely proves that the texts of this ruler were already conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition.²⁹ Finally, it

²⁶ Giusfredi 2013, 674 (cf. 666).

²⁷ Cf. Woudhuizen 2015b.

²⁸ Hawkins 2011.

²⁹ Payne 2015, 97, n. 182.

must be admitted that the entire argument rests on the reading of REGIO.*HATTI* as REGIO. DOMINUS and, unfortunately, this is epigraphically unacceptable.³⁰

Nevertheless, Rostislav Oreshko took this reading of Giusfredi as a starting point in his 2012 treatment of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl.³¹ He is also the only author who questions the emendation of name of the Hittite great king as Tudkhalias. According to Oreshko the sign *TU* simply is not there and we should read *MONS.LABARNA*, which owing to its mention in Hama 7 can be identified with Mt Lebanon. Furthermore Tar(a)wiza is suggested to be an ethnic in *-za-* of *Danawa-* ‘Adana’ by means of interchange between [r] and [n]. Accordingly, Maza-Karhuha is staged as a king of Adana who campaigned in the region of Mt Lebanon – a feat no doubt to be staged in the Early Iron Age, although the author refrains from being specific about the question of the date. Finally, Oreshko takes VIR₂. *273 *i(a)-sa₅-zi/a-tá* as a unit of which the phonetically rendered part is not understood, as it generally is, as a verbal form but as a noun *izis(a)ta-* ‘honour-gift’ (note the fronting of *376 as against the epigraphic correct order according to which this sign follows *326). In sum this leads to the following translation:

- § 1 This bowl is the honour-gift for Asma, the country-lord, before Mazi-Karhuha, the king.
- § 2 When (the latter;) the Darawean, made a campaign to the Mountain(land) Lebanon,
- § 3 in that year he dedicated it.

Even though one cannot deny that Oreshko’s approach is highly creative, his novelties (Mt Lebanon, Adanawean, the noun *izis(a)ta-* ‘honour-gift’) are simply untenable.

Most recently, Annick Payne devoted a section in her dissertation of 2015 on the dating of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl.³² Her starting point is their transliteration by Hawkins, which leads her to the following translation in German:³³

- § 1 Dieses Schälchen weihte der Mann aus Hatti, Asmaya, selbst vor dem König Mazi/a-Karhuha.
- § 2 Als der Labarna Tudhaliya das Land Tara/iwa/iza/i schlug,
- § 3 in dem Jahr machte er sie.
- § 4 Dieses Schälchen hat der Schreiber eingepunzt und ge-x-*414-[t].

In the part giving the name and title(s) of the scribe, § 4, in deviation from Hawkins’s attempt, she reconstructs two verbs, the first of which necessitates her to assume that the number 2 (phonetic *tuwa-*) is used for the expression the acrophonic value *tu_x*, whereas later on³⁴ she presents the relevant evidence for the title SCRIBA 2 ‘second-rank scribe’ alongside

³⁰ So also Payne 2015, 85, n. 149.

³¹ Oreshko 2012.

³² Payne 2015, 84–98.

³³ Payne 2015, 85–87.

³⁴ Payne 2015, 150, tabelle 16.

SCRIBA 3 and SCRIBA 4. As a consequence, her reconstruction seems unwarranted and should be discarded.

In like manner as Hawkins, see next presents an overview of the relevant data, first the epigraphic³⁵ and after this the historical.³⁶ The first category entails (I stick to the most important arguments):

- (1) sentence introductory particles with chains of enclitics attested for the longer texts from the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV onwards;
- (2) logograms written out phonetically or with a phonetic complement (which she assumes to be exemplified by *273 in front of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-za-*) occur only in texts of a more advanced date, starting with the latest in Late Bronze Age scribal tradition like Karahöyük-Elbistan and Kızıldağ 4 which date to the 12th century BC;
- (3) the syllabic signs can all be paralleled in the longer texts from the reign of Tudkhaliyas IV, which therefore serves as a *terminus ante quem non*;
- (4) the signs *209 and *376 do not yet occur in variant with two horizontal bars at their lower side, which (together with the use of *386 ‘crampon’ as a word-divider instead of the indication of male gender ^m) are the hallmark of texts conducted in Early Iron Age scribal tradition attested from the 11th century BC onwards (Karkamis fragment b; Aleppo 6);
- (5) the symmetrical arrangement of the title REX or *HANTAWAT* along both sides of the personal name Maza-karhuha is attested for seals from the reign of Suppiluliumas I onwards;
- (6) *labarnas* as a name is attested for the cruciform seal from the reign of Mursilis II and as a title for the *aedicula* of Tudkhaliys IV and his Late Bronze Age successors Arnuwandas III (1209–1205 BC), and Suppiluliumas II (it is not true that its use as a title is confined to the *aedicula*, see Köylütolu § 2);
- (7) the feature of ‘initial-*a*-final’ cannot be found in the texts from an advanced stage of the Early Iron Age, *ca.* 850 BC serving as a *terminus ante quem*.

Visualised in a graph,³⁷ it seems to follow from this overview, at least in the opinion of Payne, that the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl date from the 12th century BC.

The second category of historical data entails:

- (1) the connection of King Maza-karhuha with Karkamis, which can only be situated in the period *before* the conquest of Karkamis and the subsequent foundation of a Sekundogenitur here by Suppiluliumas or *after* the fall of the Hittite empire in the period of the 12th and 11th century BC or Dark Age;
- (2) the identification of the country of Tarwiza with the cuneiform Taru(w)isa as mentioned in the context of the Assuwa campaign by Tudkhaliyas II is uncertain and hence an early dating unwarranted.

Calling in mind the outcome of the overview of the epigraphic criteria, Payne next cautiously suggests that an identification of the Tudkhaliyas in the text on the silver bowl with Tudkhaliyas V of Karkamis, though not certain, lies at hand. Such a conclusion echoes the

³⁵ Payne 2015, 89–94.

³⁶ Payne 2015, 94–98.

³⁷ Payne 2015, 91, Abb. 24.

scenario suggested by Giusfredi, and therefore it is strange to observe that Payne herself as we have noted in the above presents a decisive argument against it: namely that one of the two inscriptions by Tudkhaliyas V of Karkamis, fragment b, in view of the use of *210 is definitely conducted in Early Bronze Age scribal tradition!³⁸

In her discussion of the Ankara silver bowl, Payne gives priority to the given epigraphic criteria, which in her opinion suggest a 12th century BC date. Now, it may be possible to question some of Payne's epigraphic criteria. For example, *273 is not a logogram of the verb *i(a)-sa₅-za-*, but together with *386 'crampon' functions as a designation of Asmaya as ^mWARPA 'warpa-official'. But even if we assume that Payne is right in her analysis, one wonders whether she is aware of logo-syllabic writings like *MALHASAhasà-* or *MALHASAhasa₅-* 'libation offering' from the Emirgazi text (§§ 36, 38). All this, however, would be engaging in a rear-guard action while losing sight of the fundamental issue. The fundamental issue is that Payne is working from a box, her overview of the earliest attestations of syllabic signs as presented in Abb. 17 on p. 74. This box fits nicely into the cabinet of Yakubovich's model of the evolution of the Luwian hieroglyphic script as discussed in the above. As we have noted, this model only exists by the grace of insufficient knowledge of the earliest attestations of the script. There is no place in it for the seals of the Assuwan kings of the late 15th century BC, nor for the seal-ring Borowski 26 which for the mention of a king must be assigned to the 16th or 15th century BC, nor for the (overall) 18 seals and sealings from the Middle Bronze Age period (ca. 2000–1650 BC) in the legends of which feature as many as 41 individual signs, a substantial number of which are used for the expression of a syllabic value.

In fact, of the total of 36 individual signs used in the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl, one of which, *88 *tu*, is plausibly reconstructed, as many as 12, that is 33%, are paralleled for the text on the seal-ring Borowski 26, namely: *17 *HANTAWAT*, *29 *tá*, *35 *na*, *110 *ma*, *175 *la*, *209, 1-3; 6 *ā*, *215 *ha*, *228 *UTNA*, *376 *i*, *zi*, *383, 2 *+r(a/i)*, *384 *TUWA*, and *389 *ta+r*. Similarly, as much as 9 signs, that is 25%, have a parallel among the signs attested for the Middle Bronze Age period, namely: *35 *na*, *66 *PIA*, *90 *ti*, *215 *ha*, *336 *USA*, *376 *i*, *zi*, *383, 1 *m*, *383, 2 *+r(a/i)*, and *450 *à*. *Ergo*: the barrier set for the writing of complex texts by the current evolutionary model at about the time of the reign of Khat-tusilis III in the 13th century BC is non-existent! It follows from this conclusion that an early date for the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl, instead of being excluded, should be taken into serious consideration.

This brings me to my own transliteration and translation of the inscriptions on the Ankara silver bowl. The system of transliteration used by me is made fully transparent by the concordance with the current system as established at Procida in Woudhuizen 2015b, 321-38. As to deviations from the transliteration by Hawkins, it deserves notice that I was able to study the inscription on what for convenience sake may be called the front side by autopsy during my visit to the Museum of Anatolian Civilisations at Ankara on 31 August, 2002. Owing to this autopsy it could be established that the sign occurring in the thirty-ninth position definitely renders a rhyton with one handle at the right upper side as is also clearly visible in the photograph presented by the Museum Guide (p. 134, no. 214). The

³⁸ Payne 2015, 97, n. 182.

triangular shaped rhyton is a vase-form typical of the Aegean in about the 15th century BC, and is used as a sign in both Linear A (L 103) and B (AB 53) for the value *ki*. The origin of this sign, however, can be traced back to the Cretan hieroglyphic sign in form of a vessel with a round belly (E47 or *CHIC* 053), which corresponds to Luwian hieroglyphic *346 *kí*. Accordingly, the verb in § 2 reads *kí-la-tá* instead of **hu-la-tá*, but the meaning remains no doubt 'he smote'. Next, the sign in the fiftieth position is definitely not a variant of *209 but depicts the point of an arrow. This particular sign also happens to be paralleled in Cretan hieroglyphic as the tenth sign from the left of the inscription on the Malia altar-stone (*CHIC* 328), which developed into the Linear A (L 78) and Linear B (AB 10) sign for *tí*. In line with this observation, I have assigned the number *499 to the Luwian hieroglyphic arrow-sign and the corresponding value *tí₈*. As a consequence, we read in § 3 *pa-ti-ā-à USA-tí₈* which differs from the corresponding sequence in Südburg § 18 (my § 19) *pa-ti-à USA* 'in that year' by the fact that *USA-* is not in the dative but ablative singular, which however does not change the meaning. Finally, the sign in fifty-first position is not *209, 1–3; 6 *ā*, which is characterised by four additional strokes, but simply the arc as depicted by Laroche 1960, sub *209 for the value *a*.

All in all, then, I arrive at the following transliteration and translation:

One side of the bowl

1. *i -wa -ti KATANA-PIA ā-sa-ma-ā*
^{UTNA}*HÁ(TI)* ^m*WARPA ā-sa₅-i-tà*
HANTAWAT ma-i-ká+r-hu-ha
HANTAWAT PÁRA-na

This dedicatory bowl, Asamas, the *warpa*-official (of) the land of Khatti, dedicated himself on behalf of king Maikarkhukhas, king.

2. *ta+r-wa-zí/a -wa^{UTNA} HWA+r*
^{MASANA+WANTI} [*TU*(*THALIA*)] *la+PÁRNA-ā*
kí-la-tá

When for *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas he smote the land of Terussa,

3. *wa -na-à pa-ti-ā-à USA-tí₈ a-i-tà*

in that year he made it.

Other side of the bowl

4. *i KATANA-PIA TUPA<LA> TÚWA*
*pi-t[i]-x[-...] *414 []*

This dedicatory bowl, Benti[-...], the second (rank) scribe, (title), [inscribed it].

Comments

(1). The expression ^{UTNA}*HÁ(TI)* 'land of Khatti' is a common autonym in Late Bronze Age Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, paralleled for Yalbur § 42, Nişantaş § 1, and the Südburg §§ 1, 3, 5, 6, and 10. It is true, though, that the two signs occur in these texts in reverse order as *HÁ(TI)* ^{UTNA}. In the Early Iron Age Khatti is used as an exonym by the Assyrians for the realm of Karkamis. Thus Initesup II of Karkamis, a contemporary of the Assyrian Great King Tiglathpileser I (1114–1076 BC), is referred to as LUGAL KUR *Hatte* 'king of the land of Khatti', and the region Malatya of his vassal-king Allumari as *ša* KUR *ha-at-te* GAL-*te* 'of

the great land Khatti'.³⁹ The self-designation in Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions at the time is expressed by a developed form *kí-tà*^{UMINA} (Malatya 9) or *kí-ti-tà*^{UTNA} (Karahöyük-Elbistan §§ 1, etc.; stele set up by an official of Great King Aritesup of Karkamis and dated to about the middle of the 12th century BC) 'Kit(t)a', the root of which corresponds to Biblical *Kit-tim* (as distinct from *Heth*). In accordance with this observation, the identification of *labar-nas* Tudkhaliyas should preferably be restricted to Hittite great kings of this name, which means Tudkhaliyas I–IV.

(2). The dedicator of the silver bowl, Asamas, is designated as ^m*WARPA* 'warpa-official', with *273, which, as we have noted before, depicts an *uraeus* or cobra in attacking position, an Egyptian symbol of royal power to be found in depictions of the Egyptian crown. Now, the meaning of the term *warpa*- in the Topada text is clearly of a military nature if not, in actual fact, a direct reference to the army as in §§ 13, 22, 28, 30, and 32. Therefore, it seems likely that Asamas is a military official (literally: 'army-man'). Note, however, that *warpa*- is also used in a wider sense as a reference to things royal or belonging to the king.

(3). In the personal name *ma-i-ká+r-hu-ha* the second sign *376, which is of polyphone nature, definitely reads *i* as the first element of the name originates from Proto-Indo-European **meǵh₂*- 'great' with the, for Luwian, regular loss of the voiced velar [ǵ]. Accordingly, the name is typically Luwian, meaning 'Karkhukhas (is) great'. As we have noted in the preceding the deity Karkhukhas is attested for Karkamis from the period of the reign of Suppiluliumas I onwards. To this comes that it is written with the sign *315 *ká+r* characteristic for the Luwian hieroglyphic script of Karkamis during the Late Bronze Age. It lies at hand, therefore, to assume that Maikarkhukhas is a king of Karkamis. If so, such a king can only be situated, as noted before, either *before* the conquest of Karkamis and the foundation of a Sekundogenitur here by Suppiluliumas I or *after* the fall of the Hittite empire ca. 1190 BC in the Dark Age. This means for the identification of the Hittite Great King Tudkhaliyas that the fourth ruler with this name is excluded and that only his three predecessors remain as an option.

(4). The postposition *PÁRA-na* usually expresses the meaning 'before, in front of', but it can also be used for the expression of the meaning 'on behalf of, for the benefit of' as in Boybeypinarı 2 § 8 and Topada § 22. With a view to the context, it is more likely, at least in my opinion, that Asamas dedicates the silver bowl 'on behalf of' King Maikarkhukhas rather than 'in front of' him. If so, the bowl is a gift from the king of Karkamis to the Hittite Great King Tudkhaliyas, not *vice versa*.

(5). The order of the first sequence in § 2, *ta+r-wa-zi/a -wa*^{UTNA} (with the polyphonic *376 definitely rendering the value *zi* or, also possible for Bronze Age texts, *za* in the light of the relevant parallels given below), is somewhat odd, as in the light of the relevant parallels the determinative *UTNA* is expected to occur *before* the sentence introductory particle instead of *after* it. However, there is one instance in the corpus in which this determinative likewise occurs after the enclitic particle, namely Hama 2 § 3: *la-ka-wa-nà-sà -ha-wa*^{UTNA} 'and also the land of Laka'. The same holds good for § 11 of the recently discovered Arsuz 2: *TANA-sa [-pa]-wa -mu*^{UTNA} 'But the land Adana against me'.⁴⁰ The identification of the land of Tarwazi/a remains problematic. With a view to the context a region in North Syria,

³⁹ Grayson 1976, 23 [81–82], 27 [95–96].

⁴⁰ B. Dinçol *et al.* 2015, 64.

in the neighbourhood of the Karkamisian King Maikarkhukhas, seems to be expected. As we have seen, it has been duly observed that the comparison to cuneiform Taru(w)isa 'Troy' may well be hampered by the interchange between [z] and [s], but more important than this possible linguistic objection is the fact that a reference to northwest Anatolia seems from a contextual point of view way out of line. If the identification with Taru(w)isa 'Troy' is rejected, it necessarily follows for the identification of the Hittite Great King Tudkhaliyas that the second ruler with this name can be deleted from our list, because the text of the Ankara silver bowl has nothing to do with the Assuwa campaign of the latter. On the other hand, in rejecting the comparison with Taru(w)isa 'Troy' we are in need of comparative data for the country name Tarwazi/a from our sources for North Syria or more in specific the wider region of Karkamis. In trying to find a solution to this problem Durnford's observation that both Taru(w)isa and Tarwazi/a are likely to bear testimony of the IE Anatolian root **tāru-* 'wood, tree' may perhaps be of relevance. In any case there happens to be named a place-name Terussa in the Ismarikka treaty of Arnuwandas I (1390–1370 BC) which appears to bear testimony of the same root.⁴¹ This place is located by Freu in the neighbourhood of present-day Samsat along the west side of the Euphrates to the north of Karkamis in the borderland between Kizzuwatna and Mitanni.⁴² If this identification applies, it must be assumed that the toponymic formants in *-ss-* is indeed rendered in Luwian hieroglyphic by the sonorous [z]. At any rate, it likely follows from this line of reasoning that the event commemorated in the text on the Ankara silver bowl is connected with Tudkhaliyas I's campaign in Syria and his destruction of Aleppo⁴³ – a feat which, as convincingly argued by Freu,⁴⁴ can only be situated *before* the epic march to the Euphrates by the Egyptian Pharaoh Tuthmosis III in the year 1447 BC, in other words *ca.* 1460–1450 BC.⁴⁵ To all probability, then, Tudkhaliyas I took the north-western route into Syria through the Amanus Pass, whereas the role of his henchman Asamas in this campaign was to attack the kingdom of Karkamis via the north-eastern route in a pincer movement to prevent this ally of Aleppo from coming to its aid.

(6). The form *la+PĀRNA-ā* (note that the instance of **209*, 1–3;6 *ā* clearly belongs to this form and not to the following verb as commonly assumed) expresses the dative singular in *-ā*. It follows from this observation that Asamas, who as we have just noted is a military functionary, has smitten the land of Tarwazi/a 'Terussa' for his superior *labarnas* Tudkhaliyas. The dedicator of the bowl is therefore not only the subject of §§ 1 and 3, but also § 2.

(7). Against the backdrop of its similarity in form to the Cretan hieroglyphic torque sign (E 138), sign **414* in my opinion comes into consideration as a depiction of metal currency. If so, the scribe, who likely has a Khurritic name as is common for rulers and dignitaries of the Hittite capital Khattusa from the beginning of the Empire period in about the middle of the 15th century onwards, may have been a functionary in the metal industry and hence competent in working with silver.

⁴¹ del Monte and Tischler 178, 428–29, *s.v.* *Tiruša*; Freu 2007, 128–30.

⁴² Freu 1980, 178. My thanks are due to Max Gander for sending me a pdf version of this work otherwise unavailable to me.

⁴³ Beckman 1996, 89, § 5.

⁴⁴ Freu 2007, 56–57.

⁴⁵ Note that the presence of the two Cretan hieroglyphic signs provides us with *ca.* 1350 BC as a *terminus post quam non*, whereas radiation of Cretan hieroglyphic influences to the Levant is unlikely to be situated after the (for Crete) disastrous Santorini eruption of *ca.* 1450 BC.

Conclusion

According to its Luwian hieroglyphic text, the Ankara silver bowl was a diplomatic gift of King Maikarkhukhas of Karkamis to the Hittite Great King Tudkhaliyas I. It was actually given through the intermediacy of a Hittite army official, Asamas, who in personally doing so celebrated his own part in the battle, the smiting of the land of Tarwazi/a or Terussa along the northern border of the kingdom of Karkamis. No doubt, King Maikarkhukhas of Karkamis wanted to placate the Hittite conqueror of Aleppo by a friendly gift, which he gave to Asamas in the aftermath of his defeat against the latter near his border town Terussa. As the bowl was dedicated in the same year as the victory, which can be dated to *ca.* 1460–1450 BC, the Ankara silver bowl happens to present us with the earliest Luwian hieroglyphic inscription of non-glyptic nature of some length known to date. The scribe, who identifies himself as Benti[...], in all probability was also active in the metal industry and hence competent in working with silver.

Appendix

TUDKHALIYAS I–III: THE GLYPTIC EVIDENCE

The glyptic evidence for three distinct Hittite great kings with the name Tudkhaliyas I–III, ruling in the early New Kingdom period (*ca.* 1450–1350 BC), can be summarised as follows in chronological order.

In 1940 Hans Gustav Güterbock published the cuneiform seal of Arnuwandas I (1400–1370 BC) from Boğazköy/Khattusa as SBo I, no. 60 (Fig. 3). The legend of this seal runs as follows: 1. [N]_{A4}.KIŠIB *ta-ba-ar-na* ^m*Ar-nu-an-ta* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ^m*Du-u[t-ha-li-ia]* ‘seal (of) tabarnas Arnuwandas, Great King, son of Tudkhaliyas ...’, 2. [NA₄].KIŠIB ^{SAL}*ta-ua-na-an-na* ^f*Aš-mu-ni-kal* SAL.LUGAL.GAL D[UMU.SAL ^f*Ni-kal-ma-ti* SAL.LUGAL.GAL] ‘seal (of) tawananna Asmunikal, Great Queen, daughter of Nikalmati, Great Queen’, 3. ^uDUMU.SAL ^m*Du-ut-ha-li-i[a ...]* ‘and daughter of Tudkhaliyas ...’. According to this evidence the father of Arnuwandas I is a Great King Tudkhaliyas who is married with Nikalmati.

Next, in 1993, Ali and Belkis Dinçol, David Hawkins and Gernot Wilhelm published the cruciform seal also from the Hittite capital Boğazköy/Khattusa, the obverse of which contains twice the name of a Great King Tudkhaliyas, once (upper wing) without queen and the second time (lower wing) with Queen Nikalmati. Moreover, for the mention of Queen Tatukhepa in the right wing, the reconstruction of a third great king with the name Tudkhaliyas here lies at hand, as will be elaborated below (Fig. 5).

The crucial nature of the evidence from the cruciform seal for the reconstruction of three distinct rulers of the early New Kingdom period with the name Tudkhaliyas was acknowledged by Onofrio Carruba in his contribution to the Third International Congress of Hittitology of 1998. He positively identified the one without a queen as Tudkhaliyas I (1465–1440 BC), the one with Queen Nikalmati as Tudkhaliyas II (1425–1390 BC), and the one to be reconstructed for the right wing as the partner of Queen Tatukhepa as Tudkhaliyas III (1370–1350 BC). However, some uncertainty about the correctness of the latter identification remained because Carruba had to rely on a seal from Maşathöyük/Tapikka which mentioned Tudkhaliyas with his consort Satatukhepa of which the identity with Tatukhepa is blurred by the extra initial syllable *sà*.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Mora 1987, VIII 4.1.

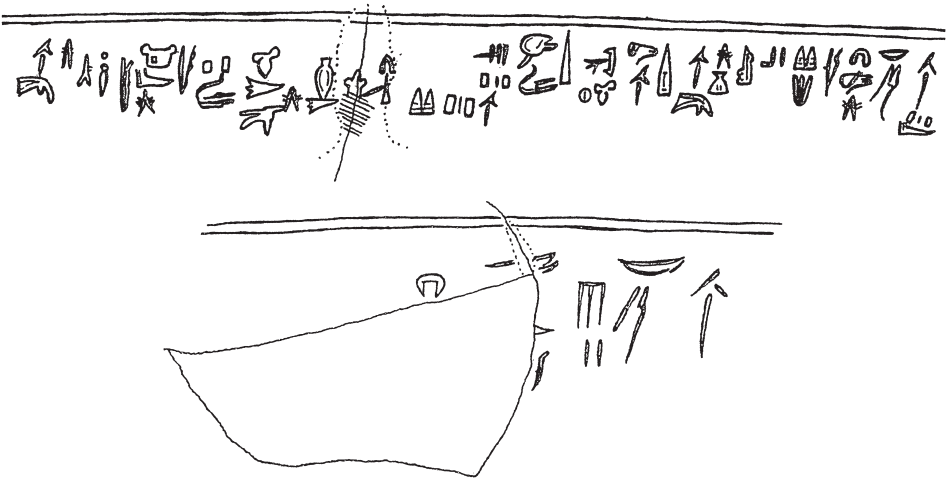


Fig. 1: The inscriptions of the Ankara silver bowl (after Bolatti *et al.* 2010, 22, fig. 14b1–2).



Fig. 2: Seal of Tudkhaliyas I (after Otten 2000, 375, Abb. 23).



Fig. 3: Seal of Arnuwandas I with reference to Tudkhaliyas II (after Güterbock 1940, 68, no. 60).



Fig. 4: Mould of Tudkhaliyas III (after Süel 2013, 182, fig. 8).

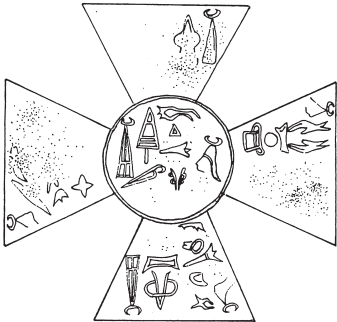


Fig. 5: Obverse of cruciform seal (after A. Dinçol *et al.* 1993, 88, fig. 1).

The scenario worked out for the early phase of the New Kingdom period by Carruba received substantial confirmation by Heinrich Otten's publication of the seal of Tudkhaliyas I from Boğazköy/Khattusa, again, in 2000 (Fig. 2). The cuneiform legend of the two outer rings runs as follows: NA₄.KIŠIB ^m*Du-ut-ha-li-ia* LUGAL.GAL DUMU ^m*Kán-tu-zi-li* 'seal (of) Tudkhaliyas, Great King, son of Kantuzili'. From this legend, it may safely be deduced that the Tudkhaliyas in question, though himself a great king, was the son of a high official who was not a great king and therefore can positively be identified with the founder of the New Kingdom dynasty, Tudkhaliyas I.

This is precisely the conclusion drawn by Piotr Taracha in 2004, in his contribution to the *Gedenkschrift Forrer*, from the combined evidence of the obverse of the cruciform seal with its three distinct mentions of a Great King Tudkhaliyas, one of which is reconstructed, and the seal published by Otten.

The reconstruction of three distinct great kings named Tudkhaliyas who ruled during the early phase of the New Kingdom period subsequently served as a starting point for Jacques Freu in his reconstruction of the history of this particular period of 2007.

The only weakness in the given reconstruction, the emendation of Tudkhaliyas III in the right wing of the cruciform seal as the consort of Queen Tatukhepa, was removed owing to the publication by Aygül and Mustafa Süel in 2013 of a mould from Ortaköy/Sapinuwa which happens to be inscribed with the names of Tudkhaliyas and Tatukhepa (Fig. 4). Accordingly, there can be no doubt that the emendation of Tudkhaliyas III in the right wing of the cruciform seal is correct and that this document indeed bears the testimony of three distinct rulers of this name who ruled during the early phase of the New Kingdom period.

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Abbreviation

CHIC J.-P. Olivier and L. Godart, *Corpus Hieroglyphicarum Inscriptionum Cretae* (Paris 1996).

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NEW DATA ABOUT INSCRIPTIONS OF OLBIAN *MOLPOI**

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Abstract

A more accurate reading of the dedicatory formula of Olbian *molpoi* from the inscription *IGDOP* 2 is proposed on the basis of combining it with the fragment *IOSPE* I² 307.

In the middle of the last century a group of marble dedications of Olbian *molpoi* was found on the sacred area (*temenos*).¹ In this group of inscriptions the pedestal *IGDOP* 2 is notable for the preservation of the text (Fig. 1). The reconstruction of this inscription caused a debate, which was reflected in a number of articles. However, in spite of the obvious progress in the reconstruction of the text, nowadays several readings of the Olbian *molpoi* dedicatory formula exist. The purpose of this note is to refine the reading of inscription *IGDOP* 2 based on joining it with the fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 (Fig. 2).

In considering the various options proposed by epigraphists for reconstructing the text of *IGDOP* 2, the first three lines are not a cause of ambiguity. The publishers (*IOlb* 58 = *IGDOP* 2) offered this reconstruction of the text:

[μ]ολ[πο]ί με ἀνέθεσαν {E}
Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[ε]λφινίῳ
ἐπὶ Διονυ[σο]δώρῳ τῷ Ἀθ-
ναίῳ Μολπ[αγόρεω ἄρχον]-
5 τος στεφ[ανηφόρο (?)]
Ἑκατ[.....]

Stages of the reconstruction of the inscription *IGDOP* 2 are presented in the critical apparatus: ll. 4–6, ...ἐπὶ Διονυ[σο]δώρῳ τῷ Ἀθναίῳ Μολπ[εὸς τῷ Λέον]τος, Στέφ[ανος τῷ δεινός], Ἑκατ[αίος τῷ δεινός (Karyshkovskii²); ll. 4–5, μόλπ[ῶν αἰσυμνῶν]τος στεφ[ανηφόροντων] (or Στέφ[ανος]) (Graf³); l. 5 στεφ[ανηφόροντων] or στεφ[ανηφόρων] or στεφ[ανηφόρο] or Στέφ[ανος] (Yailenko⁴); l. 5, Στέφ[ανος (Karyshkovskii⁵); ll. 5–6: στεφ[ανηφόρο ἐκ δ] ἐκάτ[ης ἀπὸ...] (Yailenko⁶); l. 5: στεφ[ανηφόροντων?] or Στέφ[ανος?] (Karyshkovskii⁷); ll. 5–6: ...τος στεφ[ανηφόροντων] Ἑκατ[αίος] (Dubois⁸).

* This is an English version of the article Nikolaev 2012.

¹ *IOlb* 55–58, 63 and 167.

² Karyshkovskii 1969, 149.

³ Graf 1974.

⁴ Yailenko 1987, 32.

⁵ Karyshkovskii 1978, 84.

⁶ Yailenko 1987, 32.

⁷ Karyshkovskii 1984, 43.

⁸ *IGDOP* 2.



Fig. 1: Inscription *IGDOP* 2 (= *IOlb* 58).



Fig. 2: The fragment *IOSPEI*² 307.



Fig. 3: Reunion of inscriptions *IGDOP* 2 and *IOSPEI*² 307 (photomontage).

As a result of the discussion,⁹ an edited version of F. Graf's reading of *IGDOP* 2 is adopted: ...ἐπὶ Διονυ[σο]δῶρο το Ληναίο μὲλπ[ῶν αἰσυμνῶν]τοϛ στεφ[ανηφόρων (*vel* – ρόντων) EKAT.... The dedication of *molpoi* *IGDOP* 2 still interests scholars.¹⁰

The size of the letters (0.02 m) and the nature of the inscriptions *IGDOP* 2 and *IOSPE* I² 307 coincide. This is the starting point of my research. The material of both fragments is white fine-grained marble. Both inscriptions are executed in the *stoichedon* style. The fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 is classified by P.O. Karyshkovskii¹¹ as well as by V.P. Yailenko¹² as a document of Olbian *molpoi*. Visual examination of *IOSPE* I² 307 is impossible on account of its loss,¹³ and we must rely on the information provided by its publisher, V.V. Latyshev.

Thus, if we paste into the fourth line of the inscription *IGDOP* 2 (in the corresponding cages, taking into account the style *stoichedon*) the letters of the first line (... ΙΣΥ ...) of the inscription *IOSPE* I² 307, then the letters of the second line (... ΟΡΟΙ ...) also fit into the text (see Fig. 3). Perhaps the inscriptions *IOSPE* I² 307 and *IGDOP* 2 were once connected (see Fig. 3). Joining the fragments confirms Graf's¹⁴ reconstruction of the fourth line and gives an unambiguous reading for the fifth line of *IGDOP* 2:

[μ]ολ[πο]ί με ἀνέθεσαν {E}
 Ἀπόλλωνι Δ[ε]λφινίῳ
 ἐπὶ Διονυ[σο]δῶρο τῷ Λη-
 ναίο μὲλπ[ῶν αἰ]συ[μνῶν]-
 5 τοϛ στεφ[ανηφ]όροι
 Ἐκατ[... 8 letters...]ΜΟ[...]

Translation

Molpoi dedicated me to Apollo Delphinios in the times of Dionysodoro, the son of Lenaio, of *molpoi* *aismnontos*; the *stef[anef]oroi* EKAT...[8 letters]... ΜΟ...

It should be mentioned that there is a contradiction arising in the proposed reconstruction: Latyshev pointed out that the fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 was broken on all sides except the left edge of the slab. However, on the illustration (Fig. 2) it is clearly visible that the horizontal dividing lines do not reach the edge of the slab. This indicates that the epigraphic field is broken. The sizes of 'white field' from the left edge of *IGDOP* 2 and of *IOSPE* I² 307 differ significantly: about 1.5 and 3 cm, respectively. There also exist some arguments that the left side of inscription *IOSPE* I² 307 was destroyed. The principle of syllable transfer in Olbian *stoichedon* (in which lines end in full syllables and are of different length) had

⁹ Vinogradov 1989, 112; Karyshkovskii 1984.

¹⁰ Herda 2011.

¹¹ Karyshkovskii 1984, 43.

¹² Yailenko 1987, 40.

¹³ Karyshkovskii 1984, 43. There is uncertain information about whether the fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 is stored in some unspecified museum in St Petersburg.

¹⁴ I received a short letter from Graf: 'Splendid! The identity with *IGDOP* 2 is now perfect.'

been established by Y.G. Vinogradov.¹⁵ This is the additional argument that fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 is not really a left edge of the plate. An important argument in accordance with the proposed reconstruction is the fact that *IOSPE* I² 307 is, at least virtually, connected with the inscription *IGDOP* 2. The fact that so few Olbian inscriptions of the 5th century BC are known, makes it possible to consider this as an argument in favour of the connection of inscriptions *IOSPE* I² 307 and *IGDOP* 2. So, it may be possible that the left edge of the plate was processed in the secondary use of the stone. Secondly, it is also possible that Latyshev might have used poor quality squeezes. Vinogradov¹⁶ pointed out some inaccuracies in the description of monuments in *IOSPE* I². The pedestal *IGDOP* 2 was found in a pit in the *temenos*; the circumstances of the discovery of fragment *IOSPE* I² 307 are unknown. Due to the different conditions of being in the cultural layer (or of reuse), the appearance of marble fragments *IGDOP* 2 and *IOSPE* I² 307 could vary significantly.

The joining of inscriptions *IGDOP* 2 and *IOSPE* I² 307 (Fig. 3) does not create a fundamentally new reading of the fifth line. However, all the optional readings suggested by earlier scholars are incorrect. Also, a new reading of *IGDOP* 2 eliminates the formula $\mu\acute{o}\lambda\pi\omega\tilde{\nu}\ \alpha\iota\sigma\upsilon\mu\acute{\nu}\omega\tilde{\nu}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi\alpha\nu\eta\varphi\acute{o}\rho\omega\tilde{\nu}$ (*vel* – $\rho\acute{o}\nu\tau\omega\tilde{\nu}$), proposed by Yailenko¹⁷ for other Olbian *molpoi*. The fifth line of dedication on *IGDOP* 2 ends only in the word $\sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi[\alpha\nu\eta\varphi]\ \acute{o}\rho\omicron\iota$. This is confirmed by the absence of an external line¹⁸ after the letter ‘ι’ on *IOSPE* I² 307. Thus, the assumption of Yailenko about the reconstruction of the first letter of the word $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta$ is false. Also the dating of *IOSPE* I² 307 to the first half of the 5th century BC, as offered by V.P. Yailenko, is incorrect. At the same time, the main part of the inscription (*IGDOP* 2) is dated by him to the last third of the 5th century–beginning of the 4th century BC. In my opinion, dating by palaeographical methods to the precision of quarter of a century is inadmissible for Olbia, considering the modest size of lapidary archive of the 5th century BC and its mainly fragmentary condition (there are the fragments containing a mere two to four letters). The conclusion placing inscription of *molpoi* as a whole to the 5th century BC, accepted, for example, by the publishers, is more objective.

Thus, on the basis of the proposed restoration of the fifth line of *IGDOP* 2, discussion will now turn to the sixth line. The reunification of inscriptions *IGDOP* 2 and *IOSPE* I² 307 adds to this fragmented line the letters ... $\mu\omicron$..., which correspond to Latyshev’s first two editions of the inscription *IOSPE* I² 307. However, these letters were already indistinguishable while being re-examined. Certainly, Yailenko¹⁹ was right, that these letters were in the text of the inscription. At the same time, his version²⁰ that the letters ... $\mu\omicron$... refer to a word $\mu\omicron\lambda\pi\omicron\iota$ is impossible to accept, because the word *stefaneforoi* must be followed by a list of names. We can assume that among the names (and/or patronymics) of *stefaneforoi* there probably could be such as, for example, $\text{Μολπαγ\acute{o}\rho\eta\varsigma}$, $\text{Μ\acute{o}\sigma\chi\omicron\varsigma}$, $\text{Μ\acute{o}\lambda\pi\iota\varsigma}$, $\text{Μ\acute{o}\nu\iota\mu\omicron\varsigma}$, $\text{\text{Έρμολάιος}}$, $\text{Δημοκ\acute{o}\omega\tilde{\nu}}$, Τιμοθέος .

¹⁵ Vinogradov 2001, 7.

¹⁶ Vinogradov 1978.

¹⁷ Yailenko 1987, 35.

¹⁸ Levi 1956, 104.

¹⁹ Levi 1956, 40.

²⁰ Yailenko 1987, 35.

Joining the inscriptions was undertaken by me without visual inspection of the stones, thereby breaking a fundamental precept of epigraphy. However, in my opinion, the proof for reuniting them is convincing. Apparently, the corrected reading of the dedication *IGDOP 2 + IOSPE I² 307* allows us to overcome the alternative in the reconstruction of the word fragment $\sigma\tau\epsilon\varphi$ [...] in the second line of a dedication to Apollo from Olbian *molpoi* (*Iolb* 167), and opens the way for a new reconstruction of the inscription on the marble sacrificial dish *Iolb* 63 (= *IOSPE I² 273*).²¹

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Abbreviations

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²¹ Nikolaev 2014, 128–32.

PHARNACES II AND HIS TITLE ‘KING OF KINGS’*

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Abstract

This short paper examines the titulature of Pharnaces II of Bosphorus and his assumption and use of the titles ‘Great King’ and ‘Great King of Kings’ with particular regard to his ambitions and external policies.

Pharnaces II of Bosphorus, the son of Mithridates Eupator, bore the titles ‘Great King’ and ‘Great King of Kings’. These appellations appear on inscriptions as well as on the royal coins issued between 55/54 and 51/50 BC.¹ In this paper we will propose some reasons to explain Pharnaces’ assumption of these titles. As we will see, they reflected the king’s ambitions and his policy, not only in regard with Rome but also in relation with different areas of the Black Sea.

To begin with, this trend in Pharnaces’ royal titulature represents an aim to highlight the Achaemenid roots of his dynasty, which had been claimed by his predecessors as well.² Actually, Mithridates Eupator had appeared as ‘King of Kings’ in an inscription from Nymphaeum and was depicted as an Oriental emperor by Posidonius.³ In particular, the

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¹ On Pharnaces as Great King, see *CIRB* 31, 979; and possibly Arseneva, Böttger and Vinogradov 1995, 217–19 (*SEG* 45, no. 1020; *L’Année Épigraphique* 2009, no. 1225). On his title ‘Great King of Kings’, see *CIRB* 28, and the lead plaque studied by Yailenko 1986, 619–27: ἐπὶ Κλιτομά(χ)ου, | Θευδαίσιου· | ἅε φίλων <μ> | μεγάλου βασιλ- | έως βασιλέων | Φαρνάκου ἕτ(ο)υ | μάκρεος. This title has also been reconstructed in *CIRB* 29: [Φαρνάκης(?) μέγας βασιλε]ς βασιλέων | [ὑποτάξας βαρβάρους τοὺς κα]τὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην | [καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν? ἀνέθηκε] Διὶ Γενάρχῃ (*SEG* 40, no. 627 (1); Y.G. Vinogradov, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1990, no. 580). Yailenko (2010, 205–07) proposed to relate this last inscription to Mithridates Eupator, and defended the authenticity of the plaque (Yailenko 2010, 210–11; *L’Année Épigraphique* 2010, no. 1444), considered false by Vinogradov (*Bulletin Épigraphique* 1990, no. 514). On coins bearing this same title, see Gaidukevich 1971, 322–23; Golenko and Karyszkowski 1972.

² Hoben 1969, 15. On the Persian lineage of the Pontic dynasty, see Panitschek 1987–88; Ballesteros Pastor 2012. On the Iranian tradition in Pontus, see further McGing 2014. About the title ‘King of Kings’, see, in general, Griffiths 1956; Wiesehöfer 1996b; Muccioli 2013, 406–12; Engels 2014; Strootman 2014.

³ Posidonius *FGH* 87, F36; Ballesteros Pastor 1995; Muccioli 2013, 410–11 (with further bibliography). Yailenko’s edition of this inscription (1985, 618; *SEG* 37, no. 668) also suggests the title *Basileus Basileon Megas*; cf. contra Y.G. Vinogradov, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 1990, no. 589. Mithridates also appears as King of Kings on an inscription of his granddaughter, queen Dynamis of Bosphorus (*CIRB* 979). This title of Eupator has been restored in several Bosporan inscriptions: Arseneva, Böttger and Vinogradov 1995, 205–07; Ivantchik and Tokhtasev 2011 (*L’Année Épigraphique* 2009,

appellation as 'Great King of Kings' seems to have a clear connection with Persian royalty: on the one hand, it joins two of the titles attributed to Darius I and his successors, on the other, this denomination appears in the monument of Nemrut-Dagi built by Antiochus I of Commagene when referring to the Achaemenid kings.⁴ This last evidence reveals how the denomination *Basileus Basileon Megas* could be regarded as the Greek expression chosen to define the Persian royalty in the late Hellenistic period.⁵

Mithridates Eupator allegedly descended from the Achaemenids, and thus Pharnaces aspired to the same treatment given to his ancestors. In this sense, it is worth noting that Pharnaces' sons were called Darius and Arsaces.⁶ This claim of the Achaemenid lineage by members of the old dynasty of Pontus continued at least until the time of Mithridates VIII of Bosphorus, Pharnaces' great-grandson, who solemnly proclaimed to descend from Achaemenes (Tacitus *Annals* 12. 18. 2).

The inscription *CIRB* 29, which presumably records Pharnaces' title 'Great King of Kings', may be related with the ruler's military achievements in both Asia and Europe, and this is another proper feature of a Persian King of Kings since the time of Darius the Great.⁷ Such conquests were relatively easy for Pharnaces, whose dominions laid in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, placed in the very limit of both continents. Although we cannot discard the possibility that this inscription alludes to the cities located on both sides of the Bosphorus,⁸ the mention of Asia and Europe contributes to give an imperial dimension to Pharnaces' reign, also recalling the deeds of Mithridates VI, Alexander the Great and the Achaemenids.

The title 'King of Kings' was somewhat devalued in the Late Hellenistic period, when several rulers adopted it simultaneously. Such is the case with the kings of Parthia, Armenia,

nos. 1225–1226; Avram, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 2010, no. 471); Yailenko 2010, 199–204 (*L'Année Épigraphique* 2010, no. 1444). A reference to a King of Kings was found in an amulet from Amisus, although we do not know the ruler to which it relates (Muccioli 2013, 411, n. 100).

⁴ See, in particular, *DB* I.1: 'I am Darius, the Great King, King of Kings'. For a complete relation of the sources regarding the titles of the Achaemenids, see Shayegan 2010, 247–60; and further Griffiths 1953, 148; Engels 2014, 335–36. On the inscriptions of Nemrut-Dagi, see *OGIS* 388, 389, 392; and the critical commentary by Facella 2006, 87–94 (with bibliography). The title 'Great King of Kings' also appears in Hippocrates *Epistulae* 1 (letter of Hippocrates to Artaxerxes II) and 2 (letter of Artaxerxes to Hystanes, satrap of the Hellespont); Smith 1990, 48–51. The Arsacids claimed to descend from Artaxerxes II (see Muccioli 2013, 403 [with sources and bibliography]).

⁵ This denomination was also known in Parthia and Atropatene, and would become frequently used by some later Bosporan monarchs. On Mithridates II and III of Parthia, see *SEG* 7, no. 39; *IDélos* 1581; and the commentary on their coins by Olbrycht 1997, 42–44; Shayegan 2011, 196–207, 238–56; Muccioli 2013, 405–06. On Artavasdes I of Atropatene, see De Callatay and Lorber 2011, 438. On the Bosporan kings, see *CIRB* 980, 981, 1048, 1049, 1118, 1122, 1254.

⁶ Appian *Bella civilia* 5. 74; Strabo 13. 3. 8. They ruled over a part of Anatolian Pontus for a short time (see Hoben 1969, 34–39; Olshausen 1980). The emasculation of the young Amisenians, ordered by Pharnaces, was a kind of Achaemenid punishment: Appian *Bella civilia* 2. 91; *Bellum Alexandrinum* 70, cf. 41; Ballesteros Pastor 2013a, 189.

⁷ On the inscription, see above n. 1, and further Strabo 11. 2. 11; Luther 2002, 268–69; Engels 2014, 346. On this perspective in Achaemenid and Hellenistic royalties, see Walbank 1984, 66; Tuplin 2010, 290–92; Strootman 2014, 49. Mithridates Eupator also highlighted his rule over both continents (Ballesteros Pastor 2013b, 205).

⁸ Gourova 2014, 44.

Atropatene, Bosphorus and, possibly, Pontus.⁹ To them we should add Cleopatra's sons, who were appointed Kings of Kings by Mark Antony, at the same time that the Egyptian ruler was proclaimed Queen of Kings.¹⁰ If we follow the definition offered by Appian, the status of 'King of Kings' could be applied to those sovereigns who ruled over territories that had their own dynasties.¹¹ Apparently, Pharnaces did not have many reasons to justify the adoption of this title because, in his first years of rule, he seems to have governed only over the Bosphoran kingdom. We could recall, however, that Pharnaces' hegemony extended over little dynasts settled around the Cimmerian Bosphorus. This sovereignty over peoples of this area of the Euxine and the Maeotis had been highlighted by the Spartocids and would be also exalted by the kings who came after Pharnaces, as was the case of his grandson Aspurgus.¹² Thus, in Bosphoran royal inscriptions, it was usual to record the rule over peoples as the Sindi and the Maeotians, and this list was enlarged in the time of Aspurgus. These peoples settled around Bosphorus were led by dynasts who frequently appear described as 'kings' in the literary sources. We could bring to mind, for instance, the Sarmatian queen Amage, the Scythian Scilurus, or the rulers of the Aorsi and the Siracoi mentioned by Strabo and Tacitus.¹³ This royal status of chieftains living in the vicinity of Bosphorus appears also on inscriptions: such is the case of Palacos mentioned as 'King of the Scythians' in the stele in honour of Diophantus, the Pontic *strategos* who fought against these barbarians.¹⁴ In sum, Pharnaces could claim his rule over other kings, thus justifying himself as 'King of Kings', and this could explain the frequent use of this title by later Bosphoran rulers.

Last of all, another factor that justified this exaltation of Pharnaces as 'King of Kings' would have been his victories over barbarian peoples.¹⁵ This aspect appears repeatedly in the exaltation of several Hellenistic rulers, and it has been particularly related to the adoption of the title 'King of Kings' by the Bosphoran Sauromates I.¹⁶ Our problem in this respect is that we know very little about Pharnaces' campaigns.

Pharnaces' assumption of an imperial titulature by 55 BC could be interpreted as a change in his policy: there is an inscription which records the epithet *Philorhomaiois* which

⁹ Muccioli 2013, 408. See above nn. 2 and 5. We ignore the exact dates of Mithridates' use of the title 'King of Kings'.

¹⁰ See Muccioli 2013, 413–14; Strootman 2010; 2014, 47.

¹¹ Appian *Syrian Wars* 48, referring to Tigranes II. In a similar sense, see Dio Cassius 63. 4–6; Ammianus Marcellinus 19. 2. 11; Strootman 2014, 52. Nonetheless, some scholars propose that this title was just a claim of legitimacy: Wiesehöfer 1996a, 29, 56, 121, 133; cf. Muccioli 2013, 401–09 (with further bibliography).

¹² See, for instance, *CIRB* 39–40, where the title appears 'King of the whole Bosphorus, Theodosia and of the Sindi and Tarpeiti and Toreti, and of the Psessi and Tanaiti, the conqueror of the Scythians and Taureans' (Gourova 2014, 41). For other examples, see further *CIRB* 6, 7, 9, 10, 25, 26, 39, 40, 45; Müller 2010, 41. On Pharnaces' rule over these peoples, see Hoben 1969, 16. Hind (1994, 149), justified Eupator's title of King of Kings because he 'ruled over many vassals'.

¹³ Amage: Polyaeus 8. 56; Scilurus: Strabo 7. 4. 3; Aorsi and Siracoi: Strabo 11. 5. 8; Tacitus *Annals* 12. 15. 2; 12. 20. 1.

¹⁴ *SIG*³ 709, ll. 7 and 23.

¹⁵ *CIRB* 29; *SEG* 40, no. 627 (1) (see above n. 1); Engels 2014, 346. On this *topos*, see Strootman 2014, 51.

¹⁶ Saprykin 2000, 48–49.

could be dated towards the beginning of his reign, and this denomination disappeared when Pharnaces took the title 'King of Kings'.¹⁷ In addition to this, the Bosporan ruler renounced to any Greek epithet from that time on. This modification of the royal titulature could represent not only a distancing from Rome, but also a different attitude if compared with the former sovereigns of the Mithridatid dynasty who had borne Greek epithets: Mithridates Philopator Philadelphus, Mithridates Evergetes and Mithridates Eupator Dionysus.¹⁸ There were, furthermore, two Pontic princes who bore Greek surnames: Mithridates Chrestos, Eupator's brother, and Mithridates Philopator, son of Eupator.¹⁹

We do not know the specific reasons for Pharnaces' change of royal title, eliminating the reference to friendship with Rome. We could wonder that Pharnaces had obtained any relevant military success towards 55 BC, perhaps by conquering a part of Colchis, where he plundered the sanctuary of Leucothea (Strabo 11. 2. 17). The absence of the title *Philorhomaioi* can be interpreted as a sign of a more independent policy in regard with the Republic. Perhaps the Bosporan ruler had not conceived the project of conquering the Anatolian realm of his father Mithridates Eupator yet, because he got these territories in 47 BC.²⁰ Nonetheless, although Pharnaces held the status of friend of Rome until his death, he could have maintained a reluctant attitude towards the Republic. We know that Mithridates Eupator had snatched some insignia of the Roman legions, which were kept in Bosporus. Pharnaces could have given them back to the Romans, but he decided to retain these trophies in his kingdom; they would be recovered by Agrippa some decades later.²¹ Furthermore, as Saprykin has remarked, Phanagoria lost its role as the centre of an administrative unit under Pharnaces in reprisal for its anti-Mithridatic revolt of 63 BC. It was his decision to place the city under the authority of a royal governor.²²

It is remarkable that the title 'Great King of Kings' was borne by Parthian rulers since the end of the 2nd century BC. This denomination appears related to Mithridates II Arsaces precisely in the Delian *heroon* built by Mithridates Eupator.²³ Thus, we could suspect that Pharnaces tried to imitate the titulature used by this dynasty, all the more when taking into account that one of his sons was called Arsaces. However, we have no evidence to concrete the specific reasons for Pharnaces' choosing of this Parthian dynastic name. We could wonder, indeed, some sort of kinship among Mithridatids and Arsacids, without excluding the possibility of a marriage between a member of the Parthian royal house and a prince (or

¹⁷ On Pharnaces as *Philorhomaioi*, see Pavlichenko 2007 (*SEG* 57, no. 704; Avram, *Bulletin Épigraphique* 2008, 420; *L'Année Épigraphique* 2009, 1224), and the reconstruction of an inscription probably dedicated to Queen Dynamis (Arseneva, Böttger and Vinogradov 1995, 217–18; *SEG* 45, no. 1022). This epithet has been deduced from the king's earlier coins, although such interpretation is discussed: Hoben 1969, 15.

¹⁸ See, in particular, Muccioli 2013, 192, 212 with n. 335, 239–41. Regarding these epithets on the Pontic royal coins, see De Callataÿ 1997.

¹⁹ Strabo 10. 4. 10; *IDélos* 1560, 1561; Sullivan 1990, 43; Dundua 2011, 41–43; Muccioli 2013, 199–200.

²⁰ On Pharnaces' war with Rome, see Hoben 1969, 17–25; Freber 1993, 81–83; Heinen 1994.

²¹ Orosius 6. 21. 28; Ballesteros Pastor 2005, 213.

²² Saprykin 2010, 91. On this revolt, see Abramzon and Kuznetsov 2011.

²³ See above n. 5.

princess) of the Mithridatid dynasty.²⁴ We cannot forget the close relationship of the Parthians with Mithridates Eupator: in the abovementioned chapel at Delos appeared the busts of two *philoi* of Mithridates II Arsaces, and Eupator's alliance with this king is attested by Poseidonius and Appian.²⁵ As Olbrycht has remarked, the Arsacid influence is a key factor to understand different aspects of Eupator's policy.²⁶ Anyway, if there was an approach to the Parthians from Pharnaces' side, it could have had something to do with his attitude in regard with Rome, which, as have seen, became more independent towards the last years of his reign.

In short, we can perceive the evolution of Pharnaces' conception of his reign through his titulature. In the first phase of his rule, he took the epithet *Philorhomaïos*, but later on he dropped this surname and decided to bear a title that evoked Persian royalty, largely claimed by Pharnaces.²⁷ Although it was above all an aspect of propaganda, the title *Basileus Basileon Megas* revealed Pharnaces' ambitions around the Black Sea, which ended with his conquest of Anatolian Pontus. Caesar's victory over this ruler would end this ephemeral empire, but the designation *Basileus Basileon* remained in the titulature of the Bosporan kings as a tradition compatible with friendship to Rome.²⁸

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Abbreviations

<i>IDélos</i>	A. Plassart, J. Coupry, F. Durrbach, P. Roussel and M. Launey, <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> (Paris 1926–72).
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Oriens Graeci inscriptiones selectae</i> (Leipzig 1903–05).
<i>SIG</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> (Leipzig 1915–24).

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²⁴ The Arsacids did not avoid establishing ties with other Eastern royal houses at that time: Tigranes the Younger, the son of Tigranes II, married a daughter of Mithridates III of Parthia (Plutarch *Pompeius* 33. 6).

²⁵ Appian *Mithridates* 15; Posidonius *FGH* 87 F36 *apud* Athen. 5.213a. On Arsaces' *philoi* at the Delian chapel, see Savalli-Lestrade 1998, 186, 210; Lerouge-Cohen 2014.

²⁶ Olbrycht 2009.

²⁷ Pharnaces ordered the emasculation of the young Amisenians, and this had been a measure proper of the Achaemenids: Appian *Bella civilia* 2. 91; *Bellum Alexandrinum* 70, *cf.* 41; Ballesteros Pastor 2013a, 189.

²⁸ On Bosporan inscriptions joining the epithet *Philorhomaïos* with the title 'King of Kings', see *CIRB* 31, 33, 34, 36, 54, 985, 986, 1006, 1021, 1048, 1049, 1052, etc. (leaving aside other examples when the rulers are just called 'Great King'). On this aspect, see above all Funck 1998. On the friendship with Rome of Pharnaces and his successors, see further Heinen 1994; 2001; 2007, especially 28–58; 2008, 191–206. On the title 'King of Kings' among the Bosporan rulers of the first century BC, see also Rostovtzeff 1919.

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THE SITE OF ARZAN: A PRELIMINARY TOPOGRAPHICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECONNAISSANCE IN 2014*

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Abstract

This paper reports the results of a topographical and archaeological prospection of the site of Arzan and its vicinity, considered by many scholars to be the remains of ancient Tigranocerta, in 2014. The paper provides the first digital documentation of several archaeological objects. The aim of this documentation is twofold. First, it is to document the site, which is subject to rapid degradation. Second, it is hoped that it can also cast additional light on Thomas Sinclair's identification of Arzan as ancient Tigranocerta.

Introduction

The city of Tigranocerta was the famous foundation of perhaps the greatest Armenian king ever, Tigranes II (*ca.* 95–55 BC), also known as Tigranes the Great.¹ The city was founded as the new capital of his recently expanded kingdom. The Armenian kingdom had never before and would never again reach such a state of political significance and control (from *ca.* 87 to 69 BC²) such vast areas of territory, from the Pontic Mountains to Mesopotamia, and from the Caspian Sea to the Mediterranean (including Cilicia and Syria).

The main problem with the identification of Tigranocerta is that the scattered references to its location in ancient sources are not precise, and taken all together, the literary evidence

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¹ For the political context of the reign of Tigranes the Great, see Holmes 1923, 176–212; Sherwin-White 1984, 159–206; Sinclair 1994–95, 184–85; Garsoïan 1997; Olbrycht 2009; 2011; Geller and Traina 2013, 450–54.

² See Sinclair 1994–95, 184–85; Geller and Traina 2013, 451.

is contradictory. Generally speaking, we can tentatively distinguish three main groups of sources which feature approximately the same location of Tigranocerta.³

The first group includes Strabo (*ca.* 64 or 63 BC–AD 24) and Tacitus (*ca.* AD 55–120) in particular, who envisage Tigranocerta as a city located south of the Tigris (Strabo 11. 12. 4, 11. 14. 15, 12. 2. 9, 16. 1. 23; Tacitus *Annals* 14. 24–25, 15. 4–5). To be more precise, Strabo makes a clear connection between Tigranocerta, Nisibis and Mt. Masion (Strabo 11. 12. 4, 16. 1. 23): Tigranocerta and Nisibis are said to lie at the foot of Mt. Masion, which can definitely be identified as part of the modern belt of limestone hills known as the Mazi and Țūr ‘Abdīn Mts.⁴ In turn, there can be no doubt that ancient Nisibis lay below the modern Turkish settlement, Nusaybin.⁵ What is more, Tacitus (*Annals* 15. 5) delivers a very precise detail – the distance between Nisibis and Tigranocerta was 37 Roman miles (approximately 55 km).⁶ Several locations have been proposed to be the site matching the data of Strabo and Tacitus, but by far the most frequently suggested was Tell Ermen (modern Kızıltepe).⁷

The second group includes a number of ancient sources which locate Tigranocerta north of the Tigris: Roman itineraries (especially the *Peutinger Table*), Ptolemy, Eutropius and the *Epic Histories*. The first two sources do not provide us with precise clues for the location of Tigranocerta, but they leave no doubt that the city was located north of the Tigris. On the *Peutinger Table* (a medieval map-like representation whose source may go back to first centuries AD), Tigranocerta is visually placed north of the Tigris and at the crossroads of three routes – from *ad Tygrem* to Tigranocerta, from Tigranocerta to Singara and from Tigranocerta to Artaxata.⁸ In turn, Ptolemy (AD 90–168) places Tigranocerta in his list of cities located east of the sources of the Tigris and in the territory of Bagrauanende, Gordyene, Kotaia and the Mardians (Ptolemy *Geography* 5. 13. 20).⁹ By contrast, both Eutropius’ *Breviarium* 6. 9. 1 (fl. in the second half of the 4th century AD) and the Armenian source known as the *Epic Histories* 4. 24 (probably the 5th century AD¹⁰) are more precise – Tigranocerta was the main city of the land of Arzanene (*Ałjnik’*), the borders of which were clearly demarked, at least in the 6th century AD (see Procopius *De aedificiis* 2. 25. 15), by the Batman and Bohtan rivers, two northern tributaries of the Tigris.¹¹ Several sites have been suggested for this ‘northern’ location of Tigranocerta (especially Siirt, Silvan and

³ For a recent detailed overview of literary references and archaeological identifications, see Marciaak forthcoming. Other recent overviews offering a wide range of scholarly opinions include Chaumont 1982 and Plontke-Lüning 2001. See also Avdoyan 2006 and Hakobyan 2010.

⁴ Dillemann 1962, 39, fig. 3; Sinclair 1994–95, 189.

⁵ Dillemann 1962, 80–81; Pigulevskaja 1963, 49–59; Comfort 2009, 303–06.

⁶ Chaumont 1982, 92.

⁷ Sachau 1880; 1883, 403; Mommsen 1909, 68; Henderson 1901; Dillemann 1962, 247–72; Lasserre 1975, 176–77.

⁸ See Miller 1916, 745–47; Hewsen 2001, map 58.

⁹ Stückelberger and Graßhoff 2006, 554–55.

¹⁰ See Garsoïan 1989, 1–22; Traina 2010a, 417–19.

¹¹ For Arzanene, see Baumgartner 1896a–b; Hübschmann 1904, 248–51, 305–06, 310–12; Markwart 1930, 82; Honigsmann 1935, 5; Dillemann 1962, 48–49, 121–23, 253–54; Whitby 1983; Blockley 1984, 31–32; Wheeler 1991, 506; Syme 1995, 56.

Arzan), but in fact, until recently, Silvan (Martyropolis) was the prevailing choice of scholars opting for the 'northern' location.¹²

Furthermore, Armenian sources (except for the *Epic Histories*) could perhaps be tentatively classified as another group of sources, as their references to the city of Tigran (Tigranakert) differ strikingly from the two 'classic' positions mentioned above. Namely, Tigranocerta is identified with Roman Amida (modern Diyarbakır) by three Armenian sources: the *History of the Armenians* (dated variously from the 6th to the 9th century AD¹³) by Moses of Khoren (only an implicit identification – *MX* 3. 26–28); the *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, attributed to Elisaeus (Elišē, probably from the 6th century AD); and the *Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (12th century AD).¹⁴ Furthermore, two other Armenian sources, Sebēos (7th century AD) and Stephen of Tarōn (11th century AD), also speak of Tigranocerta in the context of the military campaigns of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius against the Sasanians in AD 622–628 in the Caucasus region.¹⁵ Especially intriguing is the phrase 'the other Tigranocerta' used by Sebēos (38. 125).¹⁶

While the identification of Amida as the site of ancient Tigranocerta has either been widely ignored or seen as the product of late local Armenian tradition,¹⁷ it has been a different matter with site(s) in the Caucasian region. In 2005, Armenian archaeologists began excavations near Shahbulagh in the Armenian historical region of Artsakh (currently the Martakert region/Tartar district; the site is located approximately at 40° 03' 55.0" N, 46° 54' 21.0" E), which have brought to light a massive Hellenistic foundation occupied from the 1st century BC to the 14th century AD.¹⁸ Given the 19th century local tradition, which preserved names such as *Tngrnakert*, *Tarnakert*, *Taraniurt* or *Tarnagiurt* for this vicinity, Hamlet Petrosyan, the main excavator, suggested that the newly unearthed structure was founded by Tigranes II (Tigranes the Great). This discovery has in turn led Giusto Traina to attempt another historical reinterpretation of all other evidence concerning Tigranocerta.¹⁹ In short, in Traina's view, more than one city was called Tigranocerta in ancient Armenia,²⁰ and this fact may also have contributed to the confusion present in

¹² von Moltke 1893, 302; Belck 1899, 263–75; Lehmann-Haupt 1908; 1910, 410–19, 498–515; 1936, 1002–05; Christensen 1944, 239; Carcopino 1950, 581, n. 3; Manandyan 1965, 62; Adontz-Garsoïan 1970, 376, nn. 5, 10; Magie 1950, 1214, n. 36; Hewsens 1984, 360; Biffi 2002, 165.

¹³ See Traina 2010a, 417–19.

¹⁴ Chaumont 1988–89, 237.

¹⁵ Thomson and Howard-Johnston 1999, xi–xxx; van Esbroeck 1987; Chaumont 1982, 108–09; 1988–89, 237–38.

¹⁶ Thomson and Howard-Johnston 1999, 82. *Sebēos* 26 according to the sigla given by Macler 1904, 82.

¹⁷ See Chaumont 1982, 100: 'Cette tradition fallacieuse, dont il est malaisé de déceler l'origine...'

¹⁸ See Petrosyan 2010a; 2010b.

¹⁹ Traina 2001 (writing before the excavations in Artsakh); 2007; 2010c in particular.

²⁰ Traina 2010c. However, this idea is not completely new. For instance, see Holmes 1923, 424: 'May I tentatively suggest that just as one Nicopolis is represented by Niboli and another by Purkh, just as Tash Keupsi arose out of one Pompeiopolis and Mezetli out of another, so the Tigranocerta ...'

ancient sources – ancient writers may occasionally have attributed some features of one Tigranocerta to another city bearing this name.²¹

Although the recently unearthed structure near Shahbulagh in Artsakh may have been founded by the king named Tigran(es),²² and G. Traina's theory may appear to be enticing,²³ there can be no doubt that there was only one site founded by the Tigranes the Great as the new capital of his recently expanded kingdom which became the scene of the famous battle between the Romans and the Armenians in 69 BC (see below). The history of research on this site has witnessed a very clear shift in recent decades.²⁴ This change is due to Thomas Sinclair's ground-breaking studies, which identified the ruins of Arzan as the site of Tigranes the Great's new capital and found widespread acceptance.²⁵

Sinclair's identification of Arzan as Tigranocerta has, undoubtedly, some basis in ancient sources. The site of Arzan is particularly favoured by the evidence of Eutropius' *Breviarium* 6. 9. 1 (second half of the 4th century AD) and the Armenian *Epic Histories* 4. 24 (5th century AD), which both locate Tigranocerta in the land of Arzanene (*Ałjnik*). Arzan, the main city of the province of Arzanene, is the most natural candidate for the site of Tigranocerta in Arzanene. Above all, the strongest point in Sinclair's identification is that it is based on his fieldwork across much of south-eastern Turkey; he was the first European scholar ever to conduct a thorough investigation of the site of Arzan and its surroundings in the 20th century. It is necessary to mention that Sinclair was preceded by the British consul in

²¹ To give one more concrete example, it is tempting to think that the existence of Tigranocerta in the Caucasian region is echoed in a curious passage in Strabo 11. 14. 15 which puts Tigranocerta near Iberia (*plesion tes Iberias*). Likewise, tentatively, Chaumont 1982, 109, before Traina 2007, 225–26.

²² It should however be noted that no clear-cut evidence (inscriptions or coins) has been uncovered which would unambiguously point to Tigranes II as the city-founder. The only tangible connection with the royal name Tigran is the local Armenian nomenclature (*Tigrnakert*, *Tarnakert*, *Taraniurt* or *Tarnagiurt*), but this is attested to only in the 19th century AD. It is possible that it arose much later than in the 1st century BC, as was the case with Roman Amida. Alternatively, if one still holds on to the continuity of the Armenian local nomenclature, it is possible that the city was named after another Armenian king named Tigran (for example: Tigranes I [before 95 BC]; Tigranes II [95–55 BC]; Tigranes III [20–8/6 BC]; Tigranes IV [8–5 BC and 2 BC–AD 1]; Tigranes V [AD 6–14]). If the earliest unearthed coins (Parthian Mithradates III [58/57–54 BC] and Orodes II [58/57–38/37 BC]) are to be taken as the *terminus ante quem* of the city's foundation and its naming, then the Armenian king Tigranes I also comes into play as the city's founder.

²³ The main problem of this hypothesis is chronology. It is only Sebēos, as late as in the 7th century AD, who probably had the knowledge of two cities bearing the name Tigranakert, and every source before him knew of only one Tigranocerta. A good example is Ptolemy, who offers a long list of cities in the Near East, and although he knew several cities with similar names (*Tigranocerta* in Great Armenia [Ptolemy 5. 13. 20], *Tigranoama* in Great Armenia [Ptolemy 5. 12. 10] and *Tigrana* in Media Atropatene [Ptolemy 6. 2. 9]), this knowledge did not lead Ptolemy to the confusion which is assumed by some scholars for other ancient writers. To the contrary, Ptolemy knew only one Tigranocerta and could distinguish between other sites with similar names.

²⁴ For more recent overviews (giving a wide range of hypotheses), see Chaumont 1982; Plontke-Lüning 2001; Avdoyan 2006; Hakobyan 2010; Marciak 2014. Furthermore, Holmes 1917 and 1923 are still worthy of recommendation despite the passage of time.

²⁵ Sinclair 1989; 1994–95; 1996–97.

Diyarbakır, J.G. Taylor, who visited the site in 1861.²⁶ His investigation was not of such depth and expertise as that of Sinclair, but after his visit Taylor published a sketched plan of the site of Arzan which is still useful to us today, as a great deal of devastation has occurred to the site since the 19th century.

The true novelty of Sinclair's identification is that not only did he single out the ruins of Arzan and argue that these ruins may have been the remains of Tigranes II's capital (as many others before him had argued in regards to similar sites), but he also tried to identify two other structures which are prominent in two of the most detailed ancient descriptions of Tigranocerta. The first of these is Plutarch's report on the battle near Tigranocerta and his reference to a flat-topped hill from which Lucullus' troops unexpectedly rushed down on the Armenian cavalry (Plutarch *Lucullus* 24–27); the second is Appian's description of Tigranocerta's suburbs, especially the mention of Tigranes's *limnai* there (Appian *Mithradates* 84).

Thus, Sinclair's hypothesis in fact refers to three nearby sites which, taken together, provide a backdrop for his identification of Arzan as the site of Tigranocerta. They are as follows: the ruins of the city of Arzan, remains in the village known locally as Golamasya, and the nearby hill called Zercel Kale.

It appears that most scholars who have agreed with Sinclair's identification have not had the opportunity to follow in his footsteps by conducting a basic survey in Arzan and its vicinity. Therefore, the purpose of this paper is to offer relevant data based on fieldwork in Arzan's surroundings in the summer of 2014, as well as on satellite data. This task is all the more important considering the fact that agricultural activity in Arzan leads to further degradation of the site with every passing year. It is hoped that this new data will enable scholars to critically evaluate Sinclair's identification.

Historical and Geographical Context

The site of Arzan is located in the historical land of Arzanene, to which it gave its name.²⁷ The borders of Arzanene are clearly marked by four natural features: the Batman river to the west, the Bohtan river to the east, the Tigris to the south and the Taurus Mountains to the north and east. However, the history of Arzanene is very elusive. We have never heard of any king of Arzanene in ancient sources; only Armenian chronicles speak of a local ruler (*bdeāšy*) of Arzanene (*Ałjnik*) in the 4th century AD, who, together with other local princes, was subjected to the authority of the Armenian king but revolted against him (probably under Persian inspiration) *ca.* AD 335.²⁸ Generally speaking, it appears that in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods Arzanene had mostly been subsumed by its neighbours, especially Armenia, Sophene and Gordyene, and from the 3rd century on it became a contested border area between Rome and the Sasanians (Fig. 1).²⁹

²⁶ Taylor 1865, 26–28.

²⁷ See Hübschmann 1904, 248–51, 305–06, 310–12; Hewsen 1985, 75–78; Garsoïan 1989, 437–38.

²⁸ Garsoïan 1989, 365–66, 437–38; Lightfoot 2005, 496.

²⁹ Baumgartner 1896a, 1498; 1896b, 1498; Dillemann 1962, 121–23. For Arzanene in the late 6th century, see Whitby 1983.

Geographically speaking, the area under examination is located north of the Tigris and at the foot of the Taurus Mountains. The site of Arzan and the village of Golamasya stretch along the eastern bank of the Garzan river, one of Tigris's northern tributaries, which arises in the Taurus. Zercel Kale is in turn a strikingly flat-topped hill on the western side of the Garzan and opposite Golamasya (Fig. 2).

When it comes to land relief in this area, both banks of the Garzan differ considerably.³⁰ The eastern bank of the Garzan is a flat shelf three or more kilometres in width and is backed by low hills. As a result, the site of Arzan is founded on an almost flat terrace overlooking the river. The western bank is in turn dominated by a hill massif. Between the massif and the river is a flat strip extending along the river, but it is much narrower than the shelf on the eastern side as the massif projects almost to the riverside. Opposite Arzan, the distance between the river edge and the slopes is usually a few hundred metres, or in some cases even as little as 300 m (as the crow flies); the distance between the first slopes marking the Zercel Kale hill and the river's edge is less than 500 m (as the crow flies) (Fig. 3)

The Site of Arzan

The site of the city is located approximately at 37° 58' 26" N, 41° 23' 05" E. On my visit to the site on 12 July 2014, it was largely covered by agriculture fields growing mainly corn as well as some grain.³¹ The satellite image shows a roughly triangular shape which conforms well to Taylor's sketch from 1861 (Figs. 4–5).

The circuit of the city walls can largely be made out on the satellite image. It is traceable as overgrown banks partly dotted with stone remains. The site is aligned north-east to south-west.

The southern corner of the site is traversed by the railway, while the modern road cuts the site into two uneven parts: the right one matching the form of a rectangle, and the left one forming a roughly triangular promontory facing the river.

Concerning the measurements of the rectangular form, the length of the eastern side is approximately 1.42 km, the western one 0.74 km and the northern one 0.71 km. In turn, the left and right legs of the promontory measure approximately 0.99 km and 1.37 km respectively, while the length of its base is approximately 1.48 km.

The Google Earth satellite image shows three more recognisable features of the structure. The first (see Fig. 4, 'Taylor's bastion') is located in the south-western part of the wall where the road now meets the line of the walls. This feature was identified by Taylor as 'a large fortified bastion',³² or a structure consisting entirely of masonry, but Sinclair considers it only as 'a tall, impressive mound...fortified with masonry'.³³ The second feature (see Fig. 4, 'remains of an internal layout') is located in the middle of the fortress and apparently accounts for one of the features which once formed an internal layout which could still be seen in Taylor's time, but ceased to be apparent before the time of Sinclair's inspection (due

³⁰ Likewise Sinclair 1989, 199–200.

³¹ The season was at its peak, which partly disabled me from walking freely through the fields.

³² Taylor 1865, 27.

³³ Sinclair 1994–95, 201.

to ploughing and agricultural activity). The third and by far most the visible feature (see Fig. 4, 'semi-circular structure') of the site of Arzan today is a semi-circular line of block remains located in the north-western part of the site overlooking the river. On its two ends are still noticeable parts of the wall. They consist of large blocks assembled without mortar. The distance between the two ends measures 85.4 m (as the crow flies). This structure has rightly been identified as the remains of an ancient theatre (Figs. 6–8).³⁴

Golamasya

Another important place in Sinclair's reconstruction is the village known locally as Golamasya,³⁵ but officially as Yeşilyurt, which falls under the administration of the Oyuktaş village.³⁶ This site is located about 15 km north-east of Arzan at approximately 38° 04' 10" N, 41° 29' 51" E. This site features several objects of archaeological interest including a pool and the ruins of a mosque, a mill, a church and an old building (Fig. 9).³⁷

The pool is lined with flagstones and small fish are kept inside. According to the locals, it has therapeutic properties, especially against rheumatism. In 1981, Sinclair reported that its water came from a sulphurous spring in the nearby hill. Remarkably, the local residents date the pool either to the immemorial past or even the 1st century BC. In the latter case, such precise dating is surprising and suspicious. It appears to be the result of interaction between the locals and scholars who visit the village on rare occasions.³⁸ In other words, the date comes from the scholars passing their knowledge to the residents rather than from genuine local tradition. It is impossible to precisely determine the pool's date of origin without an archaeological survey (Figs. 10–11).

Opposite the pool, on the other side of the road, is a pile of rubble described by the locals as mosque remains. Preserved architectural details are elaborate and indicative of a public building. Therefore, the local identification can be seen as most likely correct (Fig. 12).

Another, better preserved, building is described by the locals as an old mill. Although the building does not appear to be a modern foundation, the locals do not ascribe any historical significance to it (Fig. 13).

In the centre of the village are the remains of an old building which were partly used as the foundation for a modern construction (Fig. 14).

³⁴ Traina 2010b, 103.

³⁵ The village owes its local name to the existence of a fish pool. *Masi* means 'fish' in Turkish, *gol* appears to be related to Turkish *göl*, meaning 'lake' (see Sinclair 1994–95, 205, n. 33).

³⁶ Comfort 2009, 375, n. 592.

³⁷ It is unclear if Sinclair himself visited Golamasya (he certainly did not see the pool, as he admitted), and his sketch of Golamasya, as well as his pictures, may have been made from a distance, likely from Zercel Kale. Sinclair (1989, 299–300) reports the existence of 'traces of old settlement's walls', probably 'retaining walls'. Moreover, according to Sinclair (1989, 299–300), to the right of the village were 'the remains of (probably) medieval buildings'. By contrast, Sinclair later wrote about 'some scattered and uninterpretable ruins' at Golamasya (see Sinclair 1994–95, 205).

³⁸ The last international visit to the village before mine is said by the locals to have taken place in 2010.

Two other small mounds of earth and stone were described by the locals as church remains.³⁹ The whole area between the village and the church remains is rich in surface shards of pottery. Some pieces may represent Hellenistic red ware and Sasanian green-glazed ceramic (Figs. 15–17)

Zercel Kale

Zercel Kale is located approximately at 38° 04' 40.1" N, 41° 29' 06.0" E. The hill is smooth-sided and flat-topped, and on its edge are the remains of the walls of a fortress. According to Sinclair, the surviving remains are of a Kurdish castle and can be dated approximately to the 16th century AD.⁴⁰ In turn, Comfort believed that the hill may have first been fortified by the Romans around AD 335 after the suppression of the pro-Persian revolt of Bakur, a local ruler.⁴¹ There are, however, no material remains on the ground to support this suggestion.

It is likely that the ford on the Garzan was indeed located between Zercel Kale and Golamasya. In Sinclair's time it was possible to ford the river, as the water came to one's knees and the current was not strong.⁴² The existence of a ford in this place may also explain the foundation of Zercel Kale with the aim to guard movements across the river. In addition, Comfort reports the existence of trace remains of a possibly late Roman bridge on the Garzan in the vicinity of Zercel Kale and Golamasya (Fig. 18).⁴³

Historical Interpretation

One of most crucial elements of Sinclair's hypothesis is his interpretation of Plutarch's report on the battle at Tigranocerta between the Roman legions under Lucullus and the Armenian forces of Tigranes the Great in 69 BC.

Plutarch's text gives several topographical details concerning the location of the siege and the battlefield in reference to the city:⁴⁴ when Tigranes crossed the Taurus, he could easily see the Roman army besieging Tigranocerta (*Lucullus* 27. 1); the Roman camp stood on a great plain along the river (*Lucullus* 27. 3); the Armenian army took its position to the east of the river (*Lucullus* 27. 4); contact between the two armies began at the point where the river bent westwards and was easily fordable, and Lucullus led his troops in this direction which, to Tigranes, looked like a retreat — however, it was just the beginning of Lucullus' manoeuvres, with the aim of crossing the river (*Lucullus* 27. 4); the Armenian army was divided into three groups forming the middle, the left and the right wing, and the Armenian cataphracts were stationed in front of the right wing and at the foot of a hill which 'was crowned with a broad and level space' (*Lucullus* 27. 6); Lucullus sent the Roman cavalry against the Armenian

³⁹ The location of the church remains is approximate, as I was shown this structure only from a distance.

⁴⁰ Sinclair 1989, 300.

⁴¹ Comfort 2009, 315.

⁴² Sinclair 1994–95, 199–200.

⁴³ Comfort 2009, 124.

⁴⁴ The 1914 edition of B. Perrin is used here (Cambridge, MA/London).

cataphracts, and when his infantry rushed up the hill the approach was only about four stadia, neither rough nor steep (*Lucullus* 28. 2–3); Lucullus' attack from the hill led to complete chaos among the Armenian ranks and consequently to their defeat (*Lucullus* 28. 4).

Sinclair's identification, as he himself has admitted, encounters a few difficulties in attempting to match Plutarch's account to the local topography. The main problem is that the positions of the Romans and the Armenians are reversed: in Plutarch's account, the Armenian forces and the hill were located on the eastern side of the river; in Sinclair's hypothesis they were on the western side, with the city and the Romans on the eastern side. Furthermore, the position of the Armenian cataphracts was in front of the right flank in Plutarch's account, but in front of the left flank according to Sinclair. Our task here is to check if, and to what extent, Sinclair's corrected version indeed fits the local topography and military strategy. In this regard, at least two questions arise (Fig. 19).

First, we do not know exactly where Tigranes came from to face Lucullus at Tigranocerta. We are only told that he crossed the Taurus. This implies that he approached Arzan from the north, either from the north-west or north-east (see Fig. 3). However, nothing is known of a major mountain pass suitable for a large army north-west of the Arzan area. In fact, the Sasun Mountains to the north-west are considered to be particularly difficult terrain. Therefore, the main candidate for a mountain pass which could have been used by Tigranes's forces to cross the Taurus is the famous Bitlis Pass. This option would also be of a strategic advantage to Tigranes as the Bitlis Pass directly connected the Upper Tigris area with the heartland of Armenia. The route from Bitlis to Golamasya and Arzan passes through the modern villages of Karınca, Narıldere, Baykan, Ziyaret and Yanarsu, and never crosses the Bitlis or Garzan rivers. This option raises another difficulty for Sinclair's reconstruction: why did Tigranes find himself on the western bank of the river and not on the eastern? After all, the eastern side of the river must have been his destination, as the city and the besiegers were there. In addition, it offered an open plain, which was a great deal more suitable for Armenian tactics, which heavily depended on the use of cavalry. If we assume that Tigranes approached Arzan from the direction of the Bitlis Pass (see Fig. 2), he would not have had to cross the Garzan at all, but could have directly proceeded to the walls of Arzan to face the Romans on much more suitable terrain. These circumstances cast doubt on Sinclair's interpretation, but, after all, this argument is based on speculation regarding the unknown point of departure for Tigranes's troops to assist Tigranocerta's defenders. Furthermore, history provides a few examples of battles in which troops outnumbering their enemies and highly dependent on the use of cavalry were forced into battle in an environment which was not suitable for them (see Alexander's battle of the Granicus and at Issus). If this happened as such, then it was Lucullus' tactical stroke of genius (and Tigranes's tactical mistake) to attack the Armenians before Tigranes could unfold his numerous troops on a wide plain. Thus, Lucullus forced Tigranes into battle in an environment which became a trap for the numerous Armenian cavalry. But if this was the case, Tigranes's inability to foresee simple military developments is stunning.

The second question examines how a march up the Garzan river could have been perceived as a retreat. Had any retreat westwards from the walls of Tigranocerta not led downstream the Garzan? In this particular case, Lehmann-Haupt's reconstruction of the movements of forces at Martyropolis (Lehmann-Haupt's Tigranocerta) can be quoted as a good example (Fig. 20).

If the ford at Zercel Kale was blocked by the Armenians, the most natural way out for Lucullus would have been to reach the ford (bridge) near modern İlıköprü.⁴⁵ Therefore, he would have retreated downstream. Yet, perhaps the literary context of Plutarch's description of Tigranes's reactions is to be taken into account. If the purpose was just to show Tigranes's superficiality of judgment and emotional liability (the latter was also stressed in Plutarch's other descriptions of Tigranes), one does not need to be very concerned as to whether there was a real tactical reason for Tigranes's surprise, especially as his companions did not have the same false impression.

Another capstone of Sinclair's identification is the existence of a stone-paved pool at Golamasya. According to Sinclair, the term *limnai*, used by Appian, may denote not only lakes, but also pools, and one such pool can be found at Golamasya. This would in turn match Appian's narrative, unlike any other location suggested so far by other scholars. The existence of a pool in today's rural context is indeed intriguing. The fact that a mosque was built in its vicinity speaks against its strictly agricultural function, which would have been for the purposes of the mill, or to water cattle. According to Sinclair, it may have once been a Zoroastrian holy place, and the fish from the pool may have been used in a religious context, as in the Zoroastrian New Year when fish are eaten.⁴⁶ Indeed, water had a sacred status in Indo-Iranian traditions. Its nature was conceived as diverse (from raindrops to the great ocean, from wells to streams); so were the waters which were invoked as goddesses – the *Āpas* – and could be identified with a number of female deities,⁴⁷ but were increasingly identified with the river goddess Anahita in the Parthian and Sasanian periods.⁴⁸ As a result, many royal sites were equipped with sacred 'water spaces', for instance, the palace complex of Cyrus the Great in Pasargadae included gardens with pools and streams,⁴⁹ and Ardashir's palace at Firuzabad also featured a sacred pool with fish.⁵⁰ There is no need to look too far for a close parallel – the nearby city of Edessa was famous for its sacred pools with fish, some of which can still be seen today.⁵¹ Moreover, the existence of extensive ruins at Golamasya clearly indicates that this place used to be a significant settlement in the past. This is also suggested by Taylor's short reference in 1861, where he reported about the 'remains of another large town' at Golamasya.⁵²

All in all, the site of Arzan and its vicinity has several unique features (a flat-topped hill, theatre remains, a pool and the remains of what were probably cultic spaces), which cannot be said of other identifications (especially Silvan or Tell Ermen). Therefore, in the current state of the research, the site of Arzan is the most likely candidate for the site of Tigranes II's new capital. At the same time, several challenges remain for the future fieldwork even before the actual excavations. Suggesting a more suitable candidate for Appian's fortress (for example, the nearby sites of Yanarsu or Hazo could be inspected) and examining a network of

⁴⁵ For the possibility that there was once a late Roman bridge there, see Comfort 2009, 71.

⁴⁶ Likewise, Sinclair 1994–95, 205.

⁴⁷ Boyce 1975, 71–76, 147–91; 1982, 27.

⁴⁸ Boyce 1975, 71; Boyce, Chaumont and Bier 2011.

⁴⁹ Boyce 1982, 50–51.

⁵⁰ Huff 1999, 633–36.

⁵¹ Ross 2001, 14, 89–90, 102, 109.

⁵² Taylor 1865, 27–28.

river crossings and routes in Golamasya's vicinity (following A. Comfort's preliminary research in the area) will be particularly challenging.

Conclusions

The current state of preservation of the site of Arzan is alarming. With every decade, a great deal of its structure vanishes due to ploughing and other agricultural activities. Proper archaeological excavations are an urgent desideratum. Likewise, the settlement at Golamasya is definitely ripe for an archaeological excavation.⁵³ The presence of extensive ruins at Golamasya indicates that this place was a significant settlement in the past. However, its date and character can only be affirmed through proper archaeological excavation.

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⁵³ As I was told, this would also be welcomed by the local population as a source of employment.

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Fig. 1: The ancient Near East in the Roman-Parthian period (after Olbrycht 2013).

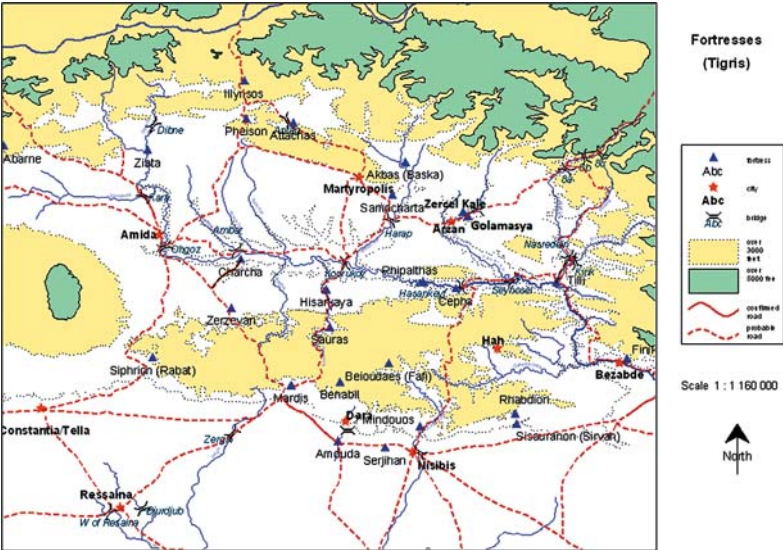


Fig. 2: The Upper Tigris Basin (after Comfort 2009, 218, with minor changes; see also Comfort 2014, 322).



Fig. 3: Land relief in Arzanene (Google terrain map; retrieved 11 September, 2015).



Fig. 4: Google Earth Pro satellite image of the site of Arzan (retrieved 11 September, 2015).

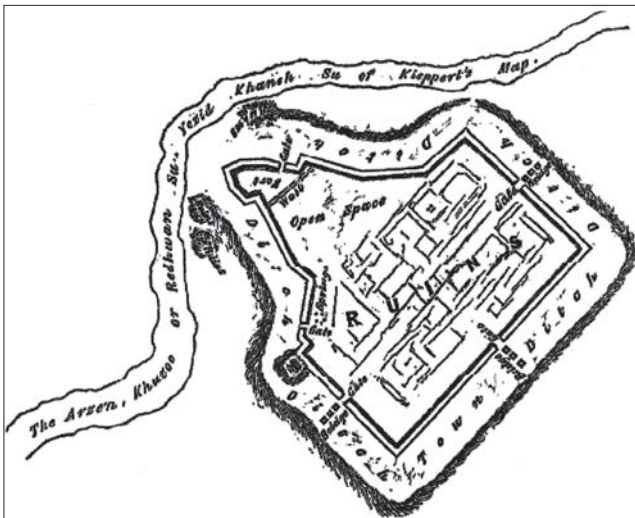


Fig. 5: Taylor's sketch (after Taylor 1865, 26)



Fig. 6: Google Earth Pro satellite image of a semi-circular structure (retrieved 11 September, 2015).



Fig. 7: Masonry of the eastern corner of a semi-circular structure.



Fig. 8: Masonry of the western corner of a semi-circular structure.



Fig. 9: Google Earth Pro satellite image of Golamasya (retrieved 11 September, 2015).



Fig. 10: Pool in Golamasya.



Fig. 11: Stone Pavement in the pool.



Fig. 12: Architectural details of the mosque remains in Golamasya.



Fig. 13: Mill in Golamasya.



Fig. 14: Remains of an older structure



Fig. 15: Church remains in Golamasya.



Fig. 16: Pottery sherds from Golamasya.



Fig. 17: Pottery sherds from Golamasya.



Fig. 18: Zercel Kale as seen from Golamasya.

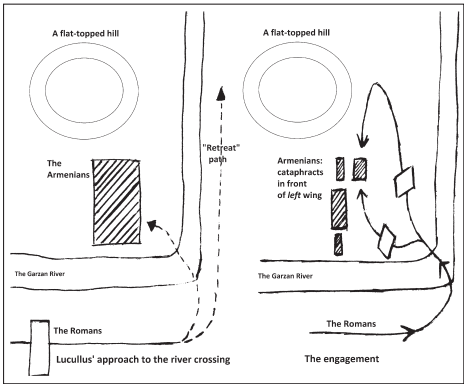


Fig. 19: Sinclair's reconstruction of the battle near Tigranocerta (after Sinclair 1994-95, 210, fig. 2, with minor changes).

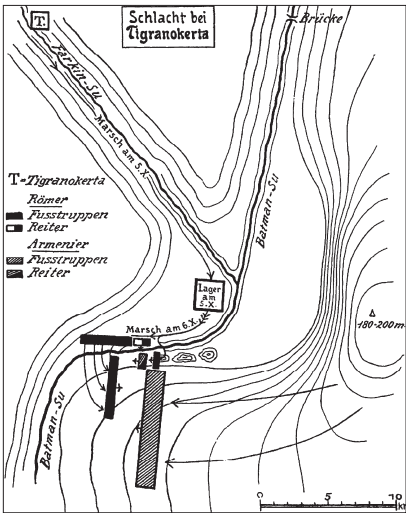


Fig. 20: Lehmann-Haupt's reconstruction of the battle near Tigranocerta (after Eckhardt 1910, 102).

REVIEWS

WEST AND EAST: A REVIEW ARTICLE (16)

Handbooks, Reference Books and Broad Surveys

The Routledge Worlds occupy the same territory as the Oxford Handbooks and the Wiley-Blackwell Companions, and, in the very experienced hands of Jean Macintosh Turfa, *The Etruscan World*¹ receives up-to-date, detailed and rounded attention, capitalising on the huge advances in research techniques and scholarship, archaeological discoveries and scientific advances over the last 20 years, in a well-edited volume: 63 chapters, plus Turfa's Introduction ('Time to give the Etruscans their due'; she does). In every sense, a volume of substance. Turfa has assembled a team of over 60 specialists, largely from Italy and the United States (but also France, Britain, Germany, Canada and Scandinavia) – Larissa Bonfante, Dominique Briquel, Nancy de Grummond, Richard Daniel De Puma, Ingrid Edlund-Berry, Jean Gran-Aymerich, Fulvia Lo Schiavo, Annette Rathje, to take a few examples. The work is arranged in eight parts: 'Environment, Background and the Study of Etruscan Culture' ('Etruscan environments'; 'Etruscan origins and the ancient authors'; 'Fleshing out the demography of Etruria'; etc.), 'The Historical Development of Etruria' (Villanovan culture; Orientalisation; urbanisation; Romanisation; and 'The last Etruscans: Family tombs in northern Etruria'), 'Etruscans and their Neighbors' ('The western Mediterranean before the Etruscans'; 'The Nuragic heritage in Etruria'; 'Phoenician and Punic Sardinia and the Etruscans'; 'Etruria and Corsica'; 'The Faliscans and the Etruscans'; 'Etruria on the Po and the Adriatic'; 'Etruscans in Campania'; and 'Etruria Marittima, Carthage and Iberia, Massalia, Gaul'), 'Etruscan Society and Economy' (politics and law, mothers and children; slavery and manumission; language, 'Numbers and reckoning...'; and 'Economy and commerce through material evidence: Etruscan goods in the Mediterranean world and beyond [Gran-Aymerich and Turfa]), 'Religion in Etruria' ('Greek myth in Etruscan culture'; 'Gods and demons in the Etruscan Pantheon'; 'Archaeological evidence for Etruscan religious rituals'; Tarquinia; Pyrgi; Campo dell Fiera at Orvieto; necropoleis; imagery of tomb objects; etc.), 'Special Aspects of Etruscan Culture' (science; architecture; town planning; mining and metallurgy; 'Technology, ideology, warfare... before the Roman conquest'; 'The art of the Etruscan armourer'; seafaring, shipbuilding, harbours and piracy; chariots and carts; textiles; food and drink; the banquet; music and musical instruments; health and medicine), 'Etruscan Specialities in Art' (foreign artists; architectural terracottas; terracotta figurines; jewellery; painted pottery; portraiture; wall-painting; 'The meanings of Bucchero'; the bronze votive tradition; mirrors; anatomical votives; and 'Animals in the Etruscan household and environment') and 'Post-Antique reception of Etruscan Culture' (early Etruscanists and collectors, then a brisk summary of Etruscan scholarship from the Renaissance to the near present, set against the ebb and flow of ideologies, politics and academic practice). The scope and complexity of the subject inevitably produce some

¹ J.M. Turfa (ed.), *The Etruscan World*, Routledge, London/New York 2013, xlviii+1167 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-67308-2.

overlaps. Very well produced, including maps, biographies of contributors, plentiful illustrations (far more than one might expect for a 'handbook', and necessary, given the nature of the work; some colour would have been welcome), extensive bibliographies and an index. A nice acknowledgment of David and Francesca Ridgway, Brian Shefton and others now gone in the Preface.

The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran has appeared from the equally safe hands of Dan Potts:² 51 chapters provided by contributors from the USA, Australia, Western Europe, Iran, Israel and Turkey, several of them familiar, like Potts himself, to readers of this journal (Maria Brosius, Peter Edwell, Bruno Genito, Karen Radner, Bruno Overlaet, Geoffrey Summers, Josef Wieshöfer, etc.), from a variety of disciplines (historians, archaeologists, numismatists, linguistic specialists, etc.). Following Potts's short introduction, Part I, 'Background and Beginnings', opens with a brief survey of 'The history of archaeological research in Iran...' (Ali Mousavi), and moves through the paleoenvironment and the Paleolithic to the Neolithic; Part II houses four chapters on the Chalcolithic, and Part III has eight on the Bronze Age (in north-eastern Iran, in Luristan and the central Zagros, in Khuzestan, in Fars; the Early Bronze Age in eastern and in north-western Iran; early writing; the use of Akkadian). 'The Iron Age' starts with the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in north-western Iran and then considers Luristan, the central Alborz region, Elam and south-eastern Iran, also 'Assyria and the Medes', 'Elam, Assyria, and Babylonia in the early first millennium', migration and linguistic groups. 'The Achaemenid Period' considers south-western Iran (and how Cyrus established himself), eastern Iran, 'Administrative realities: The Persepolis Archives and the archaeology of the Achaemenid hinterland', royal iconography, 'Color and gilding in Achaemenid architecture and sculpture', Old Persian, 'Greek sources in Achaemenid Iran' (and the reservations necessary when using them – though Achaemenid-Greek relations themselves receive insufficient coverage) and the 'Avesta and Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenids and early Sasanians'. Part VI, 'Seleucid, Post-Achaemenid, and Arsacid Archaeology and History', brings eight more chapters: 'Alexander the Great and the Seleucids in Iran', 'Media, Khuzestan, and Fars between the end of the Achaemenids and the rise of the Sasanians', 'Fratarakā and Seleucids', 'The Arsacids (Parthians)', 'Parthian and Elymaean rock reliefs', 'Arsacid, Elymaean, and Persid coinage', 'Aramaic, Parthian, and Middle Persian' and 'The use of Greek in pre-Sasanian Iran'. To conclude, 'The Sasanian Period' takes us through political ideology, interaction with Rome and Byzantium, coinage, administration and sealing practices, rock reliefs, luxury silver vessels, textiles, 'Kuh-e Khwaja and the religious architecture of Sasanian Iran' and the pre-Islamic calendar 'in the context of Iranian religious and scientific history'. 'The Islamic conquest of Sasanian Iran' brings things to a close. Often, we tend to rely on external sources of information to make up for scant 'native' ones – Greek and Roman sources on the Achaemenid period and later, Mesopotamian for the Elamites – and this is often remarked here. Overall, a very useful foundation on which to build.

² D.T. Potts (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxxix+1021 pp., illustrated. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-973330-9.

D. Dana's lengthy review of *LGPV* V.A in *AWE* 13 (2014), 297–99 contains many things appropriate to volume V.B,³ not least regret at the death of Peter Fraser, involved in this project for over 35 years. Since then, Elaine Matthews, that other stalwart of the project, has also passed away (in 2011): it was she who paid tribute to Fraser in V.A. And it is their names that remain on the title page of this volume as series editors. The more things change, the more they remain the same, from an entirely good point of view. The volume editors uphold the memory and the standards of their predecessors, and the publisher, of course, maintains its excellence. The only jarring note is the crass 'logo' of the Arts and Humanities Research Council, hitherto set less obtrusively. Continuing, as foreshadowed in V.A, this volume completes the coverage of the remaining coastal regions of Asia Minor: from Miletus to Rhodes (i.e. Cilicia Rough and Smooth, Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria), repeating the rationale of including Miletus here rather than in Ionia. The Introduction supplies other explanatory matter. Everything then proceeds from *alpha* to *omega*, or actually to a unique Pamphylian variant of *psi* with a probable value of *ts*, and the reverse index of names. Much learning borne lightly.

To bring a vast area, a vast subject and a vast timeframe together in one (substantial) volume is a substantial achievement. And this is what Cyprian Broodbank does in *The Making of the Middle Sea*.⁴ It also happens to be readable. He admits to having been spurred into action 20 years before by Andrew Sherratt, daunted but determined, to contemplate something with Braudel's sweep for the pre-Braudel Mediterranean. Here is a comprehensive archaeological history of the Mediterranean basin down to the beginnings of the Classical period, broad in scope and depth. I doubt anyone will try this again for a very long time. That sweep is from prehistory to around 500 BC; the coverage, as far as possible, i.e. where fieldwork allows, is balanced across the Mediterranean basin and this is an enabler of useful comparison. Well illustrated, as we expect from Thames and Hudson. After two chapters setting the stage – scholarship, unification and fragmentation, prehistory as history, radiocarbon dating, the past and troubles of the present, analogies to globalisation and glocalisation; and environment, climate change ('we must avoid the naiveties of determinism' – p. 43), tectonics and 'a basin is born' – the eight chapters following are chronological, 1.8 million–50,000 years ago, thence to 10,000 BC, 'Brave new worlds (10,000–5500 BC)', 'How it might have been (5500–3500 BC)', 'The devil and the deep blue sea (3500–2200 BC)', 'Pomp and circumstance (2200–1300 BC)', 'From sea to shining sea (1300–800 BC)' and 'The end of the beginning (800–500 BC)': the shorter the timeframe the longer the chapter (almost). The pithy chapter titles are indicative of the prose style. The concluding '*De profundis*' considers the nature of early Mediterranean history, the main points underpinning Mediterranean life as identified by Horden and Purcell, 'acceleration towards the Middle Sea', but also 'four questions for the later Mediterranean' (how and why did empires ruled from within the Mediterranean arise?; why were Mediterranean

³ J.-S. Balzat, R.W.V. Catling, É. Chiricat and F. Marchand (eds.), T. Corsten (associate ed.), *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names, Volume V.B: Coastal Asia Minor: Caria to Cilicia*, Clarendon Press, Oxford 2013, lvii+471 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-870582-6.

⁴ C. Broodbank, *The Making of the Middle Sea: A History of the Mediterranean from the Beginning to the Emergence of the Classical World*, Thames and Hudson, London 2013, 672 pp, illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-500-05176-4.

polities over coming centuries so outstandingly successful at political expansion beyond the basin, enhancing its role as a crossroads?; why did the practices of the Greeks become so widespread across the basin?; and why did the Classical Mediterranean witness so many world-changing conceptual and religious breakthroughs?) and 'the view from Salamis' (Xerxes'). A major work of synthesis. An excellent tool for undergraduate teaching but one that will also attract the informed general reader.

Europe before Rome,⁵ long in gestation, is Douglas Price's lively retirement present to himself and us, his considered opinions and observations interwoven with case studies of 65 significant archaeological sites across Europe. The chronological scope is vast (from Atapuerca, Spain, 1.3 million years ago to Maiden Castle in 43 BC), the geographical extensive (Norway to Turkey), the context broad; particular focus is on new discoveries that have reshaped our understanding of European prehistory made during the time that Price has been active as an archaeologist. Chapter 1 provides 'Frameworks for Europe's Past' – environment, geology, geography, climate, raw materials, etc., but also a brief history of European archaeology as a discipline. An Epilogue, 'Past and Present – Lessons from Prehistoric Europe', is both summary and justification (the value of the subject matter, significance and relevance, the need to preserve things). Each of the five core chapters ('The First Europeans'; 'The Creative Explosion'; 'The First Farmers' – Lepinski Vir and Vinča in Serbia, Varna in Bulgaria, Stone Henge, Newgrange in Ireland; 'Bronze Age Warriors' – the Aegean, Knossos, Mycenae, but also Italy, Scandinavia and Flag Fen; and 'Centers of Power, Weapons of Iron' – Celts, Germans, Scythians, Etruscans, Hallstatt, Vix) concludes with 'Some Reflections' to bind the material together. Well written (the general reader and students alike will welcome the lack of specialist terminology/jargon as well as the pithy observations), well illustrated and offering extensive 'Further Reading', chapter by chapter. An enthusiast's welcome to his subject, the prehistoric archaeology of Europe.

*The Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*⁶

SOMA follows a well-worn path and it is possible here to review four issues of this annual symposium for young scholars, though increasingly mature, of Mediterranean archaeology:

⁵ T.D. Price, *Europe before Rome: A Site-by-Site Tour of the Stone, Bronze, and Iron Ages*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xv+408 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-991470-8.

⁶ Y. Morozova and H. Oniz (eds.), *SOMA 2010: Proceedings of 14th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kiev, Kiev, Ukraine, 23–25 April 2010, BAR International Series 2555, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, iv+190 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1176-0. P.M. Militello and H. Öniz (eds.), *SOMA 2011, Proceedings of the 15th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology*, held at the University of Catania, 3–5 March 2011, 2 vols., BAR International Series 2695 (I)–(II), Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, ix and vii+1093 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1342-9 (vol. 1); 978-1-4073-1343-6 (vol. 2.); 978-1-4073-1344-3 (set). L. Bombardieri, A. D'Agostino, G. Guarducci, V. Orsi and S. Valentini (eds.), *SOMA 2012: Identity and Connectivity*, Proceedings of the 16th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012, 2 vols., BAR International Series 2581 (I)–(II), Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, xxvii and xii+1250 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1204-0 (vol. 1); 978-1-4073-1205-7 (vol. 2.); 978-1-4073-1206-4 (set). S. Fazlullin and M.M. Antika (eds.), *SOMA 2013*,

that for 2010 held in Kiev; 2011 in Catania; 2012 in Florence; and 2013 in Moscow. One must deduce that the more Mediterranean the venue, the greater the attendance. In the Kiev volume there are 22 papers, roughly half by Turkish participants, five from the Ukraine, two from Russia, etc. And distinctly more work is needed on standardising bibliographies. The papers run from 'A new Late-Hittite Sphinx' (Aydingün and Karakaya) to 'A multidisciplinary study: facial Reconstruction' (Yonuk) via 'Some thoughts on the military harbour of Knidos' (Buyukozer), 'The dangers and risks of private trading from the Black Sea to Athens during the Fourth Century BC' (Demir), 'The port illustration on the floor mosaic of the Yakto Villa' (Erol), 'The fish industry in the Northern Pontic Region (Cherson): Questions of Continuity and prosperity in the early Byzantine period' (Jirouskova), 'Correlating archaeological and linguistic hypothesis: a case study of the Celts in the North Pontic area' (Kazakevich), 'The problem of dating the settlements of Zarubinian archaeological culture in the Middle Dnepr valley, with the help of ancient imports' (Korniienko), 'Preliminary results of studies of shoreline abrasion of some Chersonesos settlements based on cartographic data' (Lebedinsky and Pronina – short text but heavily illustrated), 'Economy of the sacred in rural Anatolia: incomes, properties, transactions' (Moga and Polat), 'Mesopotamian Chalcolithic cultures in the upper Tigris Region: a case study of Salat Tepe...' (Okse [sic] and Gormuş), 'Six anchorages west of Antalya – Turkey' (Oniz) and 'Underwater archaeological investigations around the Adalary Rocks (Crimea)' (Vakhonieiev) – one of several 'underwater' papers, another is on (or rather off) the Croatian coast (Miholjek and Zmaić).

Sergei Fazlullin, who contributed 'Management of underwater historical cultural heritage' to the 2010 volume, is co-editor of the 2013 Moscow proceedings, the first to appear from Archaeopress post-BAR and benefiting from a brighter feel and some illustrations in colour. The single-column layout, which looks attractive for the text, works less well with the bibliographies. This volume, with 26 papers and a strong Turkish presence, starts underwater at Santa Maria di Castellabate near Salerno (Agizza). Some other papers stay there: 'Underwater Archaeological Project at the Ancient City of Akra (Eastern Crimea) 2011–2012' (Solovyev and Vakhoneen); 'Management of Underwater Archaeological Heritage... the Harbour Complex of Aegina' (Triantafillidis and Tselentis) – and management of cultural heritage is another recurring theme (the papers by Cicci on bath buildings in Akkale and Mylai, that by Decombe on the conservation of a wooden house in Istanbul, etc.). To cherry pick from the rest: 'Studying aspects of Pre-Roman History, Religion, Political Organizations and Trading Contacts of some Ionian Colonies of "Thracia Pontica": the case of Dionysopolis and Odessos' (Girtzi, making heavy use of Mihailov's *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae*); 'Attic Imports to the Black Sea area: the Construction of the Reference Framework' (Giudice *et al.*); 'Reconstruction of the Settlement Layout at Salat Tepe...' (Tuba Ökse and Gormuş); 'The Byzantine Castle in Akbas on Thracian Chersonesos' (Türker) The spread of papers, as usual runs through to the Mediaeval and beyond. Some have abstracts and keywords, others have neither. Once again, the bibliographies need more attention, so does the use of italics within them; and the Giudice paper has

Proceedings of the 17th Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Moscow, 25–27 April 2013, Access Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, 256 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-267-3.

footnotes (and no separate bibliography) rather than mild variations on Harvard-style used in all the other papers except Decombe's.

Reflecting their venues, both volumes move into the Black Sea and beyond. In between come the massive 2-volume sets of *SOMA* 2011 and 2012, the latter appearing in print before the former. The alphabetical arrangement of the previously mentioned volumes is abandoned on practical grounds in both.

The 2011 publication takes the sensible approach of division into four parts (two per volume), with subgroupings within, as explained in the Preface (p. ix) – 226 speakers, some 280 authors and more than 150 papers submitted, and making a mild apology for any inconsistencies under pressure of the volume of papers, the time, etc. There are just two editors. Thus: 'Prehistory and Protohistory of Europe and Anatolia' is divided into general (two papers), Anatolia (eight), Europe (three), Greece (five), Italy (three), Sicily (twelve) and 'Archaeology and Sciences' (three); 'History and Archaeology of the Classical World I', really archaeology, divided into Greece and the Mediterranean (four), the East (twelve), the West and Africa (seven), Sicily and Italy (15); 'History and Archaeology of the Classical World II' into 'Iconography and Artistic Production' (seven), history (twelve), numismatics (five), 'Archaeology and Sciences' (four); and 'Byzantine and Medieval Archaeology and History, Museography, Historiography' into Anatolia (eleven), Italy, Sicily and the Mediterranean (16), 'Museums, Historiography, Enhancement' (five). The range is from 'Exchanges Between Paleolithic Hunter-gatherer Groups' (Neyir Kolankaya-Bostanci) and 'Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000–2000 BC) Mining Activities in Central Anatolia' (Derya Yilmaz) to 'The Dump of Burgio: the Kiln Wastes of the First Pottery Workshops (16th–17th Centuries A.D.) in the Garella District' (Maria Parello) and 'From the Universal Museum to the Public Museum: the Role of Archaeological Finds in Palermo between the 18th and 19th Century' (Rosanna Equizzi). The Classical sections open with Giudice *et al.*, 'Seeing the Attic Vase: Mediterranean Shapes from 635 to 300 B.C. – The Beazley Data', and proceed through Aphrodisias, Cappadocia, Smyrna, Kyme, Lykaonia and Phrygia in the east, to Leptis Magna in the south and 'Phoenicians in the Azores, Myth or Reality?' (Ribeiro *et al.*) in the far west. Under 'History' we can find Maria Girtzi on Histria and Kallatis (again based heavily on epigraphy) and Leonardo Gregoratti examining 'In the Land West of the Euphrates: the Parthians in the Roman Empire'. The core section on the archaeology of Sicily and Italy (pp. 495–614) begins on the mainland at 'Francavilla Marittima: a Contextual Analysis of Male Burials in the Necropolis of Macchiabate (9th–6th Century BC)' (Claudia Speciale) before crossing to 'The Fortified Settlement at Mura Pregne: an Indigenous Site Close to the Greek *chora* of Himera' (Calogero Bongiorno), continuing via Licodia Eubea (Marco Camera), 'Recent Discoveries at the Sanctuary of the Divine Palikoi' (Maniscalco and McConnell), the 'Rock Architecture... of Leontinoi and Montagna Di Ramacca (Ct)' (Nicotra *et al.*) and 'The Necropoleis of Gela...' (Marina Congiu), to 'A Sanctuary of Apollo (Re)discovered...' at San Lorenzo Vecchio (Francesca Buscemi), '... A New Interpretation of Some Funerary Assemblages from the Monte Castellazzo Necropolis Near Marianopoli' (Rosalba Panvini), 'A Female Bust from the "Artemis Well" in Syracuse' (Mario Cottonaro) and a 'Roman Period Theatres in Sicily: a Structuralist Approach' (Zeynep Aktüre). This section also offers 'Roman Naval Warfare During the Second Punic War' (Eduard Gimeno), '... Trade and Traders on the Routes Between the Iberian Peninsula and Campania Between the 2nd Century BC and the 1st Century AD' (Michele

Stefanile) and 'Some Observations On The Road Network Through The Peloritani Region, North-Eastern Sicily' (Anna Palazzo). Most interesting is Quercia and Foxhall on '... Cultural Interactions Among Greek and Indigenous Communities in Southern Italy: Loom Weights and Cooking Ware in Pre-Roman Lucania'. No abstracts or keywords. Well illustrated in the tradition of this series, but more maps of Sicily strategically placed would not have come amiss. A heavy Sicilian presence and focus, as might be expected.

The first volume of the 2012 publication contains ten papers on 'Near Eastern Identities', eleven on the 'Levant, Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean', nine on 'Anatolia between the Early Bronze and Iron Ages', three on 'Hellenistic and Roman Cilicia', three on the 'Hellenistic and Roman Eastern Mediterranean', four on 'Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus', five on 'Bronze and Iron Age Crete', five on the 'Aegean and Anatolia during the Late Bronze and Iron Age Periods', twelve 'Between Greece and Western Anatolia: The Hellenistic and Roman Periods', three on 'Egypt: Persian and Hellenistic Periods', four on 'Egypt and the Levant: Ptolemaic and Roman Periods' and three on 'Roman North Africa'. Volume 2 proceeds with four on 'Adriatic Connections and Central Europe', four on 'Phoenician-Punic Identity', seven on 'Tyrrhenian Interactions', four on 'Magna Graecia', seven on the 'Italian Peninsula before the Romans' and seven more on 'Italian Peninsula: the Roman Period', five on the 'Central Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods', seven on 'Iberia and Western Mediterranean during the Roman period', eleven on 'The Roman, Bizantine (*sic*) and Medieval Period in Central/Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean', five entitled 'East and West' and a dozen 'Methodologies for Territorial Analysis, Virtual Modelling and Archaeometry'. In round terms, as the Foreword states (p. xiii), 350 people, 250 papers, 35 sessions and 145 papers (actually more) published. With five editors, so many paper and prompt publication it would be foolish to point to any minor inconsistencies. In fact, the whole enterprise does give a feeling that considerable editorial effort has been put into it. I shall just pick out some familiar names, places and themes, etc.: Andrew Jamieson, 'Processes of Assyrianisation: Identity and Connectivity Manifested in Neo-Assyrian Ceramics and the Tell Ahmar Area C Pottery'; Geoffrey Summers, 'Connectivity and Cultural Isolation at Kerkenes, an Iron Age Capital in Central Turkey'; Emel Erten, 'Olba in Eastern Rough Cilicia: Processes of Hellenization and Romanization...'; Erkan Iznik, 'A Monumental Tomb in Side, Antalya. Can a Monumental Tomb be an Example for the Social and Economic Transformation of the Roman Empire in a Local Scale?'; Veli Ünsal, 'Relations between Anatolia and Greece (in 2nd and 1st Millennium BC)'; Maria Girtzi, 'Aspects of History, Organization, Religion and Trading Contacts of "Second Generation" Greek Colonies of the Western Black Sea Littoral: the Case of Anchialos, Bizone and Nikonion'; Kveta Smoláriková, 'Persian Kings and their Strategy towards the Egyptians. Interpretation of Recent Archaeological Finds from the Saite-Persian Cemetery at Abusir'; Giuseppe Mazzilli, 'Originality and Identity of Architecture of the Early Imperial Era at Lepcis Magna: the Arch of Trajan'; Philip Johnston, 'Towards a Systematic Approach to the Study of Phoenician Economic Activity in the Western Mediterranean'; Javier Rodríguez-Corral, 'Colonial Encounters between the Phoenicians and Indigenous Communities in Northwestern Iberia'; Adriano Orsingher, 'The Hellenisation of the Punic World: a View from the Tophet'; Ambra Pace, 'Material Culture and Identity. Stylistic and Figurative Codes in the Coroplastic Production of Chalcidian Katane in the Archaic Period'; Rossana Scavone, 'Greek's Food and Other's Food: the Role of Diet in the

Construction of the Social Identity. Archaeozoology of a Greek Colony [Leontini] and a Native Settlement [Monte Catalfarò]...'; Roberto Perna, 'Hadrianopolis... (Albania): monumental and Economic Evolution'; Barbora Weissová, 'Project for the Verification of Burial Mounds in Ancient Thrace. Methods and Preliminary Results from the Regions of Stara Zagora, Yambol and Pazardzhik'; Ayşe Erol, 'Archaeological Survey in Fatsa Cingirt Kayası: New Findings for the Archaeology of the Eastern Black Sea Region [of Turkey]'; Kamila Nocoń, 'Greek Fine Ware Pottery as Indicator of Shared New Practices and Habits in Scythian Steppe Zone Tribes'. Archaeology, numismatics, art history, written sources and technology: they are all here in this wide-ranging collection. Abstracts and keywords; full programme of the conference; as ever, plentiful illustrations.

Pontica et Mediterranea

This is a new series created by Victor Cojocaru. The opening volume, *Poleis in the Black Sea Area*,⁷ publishes a conference held in Bucharest in September 2012. The title is given in Romanian and English, so is the table of contents. To have had abstracts in English (or French) would have been a notable boon, for the papers offer much of interest. I can do no more than run through the titles etc., eight in the section 'History and Epigraphy' (Ligia Ruscu, 'The Relations of the Western Pontic *Apoikiai* with Their Greek and Barbarian Neighbours in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods'; Mădălina Dana, '... (CIRB 134): Relationships and Networks between Cities from Southern Black Sea and Their Pontic Neighbours'; Cojocaru, 'The Inter-Pontic Relations of Greek Cities of the Northern Black Sea Area and Their Contacts with the Hinterland Barbarians according to Epigraphic Sources'; Adrian Robu, 'Sanctuaries and Relations between Cities in the Hellenistic World: ... Chalcidion and Byzantion'; Adrian Dumitru, 'Considerations over Byzantion and Hieron in the Third Century BC'; Buzoianu and Bărbulescu, 'The territory of Tomis during the Early Roman Period in the Light of Epigraphic Documents'; Florian Matei-Popescu, 'The Legal Status of Histria and Its Territory in the Roman Age'; and Dan Ruscu, 'The External Relations of Scythia Minor in Late Antiquity – The Ecclesiastic Dimension'), seven in 'Archaeology and Numismatics' (Valeriu Banaru, 'Regular Trade, or Exchange of Goods? Considerations about the Modalities of Disseminating Greek Imports in the Northwestern Coast of the Black Sea'; Chiriac and Boţan, 'Hellenistic and Roman Glassware of the Pontic Area: Between Production and Import'; Irina Nastasi, 'Roman Lamps from Tomis: Considerations on the Local Production and Diffusion'; Gabriel Talmaţchi, '.... Monetary Signs in the West Pontic Greek World Context...'; Lucian Munteanu, 'The Relations between Western Pontic Greek Cities and "Barbarian" Populations in the Hellenistic Period. The Numismatic Evidence'; Florina Panait Bîrzescu, 'Common Iconographic Models from the Black Sea Cities in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods'; and Iulian Bîrzescu, 'Zoomorphic

⁷ F. Panait Bîrzescu, I. Bîrzescu, F. Matei-Popescu and A. Robu (eds.), *Poleis în Marea Neagră: Relații interpontice și producții locale/Poleis in the Black Sea Area: Inter-Pontic Relations and Local Productions*, Actele colocviului organizat de Institutul de Arheologie 'Vasile Pârvan' și de Filiala din Iași a Academiei Române, București, 27–28 septembrie 2012/The Proceedings of the Colloquium organized by the Vasile Pârvan Institute of Archaeology and the Iași Branch of the Romanian Academy, Bucharest, September 27th–28th 2012, *Pontica et Mediterranea* 1, Editura Humanitas, Bucharest 2013, 463 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-973-50-4236-3.

Terracottas and Plastic Vases from the Greek Sanctuaries in the Black Sea Area'). Unindexed.

The second in the series is volume 1 of the *Bibliographia classica orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* prepared by Cojocaru himself.⁸ 5057 entries dealing with inscriptions and coins found on the northern shores of the Black Sea and persons or names attested there, arranged mainly geographically, then within places subdivided – as an example, 'Borysthenes & Olbia cum territorio' (pp. 87–157, nos. 266–1137) is divided into (A) Epigraphica, (B) Numismatica, (C) Pondera and (D) Onomastica et prosopographica, but also Achilleos Nesos, Tyras and Nikonion, Kerkinitis and Tauric Chersonesus, Scythian Neapolis, the Bosporan kingdom, etc. similarly divided; within each subdivision the works are presented in alphabetical order. Other headings follow, dealing with more broadly focused works containing a Black Sea element (divided into epigraphy, numismatics, etc.: pp. 389–476), Iranian material (pp. 477–90), Cimmerian (p. 491) and an appendix of recent titles (pp. 492–94). Hefty epigraphic, author/reviewer and place and other names indexes conclude the work (66 pages); abbreviations (46 pages) – too often overlooked in the belief that readers will know them – preface it. The editorial matter, including a short introduction that outlines the development of research on the Black Sea in recent times, is in German, and the transliteration of works published in Cyrillic follows German practice. This is a monumental work, well and attractively produced, and a significant project. The CD-ROM of the book is a valuable search tool, not least for inveterate reference-chasers like me. Dedicated to the late Heniz Heinen.

The third volume in the series is reviewed by Andreas Mehl (below at pp. 399–402).

Ancient Near Eastern Studies

The supplement volumes continue to provide interesting fare, mixing monographs and conference proceedings covering areas considerably broader than the ancient Near East. A dozen of the 15 papers delivered at the symposium 'Cities and Citadels in Turkey from the Iron Age to the Ottomans', held at the enterprising Koç University's Research Center for Anatolian Civilizations in December 2009, are published here, with a short Introduction by Scott Redford, under a slightly different title: the Seljuks have ousted the Ottomans.⁹ Some of the sites are better known than others. To open, Carolyn Aslan and Brian Rose present 'The City and Citadel of Troy from the Late Bronze Age through the Roman Period', Mehmet-Ali Ataç considers 'The Neo-Assyrian Citadel City and the Walled City as Theme in the Visual Representation of Imperialism', Özlem Çevik examines Iron Age cities in eastern Anatolia and Altan Çilingiroğlu 'The Urartian City and Citadel of Ayanis: An Example of Interdependence'. 'Landscapes of Power: Neo-Hittite Citadels in Comparative Perspective' are investigated by Timothy Harrison, '... Sculpture and Inscription on the Gates of the Iron Age Citadel of Azatiwataya (Karatepe-Aslantaş)' by Aslı Özyar and

⁸ V. Cojocaru, *Bibliographia classica orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxine 1: Epigraphica, numismatica, onomastics & prosopographia*, Pontica et Mediterranea 2, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 560 pp. + CD. Cased. ISBN 978-606-543-474-5.

⁹ S. Redford and N. Ergin (eds.), *Cities and Citadels in Turkey from the Iron Age to the Seljuks*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 40, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, x+346 pp., illustrations (a few in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2712-4.

'The Kale at Kerkenes Dağ: An Iron Age Capital in Central Asia' by Geoffrey and Françoise Summers. The most substantial contribution is that of Mary Voigt on 'Gordion as Citadel and City' (pp. 161–228 with 42 figures), in very productive retirement, and she is followed by James Crow with 'Sinope and Byzantine Citadels and Fortresses on the Black Sea'. 'The Blachernia Palace...', 'The Citadel of Byzantine Constantinople' and '... Decorative and Epigraphic Programs of Anatolian Seljuk Citadels' bring the volume to a close. The perspectives are varied: historical, archaeological, art-historical, etc., bound together. All papers are well illustrated and the production and editorial standards remain high.

A further symposium held at Koç (here it is the 'Research Center of Anatolian Studies' though that 'for Anatolian Civilizations' is thanked), in May–June 2010, is published in the weighty *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Early Iron Age Relations between Syria and Anatolia*¹⁰ under the editorship of K. Aslihan Yener, whose introductory 'Imperial Demise and Forging Emergent Kingdoms' leads on to 23 chapters, by young scholars and old, divided into three sections: 'Excavations in Levantine Turkey and Levantine Syria' (Alalakh, new excavations, Yener, and 'The Late Bronze Age Fortresses: Architecture and Identity...', Murat Akar; 'Tayinat in the Early Iron Age', Timothy Harrison; 'Chatal Höyük in the Amuq: Material Culture and Architecture...', Marina Pucci; 'The Crisis of Qatna at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age II and the Iron Age II Settlement Revival. A Regional Trajectory towards the Collapse of the Late Bronze Age Palace System in the Northern Levant', Morandi Bonacossi; Tell 'Acharnah, Fortin and Cooper; Sabuniye, near Al Mina in the Orontes Delta, Hatice Pamir; '...[the] Stratigraphic Sequence and Plain Ware of Tarsus-Gözlükule', Sedar Yalçın; Sirkeli Höyük, Ekin Kozal; '... Tell Afis, Syria (phases VII–III), Fabrizio Venturi); 'Excavations in Eastern Turkey and Eastern Syria' ('...Tell Fekheriye at the End of the Late Bronze Age', Bartl and Bonatz; Guzana/Tell Halaf, Mirko Novák; 'Some Implications of Revised C14 and Dendrochronological Dating for the "Late Bronze Levels" at Tille Höyük on the Euphrates', Geoffrey Summers; 'The Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age Transition: A Perspective from the Upper Tigris River', Timothy Matney; 'Neo-Hittite Melid: Continuity or Discontinuity', Frangipane and Liverani; 'Pottery as an Indicator of Changing Interregional Relations in the Upper Euphrates Valley. The Case of the Late Bronze-Iron Age Assemblages from Arslantepe', Federico Manuelli; 'New Excavations at the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Site of Gre Amer on the Garzan...', Pulhan and Blaylock); and 'Funerary Practices, Texts and the Arts' (including: 'Working Ivory in Syria and Anatolia during the Late Bronze-Iron Age', Annie Caubet; 'The Luwian Inscriptions from the Temple of the Storm-God of Aleppo', David Hawkins; 'Qadesh, Sea-Peoples, and Anatolian-Levantine Interactions', Karl Strobel; and 'An Amulet... from the Roman Baths at Ankara', Hasan Peker in memory of Ali Dinçol). All thoroughly illustrated. Although it is tedious, more work was needed to unify the details/ordering of detail in the bibliographies.

¹⁰ K.A. Yener (ed.), *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia*, Proceedings of a Symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koç University, Istanbul, May 31–June 1, 2010, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 42, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, viii+542 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2715-5.

Summers reappears as author of *Yanik Tepe, Northwestern Iran, The Early Trans-Caucasian Period: Stratigraphy and Architecture*,¹¹ a completely rewritten and much truncated version of his Manchester doctoral thesis (it shows no signs of its origin). Summers was a pupil of Charles Burney, director of excavations of Yanik Tepe in 1960–62 (shown in photographs taken then, pp. xxviii–xxix). Thus it is most appropriate that Burney has provide the Foreword, largely a vignette of excavation and life in the field half a century ago and thoughts on ‘then’ and ‘now’. Fully furnished with photographs, plans, drawings, etc. (160 figures), sections (17), charts of radiocarbon dates (14), etc.

Much closer to her doctoral thesis (Oxford, 2010) is Eleftheria Pappa’s *Early Iron Age Exchange in the West*,¹² but this too has been revised, reworked and updated. The Introduction, ‘The Phoenician Expansion’, does some of the usual thesis things: the problem, the state of research, terminology, classification, etc. Then, nine chapters: ‘The Historical and Archaeological Contexts’ (including ethnicity and material culture, and chronology), ‘Cultural Contacts and Trade in Colonial Settings: Theoretical Approaches and the Phoenician Expansion’ (the terminology wars;¹³ trading posts and economic structures), ‘Early Exchanges in the Western Mediterranean: On Pre-Colonial Trade, Gifts and their Perpetrators’ (including Greek pottery in the western Mediterranean and its carriers in the ‘pre-colonial period’, with various comparative reference to Al Mina in Syria; ‘elite gift-exchanging koine’, travelling artisans and indigenous markets [pp. 41–47]), ‘The Colonial Frontiers in Iberia. From Settlement to Social Organisation’ and ditto for north-west Africa (and topography, sanctuaries, burial customs, cultural change and continuity, etc.), ‘Commercial Exchanges, Trade Patterns and Interaction Mechanics...’ in those two regions (agriculture, pastoralism, animal husbandry, marine resources, production and distribution of metal in Iberia, shipwrecks, organisation of production and trade, trade in specific areas, trade with the Greek world, the presence of Greek pottery in Iberia and Mogador – trafficked by Phoenician merchants, not penetrating inland, not a sign of Greek trade, certainly not of settlement; ‘the articulation of power’, etc.), ‘Phoenician Settlement in Central North Africa: From Settlement Patterns to Social Organisation’ (and topography, burial grounds, population synthesis and relations with local peoples: Carthage, Utica, Hadrumetum, Lepcis, ‘Commercial Exchanges...’ in that region (agriculture, animal husbandry, craft production, maritime trade, foundation of Lepcis, trading circuits), then briefly ‘Commercial Exchanges and Evolving Societies: Integration Patterns. Merchants, Guilds and Foreign Lands: The Origins of the Phoenician Expansion Revisited’ (not just commerce?; identities). Three pages of conclusions, an appendix of sites and finds (in Sardinia, Spain, Portugal and North Africa: pp. 193–229), tables, 80 pages of figures and 57 of bibliography

¹¹ G.D. Summers, *Yanik Tepe, Northwestern Iran, The Early Trans-Caucasian Period: Stratigraphy and Architecture*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 41, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, xxxii+217 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2713-1.

¹² E. Pappa, *Early Iron Age Exchange in the West: Phoenicians in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic*, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 43, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, xx+373 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2907-4.

¹³ One might have hoped for some reference to the discussion in *AWE* 10 (2011), 161–331, since much other bibliography for 2011 is included.

(with an erratic treatment of 'van') conclude the volume. Thanks to my years in Australia I get a feeling of depression whenever I encounter the term *terra nullius* (here, p. 9).

We return to conference proceedings with *Archaeozoology of the Near East X*,¹⁴ the fruits of the tenth meeting of the 'Archaeology of Southwest Asia and Adjacent Areas' group, which took place in Brussels in June 2011. Twenty papers are presented here from 50 contributors (from Aberdeen and Ann Arbor to Winnipeg and Yerevan), covering Egypt and the Sudan (six), the Levant etc. (six), Turkey (five), Transcaucasia (two) and Oman. To give a selection: 'Changing animal use at Neolithic Çatalhöyük, Turkey', 'Herding and settlement identity in the central Anatolian Neolithic...', 'Bronze and Iron Age Subsistence changes in the Upper Tigris...', '... Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age Ovçular Tespesi (Nakhchivan, Azerbaijan)', 'Royal tombs with horse sacrifices in Nerkin Naver, Armenia (Middle Bronze Age)', 'Zooarchaeology and social identity in Bronze Age and iron Age Israel: a research framework', '... Old Kingdom subsistence economy and the infrastructure of pyramid construction', '... Cats from the Roman port of *Myos Hormos* at Quseir, Egypt'. Once again, fully and usefully illustrated, many charts, graphs and tables. Abstracts and keywords, but, as in general with this series, no index.

Göttinger Studien zur Meditterranen Archäologie

Three volumes in this relatively new series, published very attractively in a double-column large format by Verlag Marie Leidorf. The first, Stefania Peluso's *Archeometria*,¹⁵ in Italian with a German summary (pp. 251–58), publishes her Bochum doctoral dissertation of 2009 (the arrangement is full of numerous heading, sub-headings, etc. often better dispensed with in favour of a more continuous text), sparked by Sparkes and Talcott. The focus is on Magna Graecia (Taranto), Sicily (Gela) and Olympia and Corfu in the 5th and 4th centuries BC. There are six chapters: an introduction to the trade in Attic pottery, classes of imports and imitations present in the study area, the fragments undergoing archaeometric analysis, the methodologies, the archaeometric approach as an investigative tool (brief, including commentary on the results) and trade routes and distribution of ceramics (Athens and the four centres above) The main text concludes with a catalogue of the ceramics according to the archaeometric analysis. Thoroughly illustrated and indexed.

The next in the series, by contrast, is a volume of proceedings of a conference held in Göttingen in October 2010: *Griechen in Übersee und der historische Raum*.¹⁶ There are 25 papers, in Italian, German (five) and English (five), on Sicily (13, with Gela to the fore),

¹⁴ B. De Cupere, V. Linseele and S. Hamilton-Dyer (eds.), *Archaeozoology of the Near East X*, Proceedings of the Tenth International Symposium on the Archaeozoology of South-Western Asia and Adjacent Areas, Ancient Near Eastern Studies Suppl. 44, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2013, ix+420 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2966-1.

¹⁵ S. Peluso, *Archeometria: La ceramic greca importata in Sicilia in Magna Grecia e nelle aree periferiche della Grecia tra V e IV sec. a.C.*, Göttinger Studien zur Meditterranen Archäologie 2, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2012, 267 pp., illustrations, 19 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-502-7/ISSN 2194-7686.

¹⁶ J. Bergemann (ed.), *Griechen in Übersee und der historische Raum*, Internationales Kolloquium Universität Göttingen, Archäologisches Institut, 13.–16. Oktober 2010, Göttinger Studien zur Meditterranen Archäologie 3, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2012, 238 pp., illustrations, 16 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-503-4/ISSN 2194-7686.

Magna Graecia and of a more general and thematic nature (Greek farmsteads, transport amphorae – by Rebecca Klug, etc.), opening with ‘Die griechische Westkolonisation in der antiken Literatur: Das Beispiel der Phokaier bei Herodot’ (Heinz-Gunther Nesselrath), and concluding with ‘Sicilian Tyrants and the Cult of Oikistes’ (Christina Lane). The contributors range from Vancouver to Uppsala. There are two pieces by the editor, Johannes Bergmann, one generally on surveys in Sicily, the second more specific: ‘Gela und Monti Sicani: Surveys an der Küste und im Binnenland im Vergleich’. Other authors include Franco De Angelis, ‘Teorizzando l’economie arcaiche della Sicilia greca’; Peter Attema, ‘Investigating indigenous and Greek space in the Sibaritide’; Gert-Jan Bergers, ‘Landscapes of Contact. Greeks and Indigenes on the Salento Isthmus...’, etc. Colour plates supplement the other illustrations.

Rebecca Klug returns with *Griechische Transportamphoren im regionalen und überregionalen Handel*,¹⁷ her Göttingen PhD dissertation of 2011, subtitled investigations in Greek and non-Greek contexts in South Italy and Sicily in the 8th–5th centuries BC. An introduction and conclusions and eight chapters (Greek colonisation, definitions and terminology – inevitably only a brief synopsis but based on solid bibliography; on the problems of acculturation and Hellenisation; trade; function and find-spots – necropoleis, sanctuaries, etc.; typology of the amphorae – six categories; the study area, by province and particular settlement, taking up half the main text; the spread of the amphora groups to other regions – including the Black Sea, based on the work of Pierre Dupont; and results). Short summaries in English and Italian (pp. 125–28) are followed by the catalogue (Apulia, Campania, Basilicata, Calabria, Sicily and elsewhere – Egypt, Etruria and France). Indexed. Much bibliography unhelpfully buried in the footnotes, which run in one sequence throughout.

Late Antiquity

The *Late Antique Archaeology* series continues to produce interesting work with a focus on the current state of research, though the year of publication is now confusingly misaligned with that on the spine. In *The Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’*¹⁸ ‘pagan’ is frequently in inverted commas, literally and metaphorically, though lacking in the original title of the conference, held in Leuven in 2005, on which this volume is based. Luke Lavan and Michael Mulryan edit and contribute to this substantial publication (the former also provides a wide-ranging 50-page introduction that opens the debate and steers it along a course of re-examination of the hitherto prevalent narrative of conflict; the focus is between the late 3rd and the 7th centuries, with a concentration on material/archaeological evidence). The 18 chapters are grouped into sections: ‘Bibliographical Essays’ (thematic studies, and regional studies and material culture, both providing useful entry into the current state of the debate); ‘The Development of Paganism in Late Antiquity’ (thematic, such as ‘Eusebius

¹⁷ R.D. Klug, *Griechische Transportamphoren im regionalen und überregionalen Handel. Untersuchungen in griechischen und nicht-griechischen Kontexten in Unteritalien und Sizilien vom 8. Bis zum 5. Jh. v. Chr.*, Göttinger Studien zur Mediterranen Archäologie 4, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2013, 172 pp., illustrations, 40 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-504-1/ISSN 2194-7686.

¹⁸ L. Lavan and M. Mulryan (eds.), *The Archaeology of Late Antique ‘Paganism’*, *Late Antique Archaeology* 7, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2011, lxxv+642 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-19237-9/ISSN 1570-6939.

of Caesarea and the Concept of Paganism'); 'Temples in the West (Gaul, Spain, North Africa) and 'Temples in the East' (Greece, the Aegean islands, Anatolia, Egypt) – abandonment, destruction and reuse or overbuilding of temples, much of which for both West and East counters glib ideas of violent destruction and conversion of temples to churches (direct change of use in later periods, perhaps, but much more common earlier is eventual reuse of temples and their sites for other purposes and the conversion of secular buildings to churches); 'Pagan' Statues'; 'Sacred Deposits'; and 'Iconography' (a single chapter on religious iconography in material culture at Sagalassos – the persistence of Dionysiac imagery mostly on drinking vessels). In passing, various discussions about the applicability of 'paganism', terminology, etc., and also some valuable information about early Christianity. Well produced, and with appropriate thanks to Gera van Bedaf at Brill.

War and Warfare in Late Antiquity,¹⁹ the next in the series, is based on the conference 'The Archaeology of War in Late Antiquity', held in Oxford in 2007 and involving archaeologists and historians. Though published in two volumes it has a somewhat similar arrangement. The entirety of volume 1 is taken up by the introductory 'Waging War in Late Antiquity' (pp. 1–98) by Alexander Sarantis, one of the editors (whose opening remarks portray war as outside the mainstream, noting that the volume on late antiquity in one of the standard handbook series lacks a single chapter on it, and that violence [as opposed to bitterness?] has become unfashionable in scholarly circles; other publications I receive suggest that this is overdone, also that military matters have a popularity with a general readership), and the following suite of very useful bibliographical essays, provided largely by Sarantis ('Military Equipment and Weaponry...', 'Tactics...', 'Fortifications in the West...', with Neil Christie, 'Fortifications in Africa...', 'Fortifications in the East...') and Conor Whately ('...Secondary Works, Literary Sources and Material Evidence', 'Organisation and Life in the Late Roman Military...', 'Strategy, Diplomacy and Frontiers...'), full of invaluable detail. Volume 2 houses 19 chapters within sections 'Strategy and Intelligence' (John Haldon), 'Fortifications and Siege Warfare' (James Crown and Michael Whitby), 'Weaponry and Equipment' (J.C.N. Coulston, Michel Kazanski on barbarian military equipment, John Conyard), 'Literary Sources and Topography' (Ian Colvin on Procopius and Agathias, Christopher Lillington-Martin on Procopius, Susannah Belcher on Ammianus Marcellinus), 'The West' (Hugh Elton, Michael Kulikowski, Olesi *et al.*), 'The Balkans' (John Wilkes, Sarantis, Florin Curta), 'The East' (James Howard-Johnson in and around Armenia; Whately on El-Lejjūn) and 'Civil War' (Christie, Maria Kouroumali on the Justinianic reconquest of Italy).

Local Economies?,²⁰ volume 10 in the series, sprang from a conference at King's College London in 2010. It also marks the conversion of *Late Antique Archaeology* to a journal – I had experience with Brill, its publisher, over when is a journal not a journal, a source of confusion to many purchasers of the early issues of *AWE*. The format remains the same

¹⁹ A. Sarantis and N. Christie (eds.), *War and Warfare in Late Antiquity: Current Perspectives*, Late Antique Archaeology 8.1–8.2, 2 vols., Brill, Leiden/Boston 2013, xxv+viii+1084 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-25257-8 (set); 978-90-04-25281-3 (vol. 1); 978-90-04-25282-0 (vol. 2).

²⁰ L. Lavan (ed.), *Local Economies?: The Production and Exchange of Inland Regions in Late Antiquity*, Late Antique Archaeology 10, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2013, xiv+637 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-27703-8.

with, after Lavan's introductory piece, five bibliographical essays (Alyassa Bandow, Andrea Zerbini and Stefano Costa): approaches, methods and conceptual issues; regional surveys; primary and secondary production; 'Infrastructures of Transport and Retail'; and ceramics and trade. These remain exceptionally useful. Two 'Theoretical papers', Mark Whittow taking a comparative perspective on 'How Much Trade was Local, Regional and Inter-Regional' and Peter Sarris considering 'The Role of Markets, Emperors, and Aristocrats' in integration and disintegration in the late Roman economy. Six papers under 'Production in Inland Centres' (Villas, Taxes and Trade in Fourth Century Hispania', Kim Bowes; 'The Lessons of Gaulish Sigillata and Other Finewares', Tamara Lewit; the economies of inland Sicily in a Mediterranean context, Emanuele Vaccaro; Diana Veteranorum in Numidia, Elizabeth Fentress; economic expansion of the Anatolian countryside, Adam Izdebski; etc.), then five on exchange: Romano-British pottery (Jeremy Evans), 'Supply and Distribution of Ceramic Building Material in Roman Britain' (Phil Mills), 'Imported and Local Pottery in Late Roman Pannonia' (Hárshegyi and Ottományi), consumption patterns in coastal and inland regions of Africa (Michel Bonifay) and 'Pottery Production and Exchange in Late Antique Syria...' (Agnès Vokaer). All are indexed and have abstracts in French.

History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East,²¹ the latest in the Oxford series on late antiquity, arose out of a series of seminars in 2009, 'History and Identity, 500–1000'. The papers assembled here cover Egypt, Syria, Abbasid Mesopotamia and Sasanian Iran, as well as looking at pre-Islamic Medina (Harry Munt), doctrine and politics (crisis of empire and reaction to it) in 'Sophronius of Jerusalem and the End of Roman History' (Phil Booth) and 'Identity, Philosophy, and the Problem of Armenian History in the Sixth Century' (Tara Andrews) – swapping religions or resisting conversion, exchanged between the Persian and Byzantine empires, formation of their own Christian identity, all at a time (AD 484–591) when there are barely any surviving records.

Even later in period are most of the 13 papers in the Aarhus Black Sea Studies volume, *From Goths to Varangians*,²² a selection of papers from four meetings held between 2007 and 2009. The volume is the first to appear after the death of Pia Guldager Bilde and is dedicated to her memory. Leo Klejn, 'The Russian controversy over the Varangians', though brief, is of interest for shedding yet more light onto the politicised scholarship of the USSR and the sponsorship of Anti-Normanism (still undead though not for want of trying). To concentrate on those with some earlier focus: 'At the watershed between the Baltic and the Pontic before Gnezdovo' (Johan Callmer) starts in the Late Bronze Age, but soon moves on to the question of an early Slav presence in the 5th–6th centuries AD, then to Long Barrows and beyond. 'Networking in north-east Barbaricum: a study of gold imitations of Roman coins' (Helle Winge Horsnæs) examines types and distribution. Most were struck in the century AD 250–350 and none is securely dated to after AD 400. The

²¹ P. Wood (ed.), *History and Identity in the Late Antique Near East*, Oxford Studies in Late Antiquity, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxiii+237 pp., 1 map. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-991540-8.

²² L. Bjerg, J.H. Lind and S.M. Sindbæk (eds.), *From Goths to Varangians: Communication and Cultural Exchange between the Baltic and the Black Sea*, Black Sea Studies 15, The Danish National Research Foundation's Centre for Black Sea Studies, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2013, 418 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-87-7934-537-9.

imitations belong to Nordic Iron Age C2–C3 and to the Chernyakhov culture in the Ukraine. ‘The Herulians are coming!’ (Line Bjerg) examines the link between the attack by this Gothic tribe on the Bosphoran kingdom (and its economic decline and ultimate demise as a Roman buffer state), recorded in written sources, and a curious break in coin-hoard material for a decade (AD 276–285) between Rhescuporis V and Thothorses. ‘Chasing gold threads: *auratae vestes* from Hellenistic rulers to Varangian guards’ (Margarita Gleba) is about gold textiles/cloth of gold from the Graeco-Roman period onward. Indexed.

Sanctuaries and Mausolea; Religion and Politics; Gods and Heroes

*Halikarnassos und das Maussolleion*²³ is a succinct account of the city (now Bodrum) and the famous tomb of Mausolos there in a rounded historical, artistic and architectural context – it is written by a distinguished classical archaeologist who is also an architectural specialist and benefits from the length and breadth of his expertise. This handsome small volume, clearly aimed at both a general reader largely unaware of the background and those with greater expertise – a brief appendix contains relevant texts from Vitruvius and Pliny in the original and translation; there are extensive endnotes incorporating bibliography – is full of excellent colour photographs, maps and plans and other illustrations, carefully selected. The text falls into two parts: the city (pp. 2–69), further divided into one section on ‘Die alte Stadt und das Umland’ and the other on ‘Die neue...’, and ‘Das Maussolleion 2012’ (pp. 70–133), divided between ‘Erforschung und Quellen’, ‘Die neue Rekonstruktion’ and ‘Hermeneutisches’ (not least of the symbolism and the cult, but also considering other derivative mausolea). We are shown what there is, but also variant reconstructions of what there was. A guide, but not a guidebook.

Kai Kaniuth and his colleagues present a hefty volume of 24 papers (15 in German, nine in English, abstracts in the alternative language) from the 7th International Colloquium of the Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, held in Munich in October 2009.²⁴ A wide range in time and space, from Hittite Anatolia eastward: from ‘Religious Revolutions in the Neolithic? “Temples” in Present Discourse and Past Practice’ (Reinhard Bernbeck), ‘Sex and the Temple’ (Jerrold Cooper – Mesopotamian sacred prostitution and sacred marriage), ‘The Temple and the Land’ (Frederick Fales – Mesopotamia), ‘The Late Babylonian Temple: Economy, Politics and Cult’ (Kristin Kleber) and ‘Temples and the Origin of Civilisation’ (Michael Roaf), to the Mesopotamian Ziggurat (Wilfrid Allinger-Csollich), ‘Hethitische Rituale im Tempel’ (Susanne Görke), ‘Einige archäologische sowie archäo-astronomische Aspekte hethitischer Sakralbauten’ (Andreas Müller-Karpe) ‘Die Tempel des Wettergottes von Aleppo’ (Kay Kohlmeyer) and ‘Temples and Sacred Places in Persepolis’ (Razmjou and Roaf). Ingo Schrakamp takes aim at the Deimel-Schneider-Falkenstein model of the ‘Sumerian Temple-City’, Ursula Seidel examines and interprets the sparing

²³ W. Hoepfner, *Halikarnassos und das Maussolleion: Die modernste Stadtanlage der späten Klassik und der als Weltwunder gefeierte Grabtempel des karischen Königs Maussollos*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013, 144 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-4609-2.

²⁴ K. Kaniuth, A. Löhnert, J.L. Miller, A. Otto, M. Roaf and W. Sallabager (eds.), *Tempel im Alten Orient*, 7. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, 11.–13. Oktober 2009, München, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, xiii+507 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06774-4.

decoration of Mesopotamian temples of the 2nd millennium BC, Frances Pincock and Adelheid Otto focus on North Mesopotamian temples of the Early Bronze Age and the 2nd millennium respectively, and Nicolò Marchetti places 'Mesopotamian Early Dynastic Statuary in Context'. Thus, historical and methodological questions jostle with archaeological, iconographic and textual evidence, ritual and myth with religious and political issues involving temples loom (as with the next two titles). Broader implications are considered, new evidence is deployed and old interpretations are challenged. Indexed thoroughly and illustrated amply.

Religion and politics is a mixture to spark some interesting discussion. A 'cluster of excellence' at Münster is examining the theme in pre-modern and modern culture. *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries*²⁵ were the subject of an international conference there in June 2010, held within this cluster. A dozen of the papers are published here in revised form – individual case studies (to be set within a comparative framework that is not always to the fore). They do not disappoint in their quality. (A companion volume, H. Beck and P. Funke (eds.), *Federalism in Greek Antiquity* [Cambridge 2015], will be reviewed in a later issue of this journal.) Peter Funke provides a short introductory chapter, bearing the same title as the volume, as well as 'Thermika und Panaitolika. Alte und neue Zentren im Aitolischen Bund'. Athanasios Rizakis writes on '... Zeus *Homarios* et la construction de l'identité achéene', Klaus Freitag on 'Die Akarnanen: Ein Ethnos ohne religiöses Zentrum und gemeinsame Fester?', Angela Ganter tells 'A Two-Sided Story of Integration: The Cultic Dimension of Poitian Ethnogenesis', James Roy considers 'Olympia, Identity and Integration: Elis, Eleia, and Hellas' and Michael Fronza 'Southern Italy: Sanctuary, *Panegyris* and Italiote Identity', while Giovanna Rocchi examines 'Ethnic Identity, Cults and Territorial Settlement: East and West Locrians'. 'Was Dion Macedonia's Religious Centre?' asks Miltiades Hatzopoulos. 'Confederacies, Royal Policies and Sanctuaries in the Hellenistic Aegean... Nesiotai, Lesbioi and Kretaieis' (Kostas Buraselis), '... Sanctuary and Community in the Definition of Phokis' (Jeremy McInerney), 'Construire et reconstruire l'État fédéral thessalien...' (Bouchon and Helly) and 'Can "Federal Sanctuaries" Be Identified in Tryhyllia and Arkadia?' (Thomas Heine Nielsen) complete this solid offering. Overall, a clear and concise statement of the current state of play without delivering much that is new. No index.

*Zeus in Early Greek Mythology and Religion*²⁶ is the revised and expanded version of Olga Zolotnikova's Athens doctoral dissertation, examining scattered linguistic, archaeological, literary and other evidence related to the concept of Zeus before and in the time of 'Homer' and beyond. This is not quite 'How did Zeus become top god?', for 'Zeus must have been venerated in some form during the whole Bronze Age as the senior god-father' but might have lost some lustre in the Late Bronze Age 'as a god originally unconnected with the idea of monarchical power could not be especially significant in the official Mycenaean religion'

²⁵ P. Funke and M. Haake (eds.), *Greek Federal States and Their Sanctuaries: Identity and Integration*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, 244 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10307-7.

²⁶ O.A. Zolotnikova, *Zeus in Early Greek Mythology and Religion: from Prehistoric Times to the Early Archaic Period*, BAR International Series 2492, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, x+218 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1106-7.

(p. 131). But, come the *polis*, cometh the god, with Zeus as its institutional protector (with epithets to match), 'well supported by the enormous influence of the Homeric poems' (p. 132), and changes in the religious conception of him and his position among the other gods set in from late in the 7th century and through the next one until he becomes the Classical Zeus, which is Zeus as presented in the poems of Homer. Chapter 1 addresses 'The concept of Zeus in the *Iliad*' (including parallels with Near Eastern supreme gods and consideration of Indo-European mythological conceptions), and Chapter 2 'The relation of the Homeric concept of Zeus to the Mycenaean Religion' (from Pylos to the throne room at Knossos). Chapter 3 examines 'The evidence for the worship and perception of Zeus during the early historic time', place by place, starting in Dodona and concluding at the Heraion at Argos, before taking a look at Zeus in Early Iron Age iconography and evaluating the evidence brought out in this chapter. Short conclusions. The hefty bibliography (25 pages) and the numbering and sub-numbering of sections within sections within chapters betray its origins. Plentiful illustrations of objects, from a Hittite stele and a Mycenaean krater to a copy of Phidias' statue of Zeus Olympios (ca. 430 BC), plans of sanctuaries, etc.

*Mithras: Kult und Mysterium*²⁷ is a brief account of Mithras and Mithraism (the Mysteries) by Manfred Clauss, a well-known ancient historian specialising in the history of religion who has written on this topic before, but here incorporating new material (of which there is a steady stream). The text opens with the origins of the cult (and links to Mitra), introduces the god, describes the religious scene in the Roman empire which the cult penetrated from the East, then its expansion (where, when, more tentatively how and why) throughout the Roman world, its adherents, the arrangement of the sacred space/cave (Mithraeum), its myths and their monumental representation (rocks and water), the celebrations and initiations, symbols and objects (pottery, utensils), consecration of priests (seven grades of initiation treated as a hierarchy), Mithras 'the helper', Mithras and the divine realm (not least Sol), finally Mithras and Christianity, the struggle between them and the collapse/suppression of the cult. The regional maps show the location of Mithraea and Mithraic finds from Caernarvon to Panticapaeum. Everything is extremely well illustrated and the 16 colour plates are a treat. Others have raised questions about astral symbolism in Mithraic monuments and of the Mithraeum itself as an image of the cosmos; these are dismissed in the introductory pages. Notwithstanding, this is the one work to have on the subject.

Gregory Nagy is a specialist in the Homeric tradition – heroic fate as a child of its time? *The Ancient Greek Hero in 24 Hours*²⁸ is based on his popular and long-running Harvard course, and shows his enthusiasm and virtuosity: 24 chapters grouped into five parts: 'Heroes in Epic and Lyric Poetry' (twelve chapters and an introduction to Homeric poetry: Achilles, Odysseus, *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, cult heroes, death), in prose (three), in tragedy (six: in Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides), in Plato (two: Socrates) and as saviour (one). It is not, however, even remotely, a 24-hour crash-course. Glossary and index. Taken at a pace

²⁷ M. Clauss, *Mithras: Kult und Mysterium*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013, 192 pp., illustrations, 16 colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-4581-1.

²⁸ G. Nagy, *The Ancient Greek Hero – in 24 Hours*, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA/London 2013, xvii+727 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-674-07340-1.

and, in an age replete with 'heroes', it is pleasing to see the terminology brought back from its debasement to some meaning – by the author as hero.

Ancient Authors, Libraries and Museums

*The World of Berossos*²⁹ publishes material from the eponymous conference at Hatfield College, Durham, July 2010. More the man than his world, though an excellent introduction to him and his work, it is 'devoted to a man whose work is largely lost, whose life is shrouded in mystery, and whose real name we do not know' (p. 3): we have the Greek rendering of an Akkadian name, and we only have his three-volume history of Babylonia, written in the first half of the 3rd century BC, through citations of a digest compiled two centuries later, the text having slumbered in uncited obscurity until then. Johannes Haubold provides the Introduction; Geert De Breucker an account of Berossos' life and work. Four sections follow: 'Reading the *Babyloniaca*' (Haubold, Martin Lang, Giovanni Lanfranchi and John Dillery, often key differences in events known from elsewhere), 'Society, religion and Culture' (Tom Boiy, John Steele on 'Astronomical Fragments' *contra* De Breucker, Bruno Jacobs and Robert Rollinger), 'Literary Contexts' (Stephanie Dalley, on the different versions of Babylonian epics available to Berossos; Christopher Tuplin on 'Berossos and Greek Historiography'; Paul Kosmin; Ian Moyer) and 'Transmission, Reception, Reconstruction' (Francesca Schironi on early reception of Berossos; Irene Madreiter, 'From Berossos to Eusebius: [selective reconstruction by] A Christian Apologist's Shaping of "Pagan" Literature', Walter Stephens, 'From Berossos to Berossos Chaldaeus: The Forgeries of Annius of Viterbo...', Kai Ruffing on 'Berossos in Modern Scholarship'; and a Berossos bibliography). Indexed.

Herodots Quellen,³⁰ the next in this series, proves that Herodotus is still as much of the story as his stories. The volume brings together 13 papers, some much expanded, from the conference of the same name, held in Marburg in October 2011. A brief introduction by Kai Ruffing, making particular mention of the work of Fehling, to whom Herodotus was a writer of fiction. Elizabeth Irwin's "The hybris of Theseus" and the date of the Histories' (pp. 7–84 – well after 413 BC, according to the ingenious argument) is a substantial examination and re-reading of Herodotus 9. 73 (the Spartan occupation of Dekelea), and of why Herodotus used a mythological tale to explain recent events: apparently as a response to the work of Thucydides, This is longer than the four contributions to the section *specifically* about sources (Heinz-Gunther Nesselrath on indigenous sources used; Robert Rollinger on Near Eastern ideologies percolating into Herodotus – not as Hellenocentric as he has been made out?; Stephanie West on 4. 88; Francesco Prontera – 'Dati e fonti nell'*archeologia* di Erodoto', which in passing considers the passage on the Egyptian origin of the Colchians, mentioned also by Nesselrath among various Black Sea topics). Six, including those by the editors Boris Dunsch and Ruffing, appear in 'Herodot als Literat',

²⁹ J. Haubold, G.B. Lanfranchi, R. Rollinger and J. Steele (eds.), *The World Of Berossos*, *Classica et Orientalia* 5, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, vii+332 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06728/ ISSN 2190-3638.

³⁰ B. Dunsch and K. Ruffing with K. Droß-Krüpe (eds.), *Herodots Quellen – Die Quellen Herodots*, *Classica et Orientalia* 6, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, vii+351 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06884-0/ISSN 2190-3638.

and Josef Wiesehöfer ('Herodot und ein persisches Hellas' – the Greece that might have been had the Persians succeeded?; what were the Persian motivations in 490–479 BC?) sits alone in 'Herodot und die Nachbarn der Griechen', etc. A brief closing Resümee reinforces the general theme of the contributions, taking a more positive view of Herodotus as a source – neither a naïve nor a liar. Indexed.

Another book of the thesis is Gaëlle Coqueugniot's *Archives et bibliothèques dans le monde grec*,³¹ aimed at historians of books, libraries and archives as much as at classicists. Chapter I presents context and definitions and a short history of research on archives and libraries from antiquity to the present; next, the focus is on the archives and libraries of Athens, then chapters on the public archives of the Greek world (development, topography, access and use, from Archaic Crete through growth in the Hellenistic and Roman periods) and libraries (short: the evidence is sketchy until the 2nd century AD). The architecture and material organisation of the archives and libraries is next, and finally consideration of preservation and destruction: 'Paradoxically, most of the original writings discovered today are in fact documents that had been discarded from those large collections, as rolls and tablets that remained in the archives' buildings or in the libraries completely disappeared through time. Most of the buildings that have been securely identified as record offices are those that met a violent end...' Little comfort there. The second half of the volume is an illustrated analytical catalogue of the archives and libraries in alphabetical order: 36 sites from Ai Khanoum (Afghanistan) to Zeugma/Séleucie de l'Euphrate (Turkey).

*Greek Vases in the Imperial Hermitage Museum: The History of the Collection*³² is a valuable and intriguing volume devoted primarily to the work of Ludolf Stephani, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities at the Hermitage for 36 years, from shortly before the opening of the New Hermitage until his death in 1887 (two of the authors have followed Stephani as keepers at the Hermitage, so this is a work of devotion). The work is arranged in three parts plus appendices: Part 1, 'The Imperial Hermitage Museum and its Collection of Vases: the European Context' (pp. 5–36 – an image of Sir William Hamilton appears on p. 7 setting the Hermitage collection into the broader European context of interest in antiquities, their acquisition and display); Part 2, 'Ludolf Stephani's *Die Vasen-Sammlung* and Vases for the Hermitage, 1816–62' (pp. 39–159: the genesis of his work, the accumulation of objects and acquisition of entire collections [Pizzati, Khirvo-Laval, Campana, etc.], excavations in South Russia, and the activities of the Imperial Archaeological Commission – pp. 57–63); and Part 3, 'Addenda et Corrigenda to Ludolf Stephani, *Die Vasen-Sammlung der Kaiserlichen Ermitage* (1869)' (pp. 163–246), mainly to the provenances of 1792 items from private collections (the 565 from excavations in the northern Black Sea area are largely correct), valuable since Stephani's catalogue is still the main source for the collections. The appendices reproduce, translate or summarise various plans, programmes,

³¹ G. Coqueugniot, *Archives et bibliothèques dans le monde grec Édifices et organisation. Ve siècle avant notre ère–Ile siècle de notre ère*, BAR International Series 2536, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, xi+168 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1154-8.

³² A. Bukina, A. Petrakova and C. Phillips, *Greek Vases in the Imperial Hermitage Museum: The History of the Collection 1816–69, with Addenda et Corrigenda to Ludolf Stephani, Die Vasen-Sammlung der Kaiserlich Ermitage (1869)*, Studies in the History of Collections IV, BAR International Series 2514, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, xvi+317 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1132-6.

reports, letters, guides and commentaries on displays, collections, etc. from 1808 to 1861. Throughout, furnished with extensive and informative reproductions of 19th-century documentation, plans and realisations of the New Hermitage and its exhibitions and exhibition halls (the display described in Stephani's catalogue remained in place for half a century), and invaluable short biographies of Hermitage staff 'and other officials' (pp. xv, 157–59). A rather complicated book, as readers will have gathered, but spell-binding. Alas, 14 vases in the pre-1869 catalogue were amongst many objects sold by the Soviets in the late 1920s to finance their rapacious incompetence. Unusual for a BAR volume, but very helpful, is the index. There is no need to translate 'fond' from Russian into 'fund' in English with reference to archives: fund does not work and, regrettably, fond is leaching its way into the terminology (it sounds so impressive, does it not?) where that simple word 'collection' used to suffice.

Pottery

*The Greek Vase*³³ is a lavishly and colourfully illustrated publication, written for the general reader, designed to act as an introduction to the range of subjects illustrated on Greek vases and to some of the problems encountered in interpreting those images, doing so by drawing upon the rich collections of vases in the British Museum and the J. Paul Getty Museum. The six chapters move from 'Fabric, Form and Function' (and technique) through 'Potters and Painters' (internal and external means of identifying artists and artist-groups and workshops: what the objects and other archaeological material tell us about the makers) to 'Depicting the Divine' and 'Meeting the Myth Makers' (heroes, especially Herakles, Theseus and the Trojan War), including who was up and who was down at specific times (and why), how to identify who is who, attributes, what cultural values were reflected by the figures; and then crossing an uncertain border into real life with 'A Life Well-Lived' and 'Seducing the Senses'. Careful selection enables a broad coverage within a manageably sized volume. A short list of further reading.

*La cerámica importada de Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Siná*³⁴ is the posthumous publication of Susana Basílico's work on imported pottery in North Sinai since 1997, where Argentina had been co-operating in an international programme of rescue archaeology in response to Egyptian agricultural projects there, which became the core of her doctoral dissertation of 2005. Tell el-Ghaba had a strategic location close to the Pelusian branch of the Nile and to the land route to the Levant. Chapter 1 describes the Egyptian government's agricultural project and the danger it poses to the environment and archaeology of the region; Chapter 2 the environment, written evidence and previous archaeological research in the area. Chapters 3–7 provide a background to the Saite period and then examine Saite settlements in the Eastern Delta, North-Western Delta, Wadi Tumilat and North Sinai (in particular, settlement patterns and using imported pottery comparatively to identify interrelations between these various areas and Tell el-Ghaba). The methodology employed for pottery analysis is then described, and three chapters provide contextual study of the imported

³³ J.H. Oakley, *The Greek Vase: Art of the Storyteller*, The British Museum Press, London 2013, 155 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-2277-9.

³⁴ S.T. Basílico, *La cerámica importada de Tell el-Ghaba, norte de Siná Interacciones locales y regionales durante la época saíta (siglos VII-VI a.C.)*, BAR International Series 2491, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, ix+312 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1105-0.

pottery in terms of morphology, decoration, fabric and comparative analysis to identify what came from where. All is drawn together to suggest how Tell el-Ghaba fitted into networks of local and regional interaction. Lists of figures, tables, etc. come after the bibliography. Appendices cataloguing pottery finds from two areas, including explanations of the methodology and examples of the documentation.

*Hofheim II*³⁵ is a substantial publication of sigillata found here at the Roman *limes* site on the River Main in Hesse(-Nassau) by all the excavations conducted between 1955 and 1991 in the 'stone castle' and the adjoining *vicus*, though not those from the older earthen camp. The period of activity is from AD 74–76 to about AD 230: the pottery confirms the dates provided by numismatic and other evidence. The volume is in four sections: 'Die Sigillata aus dem Hofheimer Steinkastell (Grabungen 1969–1981; 1988; 1990). Untersuchungen zur Sigillatachronologie im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', 'Die Sigillata aus dem Hofheimer Vicus (Grabung 1990) Untersuchungen zur Sigillatachronologie im 2. Und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.' and 'Die reliefverzierte Terra Sigillata aus dem Hofhemier Vicus (Grabungen 1955–1967)', all by Allard Mees, and, reworked from his MA dissertation of 1982; and 'Die glatte Sigillata der Grabungen von H. Schopp (1955–1967) aus dem Hofheimer Südvicus', by Dirk Allgaier. Summary in German, English and French (pp. 285–90). One hundred pages of plates complement the extensive in-text drawings, diagrams, charts, etc.

Networks in the Hellenistic World,³⁶ the papers from the eponymous conference held in Cologne and Bonn in February 2011 and bringing together participants from more than a dozen countries from Austria to Australia, does indeed go beyond the eastern Mediterranean: its true focus is the Hellenistic East. The premise is 'that economic and cultural networks are reflected in material culture, and [that] Hellenistic pottery [is] the most widespread and sensitive category of material evidence' (p. v). The networks were local, regional and inter-regional, and the similarities and differences likewise; the volume reflects this and realises its intentions. There were four dozen conference presentations, of which 36 are published here (in English, German and French); those absent include Sabine Ladstätter on Ptolemaic pottery from Upper Egypt and Krzysztof Domzalski's 'Late Hellenistic fine pottery imports and local products...' from Mt Mithradates in Panticapaeum, but notably two on the Black Sea region by Pia Guldager Bilde, whose premature death is mourned here (p. vi). The sections that remain are Greece (ten papers, opened by Graham Shipley on 'the under-theorized domestic material culture of Hellenistic Greece' and the need to link analysis of material culture to broader developments in historical and archaeological research, and Susan Rotroff's 'Bion International: Branch pottery workshops in the Hellenistic Aegean'; and with Lydia-Antonia Trakatelli's 'The category of the so called Pseudo-Cypriot amphoras and their distribution in Cyprus, Greece and the Black Sea' overlapping one actual and another intended section), Albania (three: Lissos, the Artemision at

³⁵ A.W. Mees, with a contribution by D. Allgaier, *Hofheim II: Terra Sigillata*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Archäologie und Geschichte des ersten Jahrtausends 18, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2013, 315 pp., illustrations, 100 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-778-2/ISSN 1437-1707.

³⁶ N. Fenn and C. Römer-Strehl (eds.), *Networks in the Hellenistic World According to the Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean and Beyond*, BAR International Series 2539, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, vi+382 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1157-9.

Dyrrhachion, etc.), the Greek Islands (two – both Delos), Turkey (five: Pergamon; ‘Pergamian’ imports to Ephesus to trace social networks and processes; Gordion; a kiln under the Odeon at Sagalassos and archaeometric analysis of the finds; the emergence, diffusion and distribution of Eastern Sigillata B), Cyprus (two: transport amphorae and links with the northern Levantine coast), Egypt (four) and ‘Levant up to Central Asia’ (nine: Palmyra, Tall Zira’a, Dura Europos, Jebel Khalid [a Macedonian settlement], ‘The dynamics of Exchange and Innovation in the Oasis City of Merv’, etc. – too vast and diverse a region or with sufficient commonalities?). Finally, Stefan Riedel with ‘Hellenistic Pottery in a Wider Perspective – On the Use and Misuse of the Application of Network Theory to Material Culture’ and the editors’ (perhaps too brief) concluding remarks. A valuable work in which theoretical perspectives do not get in the way of the evidence: theory cannot substitute for the study of the material itself. All papers with abstracts and keywords, fully and clearly illustrated. A few minor editorial points.

Economic Matters

*Embodying Value?*³⁷ has the distinction of combining material from two events in the spring of 2012, both in Frankfurt, the base of many of the contributors, the second being a panel at the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (I am, I do not hide it, rather sceptical of ‘theoretical archaeology’). A dozen contributions, nine in English, with most of the contributors either still doctoral students or recently completed, plus an Introduction by the editors (who have done their work well). All papers come with abstracts in English and German and keywords. The most obvious embodiment of value is coinage. Clare Rowan, one of the editors, considers ‘The value of coinage in the Second Punic War and after’, and Dragana Eremić ‘Coin finds beyond the Danube: functions of fourth century gold coins within barbarian societies’. To give a flavour of the rest: ‘...Aegean Bronze Age rhyta in moments of transformation’ (Laerke Recht), ‘Heavy metal in hallowed contexts – continuity and change in *aes* deposits in Central Italy and Sicily’ (Andreas Murgan), ‘Votives and values: communicating with the supernatural’ (Katherine Erdman) and ‘The de(con)struction of public monuments’ (Stephanie Bauer). There is also ‘From manufactured goods to significant possessions: theorising pottery consumption in late antique Anatolia’ by William Anderson, whom I co-supervised in Melbourne, undoubtedly clever despite his penchant for ‘theory’. The illustrations to this paper are largely from Pessinus (which is also the focus of several pages of the text). As the director of the excavations there since 2009, I was surprised to discover Pessinus material simply by opening the covers of a book – but this is not the first time I have been surprised in this way, always, it has to be said, by Anderson. I would prefer not to be surprised again.

Hans van Wees’s *Ships and Silver, Taxes and Tribute*³⁸ is a brisk fiscal history of Archaic Athens (here no weak and backward state before the Persian Wars), from the age of Homer via the reforms of Solon (594 BC) to the Delian league, in seven chapters: ‘A Fiscal History

³⁷ A. Bokern and C. Rowan (eds.), *Embodying Value? The Transformation of Objects in and from the Ancient World*, BAR International Series 2592, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, v+155 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1220-0.

³⁸ H. van Wees, *Ships and Silver, Taxes and Tribute: A Fiscal History of Archaic Athens*, I.B. Tauris, London/New York 2013, x+213 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-78076-686-7.

of Archaic Athens: Why and How?' (the false and comforting picture of primitivist-sustantivist model and the supposed lack of state apparatus; the creation of firm material foundations of public finances before the silver find of 483 BC); 'Athens in Context: Public Finance in Archaic Greece' (long-term trends; contract ousting reciprocity; efficient finance required to counter Lydian and Persian strength through a modern navy of triremes in the 520s BC); 'Ham-Collectors and other Financial Institutions' (their nature and development); 'Ships, Soldiers and Sacrifices: Public Spending' (military developments in the 6th century predominating); 'Taxes, Tolls and Tribute: Public Revenue' (the *eisphoral* 'contribution' under Solon to the expulsion of Hippias; increasingly progressive after Cleisthenes; *contra* Thucydides, not an innovation of 428 BC); 'From Oxen to Silver to Coins: Media of Public Finance' (taking state control – further evidence of a radical overhaul of public finances in the late 6th century); and 'Conclusion: Public Finance and the State in Archaic Athens'. Overall, informed (and perhaps driven) by van Wees's background in military history – war is expensive and forces innovation in the public finances (Pitt the Younger's temporary Income Tax). Hefty endnotes. An appendix on 'Persian Naval Expansion and the Ionian Cities'.

A symposium on the themes of purchasing, consumption and markets, held in Salzburg in October 2011, has appeared in the similarly titled *Kauf, Konsum und Märkte: Wirtschaftswelten im Fokus*,³⁹ with contributors from Great Britain, Denmark and the USA as well as Switzerland-Austria-Germany, most focused on antiquity. Papers include 'Freedmen and Wine Production in Roman Italy' (Jesper Carlsen, mistitled in the Inhalt); 'Menschen und Märkte' (Peter Herz); 'Der Kaufvertrag im römischen Recht' (Daniele Mattiangelli); 'The Market in Classical Antiquity' (Neville Morley), asking what the 'market' meant in antiquity, questioning attempts to quantify performance while ignoring structure, wondering about the appropriateness of partial, time-lagged borrowing of other disciplines' theories, and pondering what lessons the economy of Rome might have for today; 'Village markets in Roman Egypt. The case of first-century AD Tebtunis' (Dominic Rathbone); 'Auctions and Markets in the Roman Empire' (Kai Ruffing, with diagrams); 'Amphora Design and Marketing in Antiquity' (Rauh, Autret and Lund); and 'Die "Ware Mensch" in der Antike und in der Neuzeit' (Ingomar Weiler).

The Oxford series on the Roman economy continues with *The Roman Agricultural Economy*⁴⁰ (from 100 BC to AD 350) in the capable hands of Alan Bowman and Andrew Wilson (who provide a lengthy introduction). Contributors are from/in England, North America and southern Europe. The problem, as ever, is quantifying things based on scant, contradictory and unreliable ancient data – Dennis Kehoe's 'The State and Production in the Roman Agricultural Economy' is the exception, based on examination of tenancy agreements. Surveys and technological development underpin the bulk of the other chapters: Helen Goodchild, an actual field archaeologist, contributes 'GIS Models of Roman

³⁹ M. Frass (ed.), *Kauf, Konsum und Märkte: Wirtschaftswelten im Fokus – Von der römischen Antike bis zur Gegenwart*, Philippika 59, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2013, 253 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-447-06864-2/ISSN 1613-5628.

⁴⁰ A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *The Roman Agricultural Economy: Organization, Investment, and Production*, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, x+333 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-966572-3.

Agricultural Production' (the Middle Tiber) and Annalisa Marzano writes on wine and olive oil production in the hinterland of Rome and 'Capital Investment and Agriculture: Multi-Press Facilities from Gaul, the Iberian Peninsula, and the Black Sea Region' (helpful to bring in comparisons from East as well as West, but a lack of Eastern bibliography). 'The Rural Landscape of Thugga...' (Mariette de Vos) is a lengthy regional survey of this part of Tunisia, not just farms (imperial estates and tenancy agreements, patterns of land-holding) but irrigation, presses, mills and transport. Bowman provides 'Agricultural Production in Egypt' and Wilson and Myrto Malouta '... Water-Lifting Devices in the Archaeological Evidence and in the Egyptian Papyri'. Katherine Bloiun on 'The Agricultural Economy of the Mendesian Nome...' and Hannah Friedman's 'Agriculture in the Faynan' complete the volume.

The translation of Maria Aubet's *Commerce and Colonization*⁴¹ into English is welcome. The volume aims to analyse the 'first colonialisms' in history, meaning the Eastern antecedents of the Phoenician colonial system ('something more than the results of a series of naval expedition in search of raw materials': p. 3) in the 1st millennium BC, with Tyre, where Aubet excavates, at its hub. It provides the sort of synthesis required by students, an accessible introduction to long-running debates that pushes few boundaries and breaks none. Colonisation is not colonialism, but Aubet otherwise does not worry about the numbing terminological debates, seeking to avoid (drowning in) the swamp of ideas drawn from modern colonial activity; and she is not drawn to post-colonial approaches. What some might see as 'under'-theorising, others will see as empiricism, a reaction to too many recent works that abstrusely 'over'-theorise. Between Introduction, and 'Final Thoughts', both brief, are nine chapters: '... primitivists versus modernists', 'Karl Polanyi and his view of the ancient economy', 'Colonialism and cultures in contact: theorising and critiques' (*sic*) and 'The place of trade in ancient economies' form Part I; 'State trade versus private initiative', 'Uruk and the first colonialism' (4th millennium BC), 'Byblos and Egypt: reciprocity and shared ideologies', 'The Assyrian trade network in Anatolia: the metropolis' and ditto '...: the colonies' make up Part II (but how far are these simply trading posts with few if any political or social dimensions and how instructive when considering later Phoenician establishments?). What is 'state' and what is 'private' and how can they be properly unscrambled? Markets are a necessary but not a sufficient condition for a market economy, but is so much focus on the presence or absence of the latter in antiquity a distraction?

Excavations, Surveys, etc.: From the Balkans to Persia

Pistiros V⁴² continues the series of reports on the joint international project there to the same format as its predecessors. An interim report on work between 2006 and 2010 by

⁴¹ M.E. Aubet, *Commerce and Colonization in the Ancient Near East*, translated by Mary Turton, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, vii+414 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-521-51417-0.

⁴² J. Bouzek, L. Domaradzka, A. Gotzev and Z.H. Archibald (eds.), *Pistiros V: Excavations and Studies*, Report on Joint Project of Excavations and Studies by the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, Charles University in Prague, University of Liverpool and Archaeological Museum 'Prof. M. Domarski', Septemvri, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague, Prague 2013, 288 pp., illustrations, 72 colour plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-80-7308-460-8.

Alexey Gotzev prefaces detailed individual reports from the Bulgarians missions (three, by Gotzev and Valentina Taneva), Czech mission (four, by Jan Bouzek *et al.*) and British mission (one: Zosia Archibald), followed by 15 papers on particular finds (terracottas, amphorae, other pottery, lamps, loom weights and spindle whorls, graffiti, moulds, metal objects and tools, glass, sealings, pottery, etc., many by Bouzek or Bouzek *et al.* and others by Gotzev, Archibald, Lidia Domaradzka, etc.). Three 'scientific papers' – palaeobotanical analysis in Septemvri/Pistiros and its environs by Tsvetana Popova; a study of the geomorphological environment of the Emporion Pistiros area by Baltakova *et al.*; and animal bone deposits at Adjiyska Vodentitza, Vetren, by Sue Stallibrass – conclude the main business. A one-page addenda makes some corrections to previous datings and to references to material in the Septemvri Museum. The 72 colour plates complement the other illustrations (mainly line drawings).

*Die frühbronzezeitliche Siedlung...*⁴³ is a thorough publication of excavations results from work between 1994 and 2008 at the Early Bronze Age site of Kanlıgeçit in Turkish Thrace by a dozen Turkish and German contributors, within a larger project directed by the editors Mehmet Özdoğan and Hermann Parzinger. Contributions in English (predominantly) and German, plus a short summary in Turkish: geophysical prospection, the cultural sequence, stratification and architectural remains; ceramics from the 1994–98 excavations and selectively from 1999 onwards (pp. 53–182); metal finds; anthropomorphic sculpture; clay, bone and horn finds; chipped and ground stone works; human remains; animals and hunting; and a concluding chapter on the site's context in relation to Early Bronze Age Anatolia, the Aegean and the Balkans (settlement sequence, absolute chronology, trade systems, etc.). Solidly produced in all respects, as might be expected from the editors and from Philipp von Zabern, the publisher, and comprehensively illustrated.

*Die Marienkirche in Ephesos*⁴⁴ traces the development of building and rebuilding on the site from an Imperial temple to Hadrian as Zeus Olympios, in seven phases. The introduction outlines these phases and tabulates the finds of architectural details in terms of find-spot, date and phase. Chapter 2 considers the building shortly before the Council of AD 431, Chapter 3 the church and baptistery in AD 500, and so on via the erection of the dome in Phase 5 to the church in AD 600, then modifications over the following 500 years and conclusions. A catalogue of the 169 finds follows (pp. 71–96), divided between liturgical (Early Christian; Middle Byzantine) and architectural (capitals, columns and column bases, door frames and cornices, etc.), all illustrated in the plates at the end of the volume.

⁴³ M. Özdoğan and H. Parzinger, *Die frühbronzezeitliche Siedlung von Kanlıgeçit bei Kırklareli: Ostthracien während des 3. Jahrtausends v. Chr. Im Spannungsfeld von anatolischer und balkanischer Kulturentwicklung*, Archäologie in Eurasien 27, Studien in Thrakien-Marmara-Raum 3, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Stiftung Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Berlin 2012, xi+286 pp., illustrations, 5 plans in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-4513-2.

⁴⁴ A. Degasper, *Die Marienkirche in Ephesos: Die Bauskulptur aus frühchristlicher und byzantinischer Zeit*, Ergänzungshefte zu den Jahreshften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes 14, Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut, Vienna 2013, 106 pp., illustrations, 59 plates and 1 fold-out. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-900305-62-8/ISSN 1727-2502.

Overall format similar to BAR, and with all relevant ground-plans and plentiful illustrations. One-page summary in Turkish.

*Architektonische Tonreliefs*⁴⁵ is a physically similar volume focused on the clay reliefs from excavation of the basilica in the State Market in Ephesus: description of find-spot, layers, finds, their production, reconstruction of the friezes A1 and A2 (and use and purpose), stylistic evaluations and dating (pp. 35–50), comparison with other such reliefs, the importance of the finds, etc., the *stoa*, and a catalogue of the 44 finds with related tabulations. Colour photographs and line drawings of the reliefs, depiction of reconstructed friezes, profiles/sections and plans.

*The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus*⁴⁶ is mostly a description of 77 amphora types (1–71 with some subdivisions), sandwiched between a short account of the historical background, a description of the sites (including surveys and stratigraphy) and a chapter on food and amphora production in Ephesus and the Cayster valley, on the one hand, and, on the other, a brief discussion (with Turkish translation), details of the petrology (Roman Sauer), appendices ('The Ephesian connections of a Roman banker. The case of Gaius Curtius Postumus', his life, role in Egyptian politics and the amphorae stamped POST.CVRT; and briefly 'Caius Laecanius Bassus Caecina Paetus in Ephesus'), bibliographies, etc. Well executed and comprehensively illustrated (including photomicrographs).

*Hadrianopolis II*⁴⁷ publishes the glass finds from this centre in south-western Paphlagonia. Much of the text is provided in German and English, with a very short summary in Turkish, but not the description of Bath A, Bath B and the other buildings from which the finds were recovered – nor the catalogue of finds.

Zeynep Kuban's architectural examination of *Die Nekropolen von Limyra*,⁴⁸ based on her dissertation submitted to the Technical University of Istanbul in 1997, revised in 2004 and updated bibliographically to mid-2009, is dedicated to the memory of Thomas Marksteiner, the immediate past director of the Limyra excavations, who died prematurely in 2011 (after writing his Vorwort). It is appropriate that the volume appears in 'his' series, and Phoibos, in collaboration with the Austrian Archaeological Institute, have produced it very attractively. There are five chapters of text (as befits the work's origins, with numbered sub-headings of many levels) – a history of research, typological analysis, technical examination of the graves, Persian and Greek influence on the necropoleis – book-ended by

⁴⁵ C. Lang-Auinger, *Architektonische Tonreliefs aus der Basilika am Staatsmarkt in Ephesos*, Denkschriften der phil.-hist. Klasse 442, Archäologischen Forschungen 22, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2012, 78 pp., 39 plates (several in colour), 1 fold-out. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-6953-6.

⁴⁶ T. Bezczky, with contributions by P. Scherrer and R. Sauer, *The Amphorae of Roman Ephesus*, Forschungen in Ephesos 15/1, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vienna 2013, xviii+269 pp., illustrations, 101 pp. of plates (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7001-7062-4.

⁴⁷ S. Fünfschilling and E. Laflı, *Hadrianopolis II: Glasfunde des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts aus Hadrianopolis, Paphlagonien (Turkei)*, Internationale Archäologie 123, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2013, 78 pp., illustrations, 26 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-497-2/ISSN 0939-561X.

⁴⁸ Z. Kuban, *Die Nekropolen von Limyra: Bauhistorische Studien zur Klassischen Epoche*, Forschungen in Limyra 4, Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut/Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2012, 419 pp., illustrations, 9 fold-outs in pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-85161-049-9.

introduction and conclusions (plus a brief summary in Turkish). Then we have the catalogue of Nekropole I–XI (pp. 129–391), grave by grave, fully illustrated by line drawings and photographs (accompanying the entries), which is the core of the work and a valuable reference tool. Good plans.

*Die Nekropelen von Diokaisereia*⁴⁹ is quite similar: large format and high production standards, based on the author (Johannes Linnemann)'s dissertation (submitted to the University of Rostock in 2009/10). An introduction, chapters (minutely subdivided) on the setting and context of Diocaesarea, a survey/descriptions of its five necropoleis (North, East, South, West and North-West), the sarcophagi (including chamosoria and lids), rock-cut tombs (categorised and considered in all aspects from arcosolia, chamosoria, chamber tombs and niches down to funeral feasts), grave-houses/constructions, funerary altars, inscriptions, tomb-owners (names, ethnicity, religion) and conclusions; and then the catalogue of graves from the necropoleis (again the invaluable core of the volume), plus eight graves from without them but standing within the modern village area, and a brief concordance of inscriptions with grave numbers (pp. 151–238). The plans are excellent, housed in a pocket inside the back cover. A feature here is the 64 pages of colour plates (though line drawings are often more useful). Once again, most value lies in the systematic presentation of descriptive data.

*Aphrodisias VI*⁵⁰ has appeared hot on the heels of *V* and benefits from the same underlying support and the same high production standards and lavish, high-quality illustrations (drawings, maps, reconstructions and plentiful black-and-white photographs) well matched to the subject and the text. Superlatives are in order. This publication of the Sebasteion marble reliefs is the rich distillation of decades of work at the site by R.R.R. Smith and his collaborators, but the work spreads beyond the iconography (arrangement) and interpretation of the reliefs to examine all aspects of the Sebasteion complex, its sponsors, planning and construction, style and technique, context, etc. (and rediscovery and excavation); and onward to a consideration of the city's relationship with Roman power and of that with its own local (Greek) traditions and identity: i.e. global and local, myth and history, the propagandistic element in a glorification of Roman imperial power in which emperors are juxtaposed with (and transmuted into) athletic Greek heroes (the flesh made myth), etc. Indexed – and modestly priced to be within an individual's budget, not just for deep-pocketed institutions.

*Hasanlu V*⁵¹ is a hefty publication of periods VIa–IVc of Hasanlu Tepe in Iranian Azerbaijan, i.e. the Late Bronze and Iron I era, the core area of the Early Western Grey Ware

⁴⁹ J.C. Linnemann, *Die Nekropolen von Diokaisareia*, Diokaisareia in Kilikien, Ergebnisse des Surveys 2001–2006, 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2013, xv+247 pp., 64 colour plates, 6 maps in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-025735-9.

⁵⁰ R.R.R. Smith, *Aphrodisias VI: The Marble Reliefs from the Julio-Claudian Sebasteion*, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Mainz 2013, xvi+373 pp., illustrations, 175 plates, 1 fold-out. Cased. ISBN 978-3-8053-4605-4.

⁵¹ M.D. Danti, with contributions by M. Cifarelli, *Hasanlu V: The Late Bronze and Iron I Periods*, Hasanlu Excavation Reports III, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia 2013, xxvii+483 pp., illustrations, map in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-1-934536-61-2.

horizon of the later 2nd millennium BC. It is divided between seven chapters ('Ušnu-Solduz and the Lake Urmia Region in the Later 2nd Millennium'; the definition of 'Hasanlu V', research questions and history of scholarship; stratigraphy, architecture and radiocarbon dating; an overview of the ceramic assemblages; 'The Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Iron I Graves of Hasanlu and Dinkha'; personal ornaments, M. Cifarelli; and Conclusions) and seven appendices (pp. 331–419): 'Archaeological Survey and Reconnaissance of Ušnu-Solduz', radiocarbon dates, catalogues of burials and of personal ornaments, architectural dimensions, a 'Concordance of Section Numbers and Stratum descriptions', etc.), fully illustrated by line drawings, plates, maps and fold-outs. The University of Pennsylvania Museum, underwritten by two private foundations, showing what can still be done (though, as the volumes reviewed above show, usually by German publishers).

*Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity*⁵² is the opulent publication of a large fieldwork project conducted between 2005 and 2009 by the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicraft and Tourism Organization, the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research and the Universities of Edinburgh and Durham, supported by many bodies including the Iran Heritage Foundation and the British Institute of Persian Studies (under whose auspices it has been published). This is a considerable achievement, commensurate with its subject, the Great Wall of Gorgān (erroneously 'Alexander's Wall' in many guides), stretching for almost 200 km in Golestān province in northern Iran, lined by over 30 forts, and originally on an even greater scale: submerged by the Caspian at its western end; extending much further east, according to old reports. Also included is the shorter but similar Tammīseh Wall, to which once it might have been linked. The 'History of Research', Chapter 2, encompasses Mediaeval and Modern sources and lists the many alleged dates of the wall's construction (stretching over a millennium!). Section B embodies twelve chapters of 'Field Research': landscapes (physical geography, land use and settlement, survey methods, the hydraulic landscape and water supply, fortifications on the Gorgān Plain, and a site catalogue for the survey); brick kilns alongside the wall; the architecture of the wall; forts, fortlets and watch-towers; brick kilns, architecture and forts of the Tammīseh Wall, and mountain strongholds and refuges above it; later linear earthworks; Sasanian campaign bases; Dasht Qāleh, a Sasanian city in the Gorgān Plain; and Qelīch Qōīneq as a case study in early urban expansion. A set of 'Specialist Contributions' follow: an underwater survey of the Tammīseh and Gorgān walls, archaeomagnetic studies of features along both walls, OSL dating, Sasanian ceramics from the Gorgān Wall and other sites on the Gorgān Plain, glass and bead, animal bones, charcoal, bitumen. Lengthy conclusions, involving global comparisons, Caspian maritime trade, thoughts on the strength of the Sasanian army, the nature of the Sasanian state (centralised or loose confederacy) and ancient geopolitics. And the walls? They are contemporary with similar ones on the west coast of the Caspian (Azerbaijan), were probably between AD 438 and 484, and were abandoned at some point in the first half of the 7th century; and an appendix of 19th-century sources on the physical remains

⁵² E.W. Sauer, H. Omrani Rekavandi, T.J. Wilkinson and J. Nokandeh, *Persia's Imperial Power in Late Antiquity: the Great Wall of Gorgān and Frontier Landscapes of Sasanian Iran*, The British Institute of Persian Studies Archaeological Monographs Series II, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2013, xvi+712 pp., illustrations (some in colour), maps on end-papers. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-519-4.

of the wall. Large format, high production standards, thoroughly illustrated. Table of contents and Introduction translated into Farsi. Exemplary. Plugs some of the many gaps in our knowledge of the Sasanian world, shows what that empire could achieve (what did the Sasanians do for us?): not just one of the most extensive defensive structures and well-organised military systems of antiquity, but a densely occupied hinterland of huge square forts covering 40 ha apiece, a sizeable urban population, deployment of massive manpower and the manufacturing capacity of thousands of brick kilns supplied with water via major canals.

Iran: Palaces, Politics, Courts, Exhibitions

*The Palace of Darius at Susa*⁵³ is on a scale befitting its subject. It is the sort of opulent work one associates more with German publishers; instead, it comes from Tauris and is the translation (finely done) of a French original, to which John Curtis has added an Introduction. The whole project has been generously sponsored by the Iran Heritage Foundation and private donors (members of the Iranian diaspora – one in Bombay [*sic*], presumably from a long-established Parsee family). The plaudits on the dust jacket (from John Boardman, David Stronach and Josef Wiesehöfer) are well deserved but almost unnecessary. Alas, Jean Perrot, the editor died shortly before publication (as had Jean Yoyotte, one of the authors, just before the appearance of the French edition). This volume has already made clear its credentials, and has moved on from glowing tribute to memorial. The front matter includes a timeline and an Achaemenid genealogy; an Appendix provides an edition of the Bisitun inscription. Lavishly and plentifully illustrated in colour throughout with many plans, reconstructions (from the 19th century and later), aerial and satellite photographs, etc. Though the prime aim, duly realised, is a full record of the Achaemenid period at Susa (550–331 BC), and an account of the work and finds of the series of French-led excavations, latterly directed by Perrot, conducted at Susa from the 1880s to 1979, the earlier and later levels are not ignored and nor is the context of Susa within the Achaemenid world. Thus, it ‘covers all bases’ and more besides.

There are 14 chapters: Pierre Briant describes ‘Susa and Elam in the Achaemenid World’, followed by Perrot’s brief introduction to the Cyrus Cylinder (pp. 26–27) and François Vallat’s ‘Darius the Great King’, with another interpolation by Perrot on the history of the antiquities concession that granted the French a monopoly on excavation, before Nicole Chevalier traces ‘The Discoverers of Susa’, including those such as Charles Texier who tried but failed, W.K. Loftus who succeeded, the Dieulafoys in the 1880s, and their French successors (with some biographical sketches, an account of the 1888 Susa exhibition at the Louvre, and de Morgan’s palatial dig-house). Perrot’s first chapter is an account of ‘The Franco-Iranian Programme’ of 1968–79 and such happenstance as floods eroding part of the Apadana mound. Albert Hesse details ‘The Geophysical Survey of the Achaemenid Foundations’ and Daniel Landiray ‘The Archaeological Results’ (with inserts by Perrot on the Apadama foundations, the foundation wall of Artaxerxes II, etc.); Perrot then discusses ‘Restoration [and] Reconstruction’. ‘The Egyptian Statue of Darius’ is scrutinised by Yoyotte,

⁵³ J. Perrot (ed.), *The Palace of Darius at Susa: The Great Royal Residence of Achaemenid Persia*, translated by G. Collon, I.B. Tauris, London 2013, xxxii+506 pp, illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84885-621-9.

with a coda 'Peoples and countries of the Empire' as distributed on the base of the statue, and the 'The Main Achaemenid Inscriptions of Susa' by Vallat (13 of the 36 royal inscriptions found, mostly Darius). 'The Fired Arts' are examined by Caubet and Daucé (ornamental bricks, small faience objects, motifs, Wedjays of the Apadama by Yoyotte), the 'Decorative Arts at Susa during the Persian Period' by Amiet and Frank (including the Acropolis tomb, with Perrot on the bronze of the Acropolis). Rémy Boucharlat, 'Other Works of Darius and His Successors' [at Susa], includes Hesse on 'Marks and stamps on fired clay products' and 'Electrical resistivity survey of the Shaur Palace'; and then Boucharlat places 'Susa in Iranian and Oriental Architecture' and Herman Gasche suggests a new chronological framework 'for the western sector of the three palaces at Babylon conventionally attributed to the Chaldean dynasty' (pp. 436–50). Perrot's insertion, 'Darius at Persepolis', links to his concluding chapter, 'Darius in his Time', appended to which are 'The "winged disc" and Ahuramazda', 'Persia and monotheism' (Jean Soler) and 'Susa and the Bible'. Darius himself seems something of the spectre at this feast.

The Cyrus Cylinder, the clay cylinder-shaped decree from the Achaemenid ruler Cyrus inscribed with a propagandistic account of his conquest of Babylon in 539 BC, is one of the great finds from antiquity. Irving Finkel's *The Cyrus Cylinder* was reviewed in the last issue (*AWE* 15, 314). John Curtis's *The Cyrus Cylinder and Ancient Persia*,⁵⁴ also benefiting from Iran Heritage Fund and related sponsorship (there is no shortage of Iranian exiles willing to help in projects such as this), has a different balance, designed as it is to accompany the British Museum's touring exhibition of that title, centred upon the cylinder, through various venues in the United States in 2013. 'The Many Meanings of the Cyrus Cylinder' are explored by Neil MacGregor in his introductory essay, also talking up American connections. The main text describes 'The Origins of the Persians', provides a 'History of the Persian Empire', then deals with the cylinder (pp. 30–43), Finkel again provides the translation, followed by fragments of a cuneiform tablet and a brick with an inscription of Cyrus, plus commentary on both. The third chapter, 'Main Cities of the Persian Empire', is supplemented by 'New Forms of Writing', 'A New Religion' and 'A New Form of Currency', with detailed descriptions and commentaries on six items from the exhibition, including a plaque from the Oxus Treasure. The fourth, 'The Art and Architecture of the Persian Empire', is accompanied by 'New Types of Seal' – four items with commentary. Finally, 'The Oxus Treasure' – plus a gold bowl, silver bowl with winged lions, a gold armlet and commentary. Buy the book, and then look at the objects – now back in the British Museum.

Bruce Lincoln brings together a collection of 29 of his articles and lectures, published and unpublished (or updated since publication) in *Happiness for Mankind*,⁵⁵ including in his Preface some details of work not included. He nails his colours to the mast in his opening lines, from Sankt Johann, Süd-Tirol: 'One of the many absurdities transmitted to aspiring historians of religion at the University of Chicago in the early 1970s... was the understanding

⁵⁴ J. Curtis, with an introductory essay by N. MacGregor and a translation by I. Finkel, *The Cyrus Cylinder and Ancient Persia: A New Beginning for the Middle East*, The British Museum Press, London 2013, 144 pp., colour illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-7141-1187-2.

⁵⁵ B. Lincoln, *Happiness for Mankind: Achaemenian Religion and the Imperial Project*, Acta Iranica 53, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, xxi+554 pp., illustrations. ISBN 978-90-429-2525-0.

that religion and politics were quite separate domains that had little relevance for each other' (p. xvii). His work is a repudiation of that – based on the realisation that Achaemenid 'rulers theorized themselves as occupying the centerpoint of cosmic space and the midpoint of historic time, a situation that made them the most perfect, most moral of humans, but which also obliged them to wage the fiercest and most desperate of struggles, on which the fate of creation depends' (p. xx). Three series of lectures provide three of the book's five chapters: 'The Politics of the Persian Paradise', 'Human Unity and the Diversity of Peoples in Achaemenian Myth, Art, and Ideology' and 'Aesthetics and the Demonic'. The middle series moves from 'Bisitun and Persepolis' via 'Naqš-e Rostam' to 'Sacred Kingship'. The next chapter is 'Greeks and Persians', containing 'Herodotus as Anthropologist' (alterity and theorising as well as detailing the distinguishing particularities of all peoples; criticising Greek behaviour through words he puts into the mouth of Cyrus), 'On the Sisterhood of Europe and Asia', 'Myth and Diplomacy: Persian Overtures to the Argives', 'Aeschylus's *Persians* and the Categorical Opposition of East and West' and 'On Persian Pedagogy and Greek Machismo'. A group of 'Varia' form the final chapter; 'Cosmogonic Myth and Dynastic Crisis', 'Rebellion and Treatment of Rebels' (the former an anomalous disruption of the political, moral and cosmic order, to be eliminated; the latter highly variable), 'Happiness, Law, and Fear', etc.; and the volume closes with some 'Reflection after the Fact', candidly downplaying as 'intractable, but also relatively unimportant' the question of 'whether Cyrus, Darius, & Co. were "Zoroastrians" or not' (p. 473). A splendid volume. Extensive consolidated bibliography and index.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones's *King and Court in Ancient Persia*⁵⁶ takes the 'Debates and Documents in Ancient History' series beyond the classical world to Achaemenid Persia. Eighty pages of document goblets and images (photographs, reconstructions, reliefs, inscriptions, etc. used) are prefaced by five chapters of debate ('The Great King and His Men', 'Pomp and Circumstance: Monarchy on Display' [monarchy as theatre], 'The Great King in His Empire: The Movable Court', 'Harem: Royal Women and the Court' and 'The Pleasures and Perils of Royal Life'), an Introduction (which dwells on the Court in Tudor England, at Versailles, in Iran up to the Pahlavis, the contrast between the Christian West and the polygamous East, etc.), plus maps, a timeline that includes key sources as well as events, and further reading. As with other volumes in the series, the main issues are introduced and the documentary material is designed to give supporting evidence (for varied interpretations: between the representations, misrepresentations and distortions, deliberate or accidental, in Greek and Biblical sources, and the propagandising of Achaemenid sources – despotic tyrants or paragons of virtue, vengeful conquerors or valiant warriors bringing liberation and peace, etc.). Much use of Ctesias. A very good and compact book for students, and interesting on Courts in general ('succession planning' and the final solution to sibling rivalry had more than another two millennia of life and death in it), but those with a deeper interest should see Jacobs and Rollinger's *Der Achämenidenhof*.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ L. Llewellyn-Jones, *King and Court in Ancient Persia, 559 to 331 BCE*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh 2013, xxx+258 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7486-4125-3.

⁵⁷ B. Jacobs and R. Rollinger (eds.), *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid Court* (Wiesbaden 2010), reviewed in *AWE* 13 (2014), 237–38.

*Tehran 50: Ein halbes Jahrhundert deutsche Archäologen in Iran*⁵⁸ was produced to accompany an exhibition in the Pergamonmuseum, Berlin, December 2011–March 2012, celebrating 50 years of German archaeology (or rather the German Archaeological Institute) in Iran. The build-up is gradual: Germano-Persian contacts and relationships, political and academic, in the 19th century, through to Weimar and the new regime in Iran, with Ernst Herzfeld latterly in the background, moving foreground and to Tehran in the year of Reza Shah's full accession to power. The French monopoly on excavation under the late Qajars was terminated under Reza in 1927, followed promptly by Herzfeld's excavations of Pasargadae and Persepolis (pp. 37–72), until he was forced out of Germany. Then we have archaeology under National Socialism and the Aryan obsession; Eilers in Isfahan (he was interned in Australia after 1941); and a gradual return to normality after 1951, leading a decade later to the establishment of the DAI's Tehran Abteilung (more than half-way through the volume). Congresses, exhibitions, developments in East Germany, Bisotun, Bastam, the 1979 revolution and beyond. And now geophysics, archaeobotany, new methods, new theories and prospects. Various biographies and interviews (Barbara Grunewald, Dietrich Hiff, Wolfram Kleiss); richly illustrated; many fascinating older photographs (from the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the jamboree at Persepolis in 1971).

Festschriften and other Celebratory Volumes

It is a pleasure to see Marc Waelkens celebrated in *Exempli Gratia*.⁵⁹ The warmth and quantity of the various prefatory tributes are well deserved. There are 13 chapters (most in English and the remainder with English abstracts), plus Jeroen Poblome's 'Editorial Note', in effect the introduction, which emphasises that 'this volume is not a *Festschrift* in the strict sense... [but] a wider, thematic platform in which scholars, friends and colleagues close to Marc took the opportunity to reflect critically upon the value of the interdisciplinary message of the Sagalassos Project' (p. 22); and the 'Postscript' by Wolfgang Radt, an assessment of how interdisciplinary archaeology has enriched classical archaeology. The natural, but not exclusive focus, of these contributions is Sagalassos, with which the honorand has been associated for 30 years: 'Two decades of Anastylosis Experience at Sagalassos' (Torun and Ercan), 'Die Dedikation dea Apollo Klarius unter Proculus...' (Werner Eck), 'Two decennia of Faunal Analysis at Sagalassos' (Van Neer and De Cupere), 'Holistic Archaeology and Archaeological Science at Sagalassos...' (Gert Verstraeten), 'Money Makes Pottery Go Round' (Poblome), 'Sagalassos and the Pisidia Srvey Project: In Search of Pisidia's History' (Mitchell and Vandeput), 'Interdisciplinarity in Archaeology and the Impact of Sagalassos on the Komana Research Project' (Burcu Erciyas), 'The Contribution of Regional Surface Survey to Byzantine Landscape History in Greece' (John Bintliff), 'A new *bigio antico* marble from Aghios Petros (Lorenzo Lazzarini), 'Segmented Mills in Classical Antiquity' (David Peacock), 'Interdisciplinary Non-invasive Survey Approaches to Ancient

⁵⁸ B. Helwing and P. Rahemipour (eds.), *Tehran 50: Ein halbes Jahrhundert deutsche Archäologen in Iran*, Archäologie in Iran und Turan 11, Verlag Philipp von Zabern, Darmstadt/Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Eurasien-Abteilung, Berlin 2011, xvi+194 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-8053-4506-4.

⁵⁹ J. Poblome (ed.), *Exempli Gratia: Sagalassos, Marc Waelkens and Interdisciplinary Archaeology*, Leuven University Press, Leuven 2013, 222 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-5867-979-6.

Towns...' (Frank Vermeulen) and 'La nouvelle identité urbaine au Ve siècle dans le Nord de la Gaule' (Raymond Brulet). An exceptionally long *Tabula Gratulatoria*.

Counterpoint,⁶⁰ a weighty volume in all senses, honours Kristian Kristiansen, one of the founding fathers of the European Association of Archaeology, on his 65th birthday. Very nicely produced on glossy paper, several illustrations in colour. The 88 contributions, wide-ranging in scope, place (as far as the western Pacific) and time (the Late Mesolithic to the Cuban Missile Crisis and present-day Venezuela), open with Kristiansen's son and close with Kristiansen himself. They are grouped into sections, as explained and more than adequately introduced by the editors (pp. x–xviii): 'Beyond Academia' (four), 'Landscape, Demography and Subsistence Economy' (eleven, including Natalia Shishlina's 'The Steppe and the Caucasus During the Bronze Age: Mutual Relationship and Mutual Enrichments', and John Bintliff's '... Case Studies and General Theory in the Greek Landscape from Prehistory to Early Modern Times'), 'Rituals, Hoards and Wetlands' (ten), 'Rock Art' (seven), 'Graves and Burial Monuments' (seven, including John Chapman's 'Expansion and Social Change at the Time of Varna' and Viktor Trifonov's 'What Distinguishes Caucasian Megaliths from European Ones?'), 'Materiality and Social Concerns' (ten, such as 'Having an Axe to Grind: an Examination of Tradition in the Sicilian Iron Age' – Christian Mühlenbock), 'Technology and Craftsmanship' (eight), 'Travel and Transmission' (six), 'Problematising the Past' (eleven: Ian Hodder, '... the Selection and Persistence of Traits at Çatalhöyük'; Eszter Bánffy, '... The Neolithic Revolution in the Archaeological Research of Socialist Hungary',⁶¹ parts of which echo with anyone from the former Eastern Bloc), 'Practices of Archaeology' (eight) and 'Heritage Studies' (five). Well edited, though Göteborg creeps in occasionally. An impressive *Tabula Gratulatoria*.

More modest is *Animals, Gods and Men* in honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi,⁶² depicted, cigarette-in-hand, at the Iraq Museum in Baghdad in 1999, who retired in 2012 after nearly 40 years at the University of Turin, latterly as Professor of Parthian and Sasanian archaeology, and after long involvement with Iraq throughout its vicissitudes (the volume was produced before the latest): five contributions on the 'Ancient Near East and Iran', three on the 'Ancient and Classical Greek World', five on 'Hellenistic, Parthian and Sasanian', six on Hatra, two 'Miscellaneous', all but two in English. To sample the sections: Lecomte and Mashkour discuss a mysterious find involving stork and fox remains from Ulag depe, an Iron Age site in south-west Turkmenistan, and Sylvia Winkelman the 'Transformation of Near Eastern animal motifs in Murghabo-Bactrian Bronze Age art'; Maria Conti offers 'Tile stamps depicting a frog on the roof tiles of Selinus (Sicily)'; St John Simpson considers 'Rams, stags and crosses from Sasanian Iraq: elements of a shared visual vocabulary from Late Antiquity'; and Lucinda Dirven, 'A goddess with dogs from Hatra', Ted Kaizer, 'The fish of Allat at Hatra' and Metzger and Girardi, 'Griffins in the

⁶⁰ S. Bergerbrant and S. Sabatini (eds.), *Counterpoint: Essay in Archaeology and Heritage Studies in Honour of Professor Kristian Kristiansen*, BAR International Series 2508, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, xxvi+769 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1126-5.

⁶¹ From that very pre-socialist Transylvanian Hungarian family, I presume.

⁶² A. Peruzzetto, F. Dorna Metzger and L. Dirven (eds.), *Animals, Gods and Men from East to West: Papers in Archaeology and History in Honour of Roberta Venco Ricciardi*, BAR International Series 2516, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, x+206 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1134-0.

architectural decoration at Hatra' show some of what was there. Well edited and thoughtfully assembled.

The 75th birthday of Jürgen Deininger is celebrated by *Das imperial Rom und der hellenistische Osten*.⁶³ The first two contributors, in good English, are from St Petersburg (Eduard Frolov, 'Hellenism and Alexander of Macedon as its First Creator'; Maxim Kholod, 'On the dating of a new Chian inscription concerning the property of returned exiles'); Alain Bresson, 'Wine, oil and delicacies at the Pelousion customs', and Jean-Michel Roddaz, 'Marc-Antoine: mythe, propagande et réalités', provide the other non-German pieces. Burkard Meißner, in 'Betrachtungen über Widerstand', engages with Deininger's Habilitation piece on political resistance to Rome in the Greek lands. The other papers range from 'Zum Einfluss von militärischen Auseinandersetzungen auf die politische Kultur in hellenistischer Zeit' (Volker Grieb) and 'Griechentum in Rom in Spiegel der Namengebung' (Heikki Solin), via 'Imperiale Politik zu Ehren Caesars: Anmerkungen zu Florus II 30, 22' (Karion Sion-Jenkis) and 'Kleopatras politisches Streben im Zusammenspiel mit Caesar' (Christoph Schäfer), to 'Max Weber und der antike Kapitalismus' (Hans Kloft) and 'Johann Gustav Droysen und das hellenistische Iran' (Josef Wieshöfer).

*Archaeology, Artifacts and Antiquities of the Near East*⁶⁴ honours Oscar Muscarella by bringing together 40 of his articles, review articles and papers, 15 on Iran (Sé Girdan, Qalatgah, Agrab Tepe, Dinkha Tepe, Hasanlu, Surkj Dam, Jiroft, Sargon II's 8th Campaign, Bronze Age to Iron Age in north-western Iran, also 'The Iranian Iron Age III Chronology at Muweilah in the Emirate of Sharjah') and five on Anatolia ('King Midas' Tumulus at Gordion', 'The Iron Age Background to the Formation of the Phrygian State', 'Urtian Metal Artifacts...' and two on dating Gordion's Early Phrygian destruction, the first of which appeared in *AWE* 2.2 [2003], 225–52) in the first part of the volume, 'Sites and Excavations'; and the remaining 20, grouped in Part 2 in five roughly equal sections: 'The Aegean and the Near East' ('Urtian Bells and Samos', 'Greek and Oriental Cauldron Attachments', 'King Midas of Phrygia and the Greeks', etc.), 'Artifacts' ('Parasols in the Ancient Near East', Phrygian fibulae – 'my first artefactual love': p. 3 – etc.), 'The Antiquities Market and the Plunder Culture', 'Forgeries' (Ashurbanipal's beaker, von Bissing's Memphis stela, Gudea, 'The Veracity of "Scientific" Testing by Conservators', etc.) and 'Forgeries of Archaeological Provenience'. The pieces were originally published between 1967, in the early years of his career with the Metropolitan Museum, and 2012, post-retirement. Muscarella provides a short introduction and account of his career. A well-merited honour, helpful in bringing together so much of his work, especially that published in more obscure venues (Tehran, Turkish *Festschriften*), and an indicator of a productive life. The firmness of his opinions leaps from the page. This is also an example of how to produce such a volume – the different reference systems cannot be avoided but otherwise

⁶³ L.-M. Günther and V. Grieb (eds.), *Das imperial Rom und der hellenistische Osten: Festschrift für Jürgen Deininger zum 75. Geburtstag*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2012, 211 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10169-1.

⁶⁴ O.W. Muscarella, *Archaeology, Artifacts and Antiquities of the Ancient Near East: Sites, Cultures, and Proveniences*, Cultures and History of the Ancient Near East 62, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2013, vi+1088 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-23666-0.

there is a pleasing feel of uniformity to it. Though much trouble to assemble, an index would help in a work of this sort and length.

*Vessels and Variety: New Aspects of Ancient Pottery*⁶⁵ is dedicated to Annette Rathje on her 70th birthday, but it is not a *Festschrift* as such, despite the Tabula Gratulatoria and a profile of her in the front matter; indeed, Rathje is one of the volume's editors and also contributes a paper: 'The Ambiguous Sex or Embodied Divinity: A Note on an Unusual Vessel in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek'. There are ten others distributed through four sections, including: 'Consumption and Production of Greek Pottery in the Sibaritide during the 8th Century BC' (Jan Kindberg Jacobsen), 'A reinterpretation of the Early Protocorinthian Globular Aryballos' (Hanne Thomasen), 'The Mystery of the Seated Goddess: Archaic Terracotta Figurines of the Northeastern Peloponnese' (Signe Barfoed), '"Head Hunting" in Cyprus' (Lone Wriedt Sørensen), preliminary observations on Greek and colonial material excavated in 2009 in the northern quarter of Croton (Marino *et al.* in Italian), etc. Of particular interest are 'Al Mina Pottery in the National Museum of Denmark' (Stine Schierup), an extensive piece with a catalogue, and '... The Consumption of Campana A Pottery in the Southern Levant and the Black Sea Region' (Handberg, Stone and Hjarl Petersen). There is also 'The Myth of Iphigenia in the Literary and Pictorial Tradition of Greece and Magna Graecia' (Helle Salskov Roberts).

*Altertum und Gegenwart*⁶⁶ is a collection assembled to celebrate the 125th anniversary of the teaching of ancient history at the University of Innsbruck. Contributors are Pierre Briant ('Phillip II. von Makedonien und Friederich der Große in den Überlungen des 18. Jahrhunderts Europe'), Edward Dąbrowa ('The Arsacids and their State', the only contribution not in German), Peter Funke ('... Zu den politischen Funktionen überregionaler Heiligtümer in antiken Bundesstaaten'), Hans-Joachim Gehrke ('Konzepte der Kulturschichtsschreibung'), Bruno Jacobs ('Sprachen, die der König spricht. Zum ideologischen Hintergrund der Mehrsprachigkeit der Achämenideninschriften'), Andreas Mehl ('Zentrum und Peripherie im Hellenismus – Das Seleukidenreich und seine Randzonen'), Lucrețiu Mihailescu-Bîrlița ('Epigraphik, Mobilität und die Politike der Rekrutierung in der römischen Armee. Der Fall der Soldaten und der Veteranen in Moesia Inferior'), Beat Näf ('Alt-Paphos in antiken und modernen Zeugnissen...'), Bernhard Palme ('Die Organisation der Statthalterbüros im spätantiken Ägypten', edited to a slightly different template), Kurt Raflaub ('Der Friede als höchstes Ziel und Gut? Zum Friedensideal im antiken Rom'), Kai Ruffing ('... Die Bedeutung der östlichen Wüste Ägyptens als Transportweg im Ost- und Südhandel der Kaiserzeit'), Christoph Schäfer ('... Überlegungen zur Herrschaftslegitimation in den Diadochenreichen'), Ingomar Weiler ('Erinnerungen an Franz Hampl und sein Werk...') and Josef Wiesehöfer ('Maximilian Duncker und der Alte Orient').

⁶⁵ H. Thomasen, A. Rathje and K.B. Johannsen (eds.), *Vessels and Variety: New Aspects of Ancient Pottery*, Acta Hyperborea 13, Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen 2013, xii+320 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-87-635-3751-3/ISSN 0904-2067.

⁶⁶ R. Rollinger, G. Schwinghammer, B. Truschnegg and K. Schnegg (eds.), *Altertum und Gegenwart: 125 Jahre Alle Geschichte in Innsbruck*, Vorträge der Ringvorlesung, Innsbruck 2010, Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft N.F. 4, Institut für Sprachen und Literaturen der Universität Innsbruck, Innsbruck 2012, xvi+396 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-85124-230-0.

Nine of the dozen papers from a symposium to celebrate the 65th birthday of Gernot Wilhelm have appeared in the trilingual *Diversity and Standardization: Perspectives in Social and Political Norms in the Ancient Near East*.⁶⁷ These range from 'The Anatolian Fate-Goddesses and their Different Traditions', 'Harrâdum, entre Babylone et le "pays de Mari"' (Dominique Charpin) and '... New Ur III Archives and their Implication for Early Old Babylonian History and Culture' (Mirjo Salvini) and 'Gods of Commagene: The Cult of the Stag-God in the inscriptions of Ancoz', 'Neuassyrische Schrift und Sprache in den urartäischen Königsinschriften...' and '... The reception of Mesopotamian traditions in Hittite ritual practice'. The final (and longest) contribution, by Itamar Singer, 'Between scepticism and credulity: In defence of Hittite historiography', focuses on what he sees 'as some of the postmodern excesses and errors in the domain of Near Eastern historiography' (p. 175), adopting a sceptical acceptance of some aspects of postmodernism while rejecting its 'hectic preoccupation with theory and the movement away from the historical context of the subject matter' (p. 200). In doing so he considers the work of Liverani, Cancik and Klinger, and re-examines the historical introductions to state treaties. His broader comments at pp. 200–01 (with footnotes) are commendable. Indexed.

An international symposium was held in Vienna in December 2009 to mark 40 years of excavation at Limyra.⁶⁸ The proceedings have appeared under the editorship of Martin Seyer, the excavation's current director, in a handsome, large-format volume, resembling a site publication. There are two dozen papers of a broad chronological sweep, by 26 authors mainly from or based in Austria, Bavaria or Turkey, mainly in German (except Laurence Cavalier, 'Deux nouveaux temples à Limyra'; Jacques des Courtils, 'Xanthis: état des questions'; Yekda Olcay Uçkan, 'Late Antique and Medieval Urban Texture of Olympos'; Helmut Schwaiger, 'Prehellenistic Domestic Architecture in Limyra'; and Joanita Vroom, '... New Perspectives on Byzantine Pottery from Limyra'). The volume opens with Martina Bachmann's 'Neue Forschungen in Oinoanda' and concludes with Banu Yener-Marksteiner's 'Frühkaiserzeitliche Sigillata der Weststadtgrabung in Limyra 2002–2003'. Jürgen Borchhardt, the founder-director of the excavation, provides an extensive examination of 'Der Mithras-Code in Limyra/Likien' (pp. 67–132, including 24 pages of plates); his successor, the late Thomas Marksteiner, contributed 'Die Siedlungsgeschichte der ostlykischen Polis Limyra: Ein wissenschaftlicher Essay'.

Conferences, etc.

I have long been interested in gift-giving and gift-exchange in the ancient world as a whole, not least for the models and examples it provides for aspects of the relationship between Greek Black Sea (and other) colonies and the local populations in whose lands the Greeks

⁶⁷ E. Cancik-Kirschbaum, J. Klinger and G.G.W. Müller (eds.), *Diversity and Standardization: Perspectives on Social and Political Norms in the Ancient Near East*, Akademie Verlag (De Gruyter), Berlin 2013, xvi+219 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-05-005756-9.

⁶⁸ M. Seyer (ed.), *40 Jahre Grabung Limyra*, Akten des internationalen Symposions Wien, 3.–5. Dezember 2009, Forschungen in Limyra 6, Österreichischen Archäologischen Institut/Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2012, 388 pp., illustrations, plans on endpapers. Cased. ISBN 978-3-900305-63-5/ISSN 1605-7864/

settled. *The Gift in Antiquity*⁶⁹ publishes 14 papers from a conference at Brown University in May 2010 (in Kurt Raaflaub's *Comparative Histories* series), introduced by Michael Satlow as editor and organiser. The participants were from North America, Israel and northern Europe. After grappling with definitions in the Introduction and in the next chapter, 'Ceremonial Gift-Giving: The Lessons of Anthropology from Mauss and Beyond', the topics take us from 'Fictive Giftship and Fictive Friendship in Greco-Roman Society', '... Gifts to the Dead and Ancient Roman Forms of Social Exchange' and 'Marriage Gifts in Ancient Greece', to '... The Repertoire of Christian Gifts in Early Byzantium', '... Mortuary and Devotional Graffiti in the Late Ancient Levant' and '... Gifts to the Poor in Early Rabbinical Judaism', though in no clear order, chronological or thematic. The social, cultural, juridical and religious context and dimensions of the subject are considered, likewise the tensions of expectation – a gift was more than just a gift. No conclusions. Indexed.

*Tarteso. El emporio del metal*⁷⁰ presents material from an international conference of the same title, held in December 2011 at the University of Huelva. The first part contains three essays grouped under 'Presentación del estado de la cuestión tartésica': on Tartessos and the Phoenicians (José Blázquez), written/literary sources on Tartessos (Ancient, Mediaeval and Early Modern: Jaime Alvar, one of the editors) and the brief 'La arqueología Tartésica: realidad y ficción' (Juan Campos, the other editor). The second part, 'Novedades de la investigación', is further divided: 'Tarteso. Orígenes y concepto' (seven papers – genesis, 'precolonial', cultural encounters, locals and Phoenicians, examination of, and reflections upon, ancient geo-ethnographical written sources, etc.), 'Tarteso en el horizonte orientalizante mediterráneo' (five, including Jean-Paul Morel offering comparisons with Colchis and Ayelet Gilboa making a 'reassessment of "early" Phoenicians in the West' in light of recent finds in Huelva), 'Tarteso. La ciudad, el territorio' (three), 'Tarteso y la explotación minera' (three – mines, extractive technology, innovations in Tartessian metallurgy, local traditions, foreign contacts), 'Tarteso. Sociedad y cultura' (seven, including Martín Almagro-Gorbea, Javier de Hoz and Adolfo Domínguez, on aristocracy, Phoenician society in the West, inscriptions, religion, Tartessos from a Helleno-Punic perspective, etc.) and 'Tarteso en la historiografía' (two). Very helpful are the glossary and the 58 pages of indexes (onomastics, toponyms, material). All papers in Spanish except three. The book would have benefited from abstracts in English or French to bring it to the attention of a wider readership.

*Warfare and Society in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean*⁷¹ delivers eight papers from a colloquium in Liverpool in June 2008, prefaced by Stephen O'Brien's Introduction. Sonia Focke, '... Weapons as rewards for Feats on the Battlefield', examines the possible practice

⁶⁹ M.L. Satlow (ed.). *The Gift in Antiquity*, The Ancient World: Comparative Histories, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden, MA/Oxford/Chichester 2013, xii+255 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-4443-5024-1.

⁷⁰ J.M. Campos (Carrasco) and J. Alvar (Ezquerro) (eds.), *Tarteso. El emporio del metal*, Almuzara, Córdoba 2013, 727 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-84-15828-30-3.

⁷¹ S. O'Brien and D. Boatright (eds.), *Warfare and Society in the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean*, Papers Arising from a Colloquium held at the University of Liverpool, 13th June 2008, BAR International Series 2583, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, iii+100 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1208-8.

of rewarding bravery in battle with weaponry in Old, Middle and New Kingdom Egypt, and the value placed on such weapons as grave-goods and heirlooms. Davide Salvo analyses the Roman practice of decimation as a form of military discipline. O'Brien seeks to reinterpret mainland Greece of the Late Bronze Age and the place of warfare in society by repudiating the common evolutionary interpretation of chiefdoms into states before the 'collapse', while Bryan Molloy ('Malice in Wonderland...') suggests that the 'peaceful Minoans, warlike Mycenaeans' model is false, that there is much change over the course of the Bronze Age in material culture and ideology, but also that martial values and technology were not dissimilar on the mainland and Crete. Birgitta Hoffman, 'Soldiers and Civilians – A New Look at Asymmetric Warfare in the Eastern Roman Empire in the 1st to 3rd Century AD', focuses on the campaign in Numidia in AD 238 and Rome *vs* irregulars in the particular circumstances of *Legio III Augusta*, itself recruited from Numidia. Conor Whately challenges the view that the aristocracy of the Eastern empire remained unmilitarised for several centuries after its Western counterpart and considers distinctly 'cultural' and 'social' militarisation. Carola Vogel examines the sickle sword in the Egyptian Late Bronze Age as in 'Icon of Propaganda and Lethal Weapon...' – the former in art, the latter increasingly over time. Alan Greaves conducts a methodological review of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder in ancient Greece.

*Amazonen zwischen Griechen und Skythen*⁷² derives from an international conference held in Ephesus at the end of September 2011. The dozen contributions (plus introduction), divided into three sections ('Bipolarität als Mythos und Funktion', 'Geschlechterdiskurs, Kontakt und Austausch' and 'Bilddiskurse – Offenheit und Unschärfe'), largely escape the narrows of gender discourse and provide an interesting mixture. Michaela Rücker opens with 'Nomads als das ganz Andere?', Christine Taube provides 'Literarische Amazonenbilder der Antike', Askold Ivatnchik ponders 'Amazonen, Skythen und Sauromaten: alte und modern Mythen' and Charlotte Schubert 'Amazonen und Transvestiten...'. Amazons and the Artemision at Ephesus engage Anton Bammer and Ulrike Muss as well as Robert Fleischer. My main interest was in the chapters 'Amazonen auf Kertscher Vasen' (Martin Langner) and 'Die Amazonenmythos in der Kunst griechischer Schwarzmeerstädte' (Jochen Fornasier with Jana Nathalie Burg). All papers in German. Indexed. The attractive illustrations are well reproduced. I am Gocha (p. 256) not Gotcha (pp. 215, 217). In respect of these two last-mentioned papers, a more consistent approach is needed to the transliteration or otherwise of Cyrillic in text, bibliographies and indexes (for example, Kertscher or Kerčer), and to the treatment and alphabetisation of 'von'.

Not a conference proceedings but a child of the Seminar für Alte Geschichte at Freiburg, *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone*⁷³ contains nine papers, most originally written in German, arranged in roughly chronological order: 'Ruling alone: Monarchy in Greek Politics and Thought' and 'To Die like a Tyrant' by Nino Luraghi, the editor, and '... Hieron

⁷² C. Schubert and A. Weiß (eds.), *Amazonen zwischen Griechen und Skythen: Gegen bilder in Mythos und Geschichte*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 310, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2013, 278 pp., 54 black-and-white and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 938-3-11-028609-0/ISSN 1616-0452.

⁷³ N. Luraghi (ed.), *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean*, Studies in Ancient Monarchies 1, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2013, 284 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-10259-9.

of Syracuse in the Epinicia of Pindar and Bacchylides' (Christian Mann) precede Hans-Joachim Gehrke's 'The Victorious King: Reflections on the Hellenistic Monarchy', first published in German some 30 years previously and here updated, which is the hub of the volume to which other papers connect. The Hellenistic period and the practices, justification, interactions and influences of Hellenistic kingship absorb the remaining five contributions: 'Agathocles and Heiro II: Two Sole Rulers in the Hellenistic Age and the Question of Succession' and '... The Communicative Function of Treatises on Kingship in the Hellenistic Period' (both Matthias Haake), 'Becoming Kings: Spartan Basileia in the Hellenistic Period' (Alexander Walthall), 'The castrated King, or: The Everyday Monstrosity of Late Hellenistic Kingship' (Ulrich Gotter: the Attalids of Pergamum and prestige investment in monuments and culture to offset the circumstances of their rise – see, the next review; Commagene; Mithradates VI) and 'Between Hellenistic Monarchy and Jewish Theocracy: The Contested Legitimacy of Hasmonean Rule' (Kai Trampedach). Overall, an integrated group of papers that bring out common threads from Archaic tyranny in Sicily onwards, not least legitimacy (its acquisition, through military success, ability in action binding ruler and subjects; its loss through weakness and failure), but also succession and succession planning.

Six of the eight contributions in Peter Thonemann's *Attalid Asia Minor*⁷⁴ derive from a seminar series at Oxford in Trinity Term 2010. He supplies 'The Attalid State, 188–133 BC' (and its economic underpinning and ideological power). There was a need to develop the former – Michael Mann's 'infrastructure power' – to counterbalance the weakness of the latter – his 'despotic power' – thanks to the Attalids having had greatness thrust upon them by Rome at Apameia. This led to a new type of 'consensual/bureaucratic' structure, a marked contrast with the traditional 'despotic/federal' structure of other major Near Eastern/Hellenistic polities. John Ma follows with 'The Attalids: A Military History', Boris Chrubasik with 'The Attalids and the Seleukid Kings, 281–175 BC', Philip Kay asks 'What Did the Attalids Ever Do for Us?...' (relations with Rome), then come Andrew Meadows ('The Closed Currency System of the Attalid Kingdom'), François de Callatay ('The Coinages of the Attalids and their Neighbours: A Quantified Overview') and Richard Ashton ('The Use of the Cistophoric Weight-Standard Outside the Pergamene Kingdom'), to conclude with Selene Psoma's 'War or Trade? Attic-Weight Tetradrachms from Second-Century BC Attalid Asia Minor in Seleukid Syria after the Peace of Apameia...'. Thus, state, international relations and money, then a combination, fulfilling the volume's subtitle and showing clearly the importance of numismatics to doing so. Political economy at its best. A combined bibliography and a consolidated index. No Introduction or Conclusion.

An attractive volume on funerary rituals⁷⁵ opens the *Qatna-Studien Supplementa* series, co-edited by Peter Pfälzner, the series editor, who also contributes ('How Did They Bury the Kings of Qatna?'), and well produced in large format by Harrassowitz. It is a sign of the

⁷⁴ P. Thonemann (ed.), *Attalid Asia Minor: Money, International Relations, and the State*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxi+335 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-965611-0.

⁷⁵ P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka and A. Wissing (eds.), *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East*, Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School 'Symbols of the Dead' in May 2009, *Qatna-Studien Suppl.* 1, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2012, ix+312 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-06820-8/ISSN 2195-4305.

times that all 21 papers in these proceedings of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School 'Symbols of the Dead', most of them written by Germans, are in English. The focus is funerary ritual in the Near East. Alfonso Archi provides a lengthy account of the 'Cult of Ancestors and Funerary Practices at Ebla'; we pass through Tell Ahmar, Early Bronze Age funerary customs in northern Mesopotamia, Syria and the Middle Euphrates, Middle Bronze Age Hurrian Urkesh, the Amorite-period royal archives of Mari and mortuary practice in Jericho, to Egyptian funerary ritual, spatial order in Middle Elamite tombs, stelae in Phoenician burial customs and an ethnological perspective on Kyrgyz funerals and memorials. A central block of papers focuses on Ugarit: mortuary offerings mentioned on two stelae, food and libations for the royal dead, 2nd-millennium BC urban mortuary practices there and at Enkomi.

Miscellaneous Monographs

John Curtis's *Late Assyrian Metalwork*⁷⁶ is a handsome publication of his PhD thesis from 1979, much cited but unavailable in any electronic format. He admits, in his Foreword, that he has been prevented by other activities from devoting the time he had intended to produce an updated version for publication (these review pages have borne witness to some of his endeavours). The point, well made and well taken, is that much here is primary data, unpublished anywhere else. Additional bibliography is provided and references to others' work-in-progress given in the front matter. Then the thesis: 'Review of the Evidence', 'Tools and Weapons', 'Fixtures and Fittings', 'Tripods, Vessels and Weights', 'Furniture and Boxes', 'Horse Harness and Chariot Fittings', 'Personal Ornaments', 'Varia', 'The Industry', 'Conclusions', a catalogue of 50 pages, concordances, plus a 'Scientific Analysis of Copper Alloy Metalwork from Nimrud' (by Matthew Ponting, in 1994/95), and 100 pages of plates.

*Creating a Common Polity*⁷⁷ bravely combines religion, politics and the economy in a weighty work on the making of the Greek *koinon* that is, as it seeks to be, a worthy successor to J. Larsen's *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968). Federalism is a concept beyond the grasp of many of the inhabitants, politicians and public servants in modern-day federal polities (certainly Australia, mentioned glowingly on p. 1, which practises façade federalism). Political scientists might consult this book with benefit. The current work, which has distant origins in Emily Mackil's doctoral thesis, concentrates on Boeotia (how typical was it?) and Achaia and Aetolia (occasionally on Chalcidice and Thessaly), noting that almost half the *poleis* of mainland Greece and the Peloponnese had become part of one federal state/league/*koinon* or another by the late 4th century BC. It combines all sorts of evidence, necessarily in view of variable survival – though it is a bit light on archaeology – to establish a foundation for argument and comparisons. Part 1, 'Cooperation, Competition, and Coercion: A Narrative History', gives you just what it claims – a brisk and balanced account,

⁷⁶ J. Curtis, with an appendix by M.J. Ponting, *An Examination of Late Assyrian Metalwork with Special Reference to Nimrud*, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2013, xii+242 pp., 100 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-507-1.

⁷⁷ E. Mackil, *Creating a Common Polity: Religion, Economy, and Politics in the Making of the Greek Koinon*, The Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature, University of California Press, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2013, xxvii+593 pp., 9 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-0-520-27250-7.

albeit with omissions, from the 5th century BC to the middle of the 2nd, to provide the framework for the thematic Part 2, 'Interactions and Institutions' (pp. 147–407), the core of the work. This is divided into three chapters: cultic, economic and political. In the first, Mackil shows important differences between the three leagues; she also provides examples of how political developments influenced religious ones as well as how religious developments fed through into the political sphere (sanctuaries foster movement by attracting visitors, and movement is one foundation for regional networks that might develop into political entities). On economics, there is also the chicken and the egg: (how) did/does economic integration foster political integration, or was/is it the other way round? And what about monetary union – here co-operative coinage – and federal taxation? Tension is a recurrent theme: between *polis* and league, interdependence and independence, personal and civic identity and with what to identify. Surely there are some current resonances and perhaps some lessons to be learnt? The 'Epigraphic Dossier' (pp. 409–504) is a valuable adjunct, containing the most important epigraphic texts cited in the body of the volume, in original and in commented translation. Interesting observations combine with valuable information to create a very important study, deliberately accessible to the non-specialist reader. Extensive indexes. A history of dysfunctional federalism across two and a half millennia is a book awaiting an author – though a task even more daunting than the one Mackil set herself here.

*Athens, Thrace, and the Shaping of Athenian Leadership*⁷⁸ breaks with and out of what might be termed the Atheno-centric approach to Athenian history (akin to histories of modern Britain with the imperial dimension left out, marginalising the wider Athenian and Britannic worlds respectively). Equally, Thracology, though booming, sticks to its last as well. There are six main chapters and a brief Epilogue. The first provides sources and methodology (a mite simplistic), outlines the book, etc., but also considers the *emporion* of Pistiros as a case study of material evidence in Thrace, and how Athenian democracy proved stifling for ambitious aristocrats (and Thrace was close at hand and open to adventure, adventurers and adventurism: go North young man?), then 'Thrace as Resource and Refuge I: The Pisistratids to Thucydides' and '... II: Alcibiades to Iphicrates' (firming relationships and exploiting Thrace's rich resources either for settling down and ruling or as a springboard for a return, enhanced in fame, fortune and future influence, to Athens – but in what circumstances did they go and, largely, return?), 'Athenian Ambivalence towards Thracians and Thracophiles' (Thracians in Athens, the adoption of the cult of Bendis in Athens, etc. set against the stereotyping of the warlike barbarian by Athenian authors), 'The Cultural Appeal of Thrace for the Athenian Elite' (a utopia in which to play out a sub-Homeric past: gold masks, vase-painting, helmets, feasting and gift-exchange, religion and hero-cult, etc.) and 'Thrace as Military Academy' (leading to military innovations in Athens from experience gained in Thrace, Thracian mercenaries, use of light infantry, etc.). An interesting argument, but how levelling and constrictive was Athenian democracy? And how complex were the personal, political and trading networks linking the Greeks (not just Athenian or metropolitan) with the Thracians and 'other' societies? English-language bibliography predominates.

⁷⁸ M.A. Sears, *Athens, Thrace, and the Shaping of Athenian Leadership*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xvi+328 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-03053-4.

It is gratifying to record the publication in English (generally well translated) of *From Eurasia to Europe: Crete and the Aegean World*,⁷⁹ the last work of the late Yuri Andreyev of Department of Classical Archaeology in the Institute for the History of Material Culture, Russian Academy of Sciences, St Petersburg, a grand narrative firmly in the Eastern European tradition, left in an advanced state of (in)completeness at the time of his sudden death in 1998 (published in Russian in 2002). The involved process of editing is explained in the front matter; an appendix (pp. 507–12) brings an alternative version of the immediately preceding Conclusion: what had been a summary is now more speculative, containing thoughts on the evolution of the *polis* out of the discord. No attempt has been made to update the text or bibliography (even to 1998). The work consists of two sections, first ‘The Aegean Cultures and Civilizations in the Bronze Age’ (pp. 3–411), divided into ‘The Aegean World on the Threshold of Civilization (The Early Bronze Period)’, ‘The Minoan Civilization in the Middle and Late Bronze Age’ (palaces old and new, thalassocracy, Minoan matriarchy, society and personhood in Cretan art), ‘Religion and Art in Minoan Crete’ (the longest part: nature of the religion, the principal figures of the pantheon, the Bull cult, death and afterlife, speculation on belief systems more than analysis of religious behaviour through material remains) and ‘The Aegean World in the 2nd Millennium: Basic Tendencies of Historical Development’ (other civilisations, the Mycenaeans), with various of these parts further divided into chapters, appendices, etc., the whole prefaced by a short presentation of the problems to be tackled. The tone, if not entirely Marxist (Blavatskaya takes a hit, and so do purely material factors), is somewhat Whiggish with Marxist baggage (and with a view of Minoan Crete anchored to other long-displaced theories), with no doubt about what is barbarism and what is civilisation, but aware of the irregular and discontinuous evolution from one to the other. There is no anguish or hair-splitting over terminology, nor refined delineations. The Aegean cultures of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages are links in the chain from Eurasia to Europe, and many ‘pre-Hellenic’ and ‘proto-European’ values and characteristics can be identified (at least in embryo, and in differentiation from the structures of the Near East), jostling with the tribalism of mass burials, matriarchy, absorption of individuals into the group. Section II, ‘Greece During the Dark Ages’ (pp. 415–502), has three chapters: tribal migrations and the problems of cultural continuity, the beginnings of the Early Iron Age, ‘Ionian colonization’, the birth of Greek art the onset of the Archaic period and the problem of the ‘Greek Renaissance’. The volume has been handsomely produced and is well illustrated. An extensive bibliography of Western and Eastern sources reflects the wide body of scattered material (literary, mythological and, especially, archaeological) here brought together. The three indexes reflect these three types of evidence, but, in view of the great effort over such a long time to bring us this volume, a synthetic/subject index would have been a boon.

*The Ancient Sailing Season*⁸⁰ is closely based on James Beresford’s Oxford doctoral dissertation but does not feel like the book of the thesis. His aim, *contra* the title, is to disabuse

⁷⁹ Y.V. Andreyev, *From Eurasia to Europe: Crete and the Aegean World in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages (3rd–Early 1st Millennia BC)*, Monographs on Antiquity 6, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Walpole, MA 2012, xiv+553 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-429-2723-0.

⁸⁰ J. Beresford, *The Ancient Sailing Season*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 351, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2013, xv+364 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-22352-3/ISSN 0169-8958.

us of any lingering thought that there was a season and a definite closed season. Winter navigation of the Mediterranean was not merely possible but practicable and quite normal. Antique maritime practices were no more frozen in time than ships frozen in harbour – and what might apply to one type of vessel in one part of the Mediterranean at some particular time should not be generalised. Between Introduction and Conclusion, the six chapters consider ‘The Textual Evidence’ for winter navigation (successfully challenging that of Hesiod, Gratian, etc., used traditionally to deny it, at least in many modern interpretations, reinterpreting it, and introducing many other ancient authors to counter it), ‘The Mediterranean Climatic Regime’ (winds, rains and storms; tides and currents; daylight; but primarily micro-regional variations and variabilities, now and then), ‘Ships and Sails’ (somewhat traditional in interpretation and outdated in sources, but not the core of the work), ‘Navigation’ (in conditions of thick cloud, heavy rain, poor visibility and diminished daylight; the use of sounding leads; nocturnal sailing; coastal navigation and shore-based navigational aids, etc.), ‘The Sailing Season of the Indian Ocean’ (i.e. winter navigation there) and ‘Ancient Pirates and Fishermen’ (their particular sailing seasons). Plentifully illustrated with (weather) maps and charts. A preponderance of English-language bibliography. This is a most impressive exercise in revisionism, certain of a long voyage.

*The Topography and the Landscape of Roman Dacia*⁸¹ is based on Florin Fodorean’s doctoral dissertation of 2004 (published in Romanian with an English summary),⁸² buttressed by a further decade of research and a broadening of the focus from the roads of his dissertation to the landscape and topography of the current title. Chapter 1, ‘The Geographical Perception and the Roads of the Roman Empire and Dacia. A General Overview’, includes geographical knowledge of Dacia before the Roman conquest, the campaign of conquest and the construction of the first roads. Chapter 2, ‘Ancient Sources Concerning the Roads of Roman Dacia. The Main Arteries North of the Danube’, opens with the Peutinger map, considers the state of research, and then turns to milestones and specific roads. ‘Elements of the Dacian Landscape. Roads and Rural Settlements’ focuses on Potaissa and environs (including the aqueducts), Napoca, Ilişua, bridges, certain specific roads, roads after the abandonment of Dacia, etc. Chapter 4 then shifts to ‘Recreating the Landscape of Roman Dacia Using Historical 19th Century Cartography, Digital Data and GIS’. Extensive bibliography (pp. 77–94), and 53 pages of illustrations (predominantly maps and plans). A valuable exercise in making hitherto largely inaccessible research available: as Kai Brodersen pointedly remarks in his Preface (p. vii), only one copy of the Romanian book-of-the-thesis is known in any UK library.

It is the Black Sea (colonial) context – the setting is the southern coast of the Crimea – that brings Edith Hall’s *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris*⁸³ before us: her ‘Timeline’ (pp. xix–xxiii) combines plays and publications with excavation, and the book itself is a lively exercise in cultural history and reception. No era or medium is ignored in this

⁸¹ F. Fodorean, *The Topography and the Landscape of Roman Dacia*, BAR International Series 2501, Archaeopress, Oxford 2013, vii+147 pp., 53 plates. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1117-3.

⁸² As *Drumurile din Dacia romană* (Cluj-Napoca 2006).

⁸³ E. Hall, *Adventures with Iphigenia in Tauris: A Cultural History of Euripides’ Black Sea Tragedy*, Onassis Series in Hellenic Culture, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013, xxxii+378 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-0-19-539289-0.

sweeping survey through two-and-a-half millennia of one of Euripides' lesser known plays, its interpretation, reinterpretation against changing contexts, and a multitude of derivatives (its tragicomic nature and a hairsbreadth escape infusing popular culture through romantic fiction, Hollywood 'action' films, etc.) – via such byways as a performance of Goethe's *Iphigenia* in Esperanto (Dresden, 1908), and from Bedford College in 1887 to Royal Holloway (and Bedford New College) in 2011 (though not P.D.Q. Bach's *Iphigenia in Brooklyn*). The 13 chapters, prefaced by 'The Play, Its Myth, and the Date of Its First Production', run from 'Rediscovering Tauris' via 'Iphigenia's Imperial Escapades', 'The Christian Conversion of Iphigenia' and 'Gluck's Iphigénie in Pain' up to 'Rites of Modernism' and 'Decolonizing Thoas' (post-colonial dramatists in Mexico and Australia – inspiring plays by Louis Nowra and an opera by Helen Gifford, in which Tauris is relocated to Point Nepean!).

A final thought after seeing how much excellent work comes from small or moderately sized imprints: those who seek to rank everything, including where we publish, might just reflect on the error of their ways.

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Gocha R. Tsetskhladze

A RESPONSE

In her review of M. Manoledakis (ed.), *Exploring the Hospitable Sea* (Oxford 2013), in *AWE* 15 (2016), 437–40, Maya Vassileva refers to and criticises selectively some of its papers, among them mine, entitled 'The Southern Black Sea in the Homeric Iliad: Some Geographical, Philological and Historical Remarks' (pp. 19–37). From her words I realise that Vassileva did not spend enough time to read the whole paper carefully, so I would like to clarify some issues here. Of course, any review is subjective and always welcome, no matter whether it is in agreement or not with the content of the text reviewed. My response here is motivated solely by the fact that Vassileva's words, sometimes quite aggressive, distort the gist of my paper. This appears from the very beginning of the review, where I was surprised to read that I wrote the paper 'in an attempt to affirm early, 8th-century BC contacts of the Greeks with the indigenous population' and more specifically, I 'used the *Iliad* as a source for the Greek colonisation of the southern Black Sea coast'. Anyone who reads the whole paper will immediately understand that this is far from true. The paper consists of three sections: a brief introduction, an 'examination of the southern Black Sea names cited in the Trojan Catalogue', and the 'philological observations and historical remarks' resulting from this examination. In the first, I clearly explain that 'the object of this paper is not to support a particular position regarding the chronological commencement of Greek colonisation', while in the second I try to examine the names of peoples, persons and places of the southern Black Sea that appear in the Trojan Catalogue, by analysing the data available on them. It is after this analysis, in the third section, that the new element which this paper adds to the relevant scholarship, and which Vassileva could not see, becomes clear. Curiously enough, the Catalogue, which tends to avoid references to city names, mentions only three cities of our region of interest, Cytoron, Sesamus and Cromna, surely not the three most important there, while much more significant ones are absent. These cities, however, have

a very important thing in common: they are those that, together with Tieium, supplied the population for the city of Amastris (synoecism). The most important point here is the fact that the three cities remaining after the quick withdrawal of Tieium from the newly-founded entity were Cytoron, Sesamus and Cromna, the three mentioned in the Trojan Catalogue. And it is exactly the same three cities that are also mentioned in the *Argonautica* (2. 941–942) by Apollonius – known to have followed Homer to a considerable extent and in many aspects of his work – three of the only five cities that Apollonius lists among the total *ca.* 42 place-names of the southern Black Sea that he mentions. From this I conclude that the specific part of the Catalogue must have been an interpolation of the 3rd century BC, dated from the period between the withdrawal of Tieium from the amalgamation and the time when the *Argonautica* was completed in its final form, that is, certainly before the end of the century and possibly around the middle. This is something that none of the ‘many serious philological and linguistic studies’ on Homer that Vassileva recalls ever mentioned, as far as I know. Maybe Vassileva knows of a better explanation for the presence of the three specific cities in the *Iliad*, but she does not mention it.

The only part of the paper that seems to have attracted the reviewer’s exclusive interest is the examination by me of the Halizones in two of the 16 pages of the paper. The objection of Vassileva is the connection between Halizones, Chalybes and Alybe that I accept. As she adds, ‘one can likewise argue (and some have done so!) that the metallurgy-related allusions of the Chalybes are reminiscences of the Hittites, or of 2nd-millennium BC Anatolia in general’. I must say that I find this objection justifiable. Vassileva is right to note that the issue of Halizones, Chalybes and Alybe is much discussed, several unproven views have been expressed, and my paper ‘does not offer a well-grounded new perspective on it’. Indeed, it does not. But this was far from having been my purpose! The new perspective of the paper is exactly what I mentioned above. In a whole examination of the Homeric southern Black Sea names, however, I could not omit dealing with the Halizones. Let me be clear here: I strongly believe that the peoples called Halizones by Homer and other authors cannot be securely identified to any peoples that we know of and I am afraid that they will never be. Their very existence is doubtful, in my opinion, but this is something that can also not be proven. However, this should not prevent us from discussing not what *we* think of them, but what we think that the author of the Trojan Catalogue had in mind when he mentioned them. For me, the connection of the Halizones of *Iliad*’s verse 2. 851 (and only those, as I clearly write on p. 26) with the Chalybes *seems more likely*, for the reasons I mention in the relevant part of my paper. This does not mean that I can prove it. And I equally respect the views that prefer to connect them with the Hittites, or others, as far as these views – also unproven, and mentioned by me – are based on scientific thoughts and arguments. I suspect that for some it would be preferable to connect the Halizones with the Thracians, but this would also be purely speculative. And besides, if Vassileva underestimates my contribution to the research of the southern Black Sea peoples of the Trojan Catalogue so much, especially against the so ‘many serious relevant papers’, then why is my paper the only one she cites for the topic in her most recent paper?¹

¹ M. Vassileva, ‘Phrygia and the southern Black Sea littoral’. In G.R. Tsetskhladze, A. Avram and J.F. Hargrave (eds.), *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC–10th Century AD)* (Oxford 2015), 91, n. 1.

To conclude: the reviewer says in the end that ‘the use of the *Iliad* as a source for the Greek colonisation of the southern Black Sea coast cannot stand serious criticism’. First of all, I do not *use* the *Iliad* as source for Greek colonisation. In the two last paragraphs I am clearly talking about Greek *contacts* with the southern Black Sea that preceded the colonisation, which I want to believe that experienced scholars do not equate with Greek colonisation itself. Secondly, I do not know since when and why the expression of thoughts and opinions on possible connections of obscure peoples mentioned in ancient texts with known peoples is blameworthy and not serious. And finally, while any disagreement on a scientific basis is always respectable, it is far from fair and, after all, unscientific, when someone reviewing a paper creates a wrong impression by attacking its author only for a specific issue in the paper which is insignificant within the whole text – and much debatable – and avoids presenting and criticising the main topic of the paper. I understand that for a scholar, spending time to review others’ papers is not the most interesting and creative task, but as long as he undertakes it he must be willing to read the whole paper carefully.

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NEW BOOKS ON PHANAGORIA

N. Povalahev and V. Kuznetsov (eds.), *Phanagoreia, Kimmerischer Bosporos, Pontos Euxeinos*, *Altertümer Phanagoreias* 1, Cuvillier Verlag, Göttingen 2011, 305 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86955-846-2

N. Povalahev and V. Kuznetsov (eds.), *Phanagoreia und seine historische Umwelt, Von den Anfängen der griechischen Kolonisation (8. Jh. v. Chr.) bis zum Chasarenreich (10. Jh. n. Chr.)*, Internationale Konferenz 25.–28. November 2009, Göttingen, *Altertümer Phanagoreias* 2, Cuvillier Verlag, Göttingen 2011 [2012], 369 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-86955-979-7

N. Povalahev (ed.), *Phanagoreia und darüber hinaus.... Festschrift für Vladimir Kuznetsov*, *Altertümer Phanagoreias* 3, Althistorisches Seminar, Universität Göttingen/Institut für Archäologie der RAW, Moskau, Cuvillier Verlag, Göttingen 2014, xx+546 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-95404-709-3

The outstanding place of ancient Phanagoria among the archaeological sites of the northern Black Sea littoral is impressively illuminated by this new series of publications jointly initiated by the members of staff of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, and the Althistorisches Seminar of Göttingen University. The three volumes to have appeared so far differ by size, thematic coverage and character, comprising an example of systematic archaeological and historical publication (vol. 1), the proceedings of an international conference (vol. 2) and a *Festschrift* honouring one of the editors and long-time Field Director of the Phanagoria expedition, Dr V.D. Kuznetsov (vol. 3).

Outer differences, however, cannot hide one feature characteristic of all volumes in the series, namely the scope and multiplicity of the problems raised and tasks solved. The

editors do not restrict themselves purely to the archaeological research of Phanagoria, but in compiling the volumes go far beyond the formal requirements of the series title, and by doing so present some really interesting, but quite distant topics: for example, 'Die urbanistische Entwicklung von Elea in Großgriechenland: von den Anfängen bis zur Umgestaltung der Stadt im 5. Jh. v. Chr.' (V. Gassner), or 'Libyes ante Portas? Die Wahrnehmung der Libyer durch nicht-kyrenaische Autoren' (Golinski) (vol. 3, pp. 419–60 and 461–81 respectively).

Most papers do indeed deal either with specific questions of Phanagorian history and archaeology or with more general problems concerning the historical evolution of the Pontic region as a whole. Kuznetsov and A.A. Zavoikin, who were in charge of the large-scale archaeological investigations of Phanagoria for the last 20 years, have produced an impressive set of papers of two types. On one hand, there are publications of actual archaeological monuments from the territory of Phanagoria or the Cimmerian Bosphoros: Kuznetsov with N. Povalahev, 'Grabinschriften Phanagoreias', pp. 173–79, and Kuznetsov, 'Dachziegelstempel des Kimmerischen Bosphoros (Einige Interpretationsprobleme)', pp. 141–53, both vol. 1; Zavoikin, 'Das sog. Amphorenlager Nr. 290 B im Ereigniskontext der frühen Geschichte Phanagoreias', pp. 91–110, vol. 2; Kuznetsov with M. Abramzon, 'A hoard of 4th–1st centuries BC coins from Phanagoria', pp. 139–92, vol. 3. On the other hand, these two scholars, who might be called at the moment the best connoisseurs of Phanagoria, present essays of a more general character on various aspects of the Bosporan archaeology and history: Kuznetsov, 'Phanagoreia – die Hauptstadt des asiatischen Bosphoros', pp. 11–49, and Zavoikin, "'Große" und "kleine" Städte am Kimmerischen Bosphoros', pp. 51–75, vol. 1; Kuznetsov with Abramzon, 'The Phanagorian revolt against Mithridates VI Eupator (numismatic evidence)', pp. 15–89, vol. 2; Kuznetsov and Zavoikin, 'On the archaeological topography of Phanagoria', pp. 29–52, and Kuznetsov, 'Apatouros', pp. 111–29, vol. 3.

The main editor of the whole series, Povalahev, apart from participating in writing the introductions to each volume (apparently carried away by enthusiasm in the case of vol. 3, which contains a very extensive *Einleitung* practically précising all the papers: pp. 5–26), contributes some interesting essays in which he tries to challenge established opinions on the leading role of the barbarians of the northern Pontus in grain supply ('Woher kam das Korn: Zum Kornreichtum und Kornhandel am Nordpontos', pp. 77–102, vol. 1), or on the role of the Sarmatians in the barbarisation of the Bosporan kingdom during the first centuries AD ('Überlegungen zur Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Phanagoreias', pp. 305–38, vol. 2). He rejects too the hypothesis popular among Soviet and Russian scholars of a special period of dugout construction by the first Greek colonists in the northern Black Sea littoral in the initial stages of their life in the region. However, his suggestion that the simultaneous absence of above-ground houses in the Archaic layers of the North Pontic *poleis* was caused by a high level of destruction is essentially an argument *ex silentio* and does not seem to be fully convincing ('Literarische Tradition und architektonische Ausstattung: Überlegungen zu einer "Sonderstellung" Phanagoreias am Nordpontos', pp. 75–109, vol. 3).

The other papers, containing publications of archaeological monuments from Phanagoria and other Bosporan sites, form a considerable part of the material of the three volumes and give the reader an adequate insight into the modern state of research. The spectrum is quite wide, dealing in particular with ceramic production (A. Kovalchuk and A. Maslennikov,

'Der keramische Fundkomplex aus der Siedlung "General'skoe-Zapadnoe"', pp. 155–72, vol. 1; P. Dupont, 'Phanagoria: un fief nord-ionien', pp. 137–42, and Kovalchuk, "Dachziegel mit "Efeustempel"', pp. 143–51, vol. 2) and with its archaeometric investigation (Attula *et al.*, 'Lokale Töpferwerkstätten am Nordpontos – Archäologische und archäometrische Untersuchungen zur Herkunftszuweisung der Keramikerzeugnisse aus der Don-Region und am Kimmerischen Bosporos', pp. 251–81, and Dupont, 'Vernis Noir du Pont Gauche. Premiers résultats archéométriques', pp. 347–55, vol. 3).

Another category of material to which considerable attention is paid is numismatics. Phanagoria has produced many coin finds, which are thoroughly registered and accurately published by Abramzon and Kuznetsov in several papers: 'The Roman and early Byzantine coins from the 1988, 2005–2010 excavations at Phanagoria', pp. 251–74, vol. 1; 'The Phanagorian revolt against Mithridates VI Eupator (numismatic evidence)', pp. 15–89, vol. 2; 'A hoard of 4th–1st centuries BC coins from Phanagoria', pp. 139–92, vol. 3. One can hardly underestimate the importance of making such a huge amount of the material available for scholarly attention and study.

Particular problems of Bosporan and more generally of ancient toreutics were at the centre of M. Treister's investigations: 'Bronze- und Goldfolienschnallen sowie Riemenendbeschläge mit Tamgazeichen – ein Phänomen der bosporanischen Kultur des 2. Jh. n. Chr.', pp. 253–87, vol. 2; 'A bronze statuette from Phanagoria. A new iconographical type of the Vatergott image', pp. 193–205, vol. 3.

Several contributions deal with study of religious cults, either in Phanagoria itself (D. Braund, 'Phanagoria and Kabeiromania: imagined Kabeiroi on the north coast of the Black Sea', pp. 153–95, vol. 2), in Bosporus (Y. Kuzmina, 'Kult der Artemis Ephesia am Kimmerischen Bosporos', pp. 181–89, vol. 1) or in the northern Black Sea littoral in general (D. Engster, 'Die Verehrung von Mithras und Kybele an den Küsten des Schwarzen Meeres', pp. 191–249, vol. 1). The papers by Braund and Engster attract special attention as the former convincingly demonstrates the falseness of the widespread idea of the extreme popularity of the Kabeiroi cult in the region and the latter presents up-to-date evidence of the worship of Mithras and Cybele, considerably supplementing the exemplary book by Tacheva-Hitova.¹

The papers of B. Bäbler ('Das Land der Skythen – ein Wolkenkuckucksheim Herodots?', pp. 131–40, vol. 1; 'Ein Spiegel mit Sprung: Das Skythenbild in François Hartogs "Le miroir d'Hérodote"', pp. 111–36, vol. 2; and 'Herodot im Land der Skythen: Die Stadt Gelonos', pp. 231–49, vol. 3) present well-founded responses to the hypercriticism of some Western scholars regarding the authenticity of the information preserved for us by ancient historians, above all Herodotus. Making wide use of archaeological evidence she demonstrates the impropriety and unproductiveness of such an approach.

In volume 2 there are also contributions dealing with purely historical issues. Engster considers the problem of *Imitatio Alexandri* by Pompeius ('Der Triumph des Pompeius über Mithradates VI', pp. 197–224), H. Heinen deals with the controversial question of the date of the renaming of the Bosporan cities of Panticapaeum and Phanagoria to Caesaria and Agrippia, which he links with the Pontic campaign of Agrippa in 14 BC

¹ M.A. Tacheva-Hitova, *Eastern Cults in Moesia Inferior and Thracia (5th Century BC–4th Century AD)* (Leiden 1983).

(‘Kaisareia und Agrippeia: das Tor zur Maiotis als augusteisches Monument’, pp. 225–40), G. Koshelenko and V. Gaibov discuss the process of gradual formation of the posthumous king’s cult in Bosphorus (‘Zur Sakralisierung der Königsmacht am Kimmerischen Bosphoros’, pp. 241–51), and G. Lehmann analyses evidences of the Roman presence in the Pontic region in the age of Hadrian (‘Römische Präsenz und Herrschaft im Pontos-Raum in der Ära Hadrians – im Spiegel der περιπλους – Schrift des L. Flavius Arrianus’, pp. 289–304).

Volume 3 stands to some extent apart from the others in the series. It is *Festschrift* in honour of Kuznetsov and, as such, it demonstrates a wider scope of problems that accord with the interests of the scholars invited to contribute. Obviously, it was the intention of its editors to preserve a unifying narrative thread, hence attempts to present Phanagoria in a wide historical and archaeological context, leading to the logical division of the book into three parts: ‘Phanagoreia und sein Umkreis’, ‘Nordwestpontos und Kimmerischer Bosphoros’ and ‘Das südliche Pontosgebiet und der Mittelmeerraum’. We should take brief note of the remaining contributions. Braund considers the role of the alleged information of the historical sources on the Thessalian foundation of Phanagoria for the process of development of the city’s identity and fence-mending with other Bosporan *poleis* (‘The Thessalian foundation of Phanagoria: civic identity re-visited and extended’, pp. 54–73). A. Coscun tries to identify one of the three men with the name ‘Kastor’ mentioned in the *Suda* with a certain native of Massalia tied into Phanagorian history of the 1st century BC (‘Kastor von Phanagoreia, Präfekt des Mithradates und Freund der Römer’, pp. 131–38). D. Chistov and V. Krutikov present recent evidence on the evolution of the Archaic settlement on the island of Berezan (‘The archaic town on the Berezan island: new studies on the chronology and urban planning of the Berezan settlement’, pp. 209–29), V. Zin’ko offers an essay on the history of the European Bosphorus in the Archaic period, advocating the traditional view of a period of dugout construction in the early phase of the Greek presence in the northern Black Sea (‘The European Bosphorus in the archaic period’, pp. 283–96), S. Saprykin puts forward a hypothesis on the evolution of internal *polis* relations in Bosphorus as the main engine of urban development, which caused the rise of the Archaeanactids to power of a tyrannical rather than monarchical character (‘The Archaeanactids of Bosphorus and urban development’, pp. 297–316), and N. Zavoikina tries to answer the questions of what led to the revival of *polis* institutions in the Bosphorus in Roman times and what role in this process was played by deliberate Roman politics (‘Polis and Monarchy in the Bosporan Kingdom in the 1st–3rd Centuries AD’, pp. 317–43).

Engster analyses at length the history and various aspects of life of the *polis* community of Byzantium from the city’s foundation until the time of Philip II (‘Die Kolonie Byzantion – Geschichte, Gesellschaft und Stadtbild einer Handelsmetropole’, pp. 357–96), Lehmann positively estimates the historicity of the evidence of the last unrealised plans of Alexander the Great (‘Das “Pontos-Projekt” und die Problematik der “Letzten Pläne” Alexanders des Großen’, pp. 397–406), and Bähler considers the abilities of Arrian as an ‘archaeologist’ in relation to his story about the alleged anchor of the Argonauts (‘Arrian als Archäologe’, pp. 407–17).

These volumes are undoubtedly a very important and impressive result of the painstaking efforts of an international team of scholars and, above all, of the editors, Povalachev and Kuznetsov. But one cannot fail to notice that papers published in English are marked by a considerably poorer quality of editing. There are many misprints and mistakes and the

incorrect use of special terms. For example, the denomination of the smallest bronze coin is given *passim* as 'chalk', which might be confused with the mineral (the correct Greek term must be 'chalkus' or 'chalkos'). As a numismatist I remain mystified by what 'Chian-Rhodian, Attic or Ptolemaic standard' means in relation to the bronze coinage mentioned by Kuznetsov and Abramzon (vol. 3, pp. 150, 162): it was always a standard designation for coins struck of precious metals. Why, in the contribution by Zin'ko, are 'black-lacquered bowls' mentioned instead of the common 'black-glazed', or 'subterranean houses' instead of 'dugouts' as elsewhere (vol. 3, pp. 293, 294, Abb. 1)? There is no consistency in the transliteration of Russian names even within one paper, not to mention the whole volume or series (for example, 'Blawatskij' and 'Blavatskij', p. 181 and Anm. 5, but 'Blawatsky', p. 193, Anm. 17, and 'Kochelenko' and 'Koschelenko', p. 193, Anm. 17 and p. 225, Anm. 182 – all in vol. 1; 'VI. Kuznetsov' *passim*, but 'V. Tolstikov', pp. 106–07, vol. 3). There is no strict order with figures captions throughout all the volumes: sometimes they are given, sometimes not. Such annoying trifles to some extent mar the impression of an otherwise solid and very useful work.

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TWO BOOKS ON DIONYSOS

J. Boardman, *The Triumph of Dionysos: Convivial Processions, from Antiquity to the Present Day*, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, ii+78 pp., 61 illustrations (several in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-905739-70-7

A. Bernabé, M. Herrero de Jáuregui, A.I. Jiménez San Cristobál and R. Martín Hernández (eds.), *Redefining Dionysos*, MythosEikon Poiesis 5, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2013, ix+612 pp., 37 plates (many in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-030091-8/ISSN 1868-5080

Simultaneously a fully-fledged Olympian god and the archetypal outsider, Dionysos has been the subject of much recent academic investigation. Book-length studies of the last ten years have included R. Seaford's *Dionysos* (London 2006), C. Isler-Kerényi's *Dionysos in Archaic Greece: An Understanding through Images* (Leiden 2007) and R. Schlesier's edited collection *A Different God? Dionysos and Ancient Polytheism* (Berlin 2011), while Dionysos also features largely in the recent expansion of work on Orphism. The two works under consideration here, then, both build on and contribute to a considerable body of scholarship on the god's place in cult, literature and the visual arts.

The Boardman volume is a slim one, but lavishly illustrated and covering a vast geographical and chronological sweep, from ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome via Renaissance Europe to 21st-century Oxfordshire. B.'s contention is that elements of iconography which originate in Greek processions honouring Dionysos, in turn possibly influenced by earlier Egyptian practice, can be traced across the centuries, surfacing in a wide variety of contexts.

Chapter 1, 'The Dionysiac procession in early Greece', takes as its point of departure an East Greek black-figure fragment from Karnak which represents a boat, ridden by satyrs,

being carried on the shoulders of men: this introduces the idea of the carnival float bearing the god's image, as well as flagging links with Egypt; various Athenian festival processions are adduced, though strangely no explicit mention is made of the Anthesteria ritual in which Dionysos' ship-cart (an example of which is illustrated in Fig. 2) is usually held to have played a part. Chapter 2, 'The Egyptian connection: staging the triumph', jumps forward to Hellenistic Alexandria and the famous procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos II, staged in the late 270s BC and described by Kallixeinos of Rhodes, which included a substantial Dionysiac section in a fusion of Greek and Egyptian religious practice. Chapter 3, 'Dionysos and Alexander the Great in the East', back-tracks to explain a particular element of the Alexandrian procession, a tableau of the 'return of Dionysos from India'. Reference in Arrian (*Anabasis* 6. 28. 1) to Alexander emulating the god's triumphal procession is contextualised against earlier Greek images of Dionysos in the East, such as the London Attic red-figure lekythos of ca. 400 BC which depicts the god, surrounded by musicians and dancers, in Persian dress riding a Bactrian camel (Fig. 7). At 26 pages, Chapter 4, 'The Procession in Hellenistic and Roman Art and Life', is the most substantial in the book, providing a survey of Dionysiac processional imagery on cameos, sarcophagi, in mosaic and Late Antique/Byzantine textiles and ivory carving. Elements which recur across the media in various combinations are the chariot in which Dionysos rides, with or without his consort Ariadne, and an accompanying Victory, Erotes, maenads, satyrs, centaurs, exotic animals (lions, tigers, panthers, elephants) and the occasional Heracles or captive Indians: by the end of antiquity the collocation of even a few of these elements could evoke the Dionysiac triumph. Chapter 5, 'The Oriental succession', briefly outlines echoes of this imagery in 1st- to 5th-century art of the Middle East, where it often seems to have been misunderstood or adapted almost out of recognition. Chapter 6, 'The Renaissance', brings us back to Europe, where the cameos and sarcophagi of Chapter 4 had a direct influence on representations of Dionysiac triumphs in painting, sculpture and smaller-scale media; notable examples include a marble relief in the courtyard of the Medici Palace, Florence (ca. 1460; Fig. 37), Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (ca. 1520, London, National Gallery; Fig. 43), an elaborate gilt musical automaton by Hans Schlottheim of Augsburg (ca. 1605, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Fig. 52) and a verse of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast* (1697). Chapter 7 finally brings us to 'The Modern World', via Wedgewood designs (Figs. 55–56) and Salvador Dalí's *Le Char de Bacchus* (1953; Fig. 58) to a concluding few pages on the circus parade, a practice prevalent from the late 18th until the early 20th century. This last is perhaps the least convincing part of the book, since the presence of exotic animals in such an event is hardly surprising, although B. is able to adduce one or two examples of the presence of satyr-like characters, including an acrobat costumed as Pan at Gifford's Circus in 2013 (Fig. 61).

B.'s book seems to be pitched at a non-specialist audience – Euripides is glossed as 'the poet', the various pots discussed are 'vases' rather than specific shapes, and the narrative is didactic rather than explicitly engaging in debate – although a degree of erudition is supposed by the references to further reading. It would be relevant to the increasing number of university courses in classical reception, if only as a starting point for more in-depth study, while the many illustrations give it potential appeal to a more general readership.

The volume edited by Alberto Bernabé and others is weightier in every sense. Based on a conference of the same title held in Madrid in 2010, it includes 30 papers, of which two

are in French, two in Italian, the rest in English, the editors having decided to have the Spanish ones (which make up more than half the volume) translated. While one might lament the hegemony of English which this decision reflects, it does very usefully render the Spanish scholarship accessible to those of us less than fluent in the language – although some additional proof-reading by a native English speaker would not have gone amiss. The volume is handsomely produced, with high-quality colour plates, an *index locorum* and a detailed analytic index. The aim of the volume is to advance our understanding of Dionysos via a combination of broader-brush approaches to the god and studies of specific, narrowly defined instances of his manifestations in the ancient world. Topics covered include: Dionysos' place in the Mycenaean world; his involvement in Orphism; his links to Arabian, Nabatean and Egyptian religion, and both Judaism and Christianity; his relationship to other Greek deities; his treatment in specific texts, from the Homeric hymns via tragedy and comedy to Plato; the issue of maenadic ecstasy; specific festivals and cults in different parts of Greece; his iconography in black-figure vase-painting, Apulian vase-painting and Roman wall-painting. Any selection of individual papers from such a rich collection is inevitably subjective, but the following particularly caught my eye.

The volume is topped and tailed by papers of the broader-brush variety. Jan Bremmer's 'Walter F. Otto's *Dionysos* (1933)' provides a point of departure, explaining aspects of the study which were innovative for its time and arguing for the continuing value of many of its insights, despite some 'all too Romantic-German' language; Bremmer pays particular attention to Otto's treatment of Semele and of the Agrionia festival. At the other end of the volume, Albert Henrichs's 'Dionysos: one or many?' (pp. 554–82) provides a conclusion, challenging the supposition, inherent in the 'redefinition' of the conference/book's title, that any coherent definition of Dionysos has yet been achieved, and surveying the different approaches adopted by other contributors and by earlier scholars. He sketches the senses in which Dionysos might be considered to be 'many' – his identification with Iakchos, Sabazios and others, his many epithets and regional variations, the incarnation of an 'Orphic Dionysos' – contrasting this to explicit ancient affirmations of the god's oneness (*heis Dionysos*) and setting the specific case against the broader tensions in Greek polytheism between proliferation and monotheism. He has some sympathy with Seaford's 2006 (above) vision of Dionysos, but, perhaps unsurprisingly, his conclusion is that the god's multiplicity resists any unified reading.

In between, Bernabé's own paper, 'Dionysos in the Mycenaean world' (pp. 23–37), usefully reviews the evidence and its interpretation since the decipherment of Linear B in the 1950s. The extent to which established ideas about Dionysos' late arrival in the Greek pantheon persisted in the face of this evidence is striking: the presence of Dionysos' name on tablets from Pylos (*ca.* 1200) and Chania (*ca.* 1250 BC) is unequivocal, both in clearly religious contexts, while a second Pylos tablet attests the name at an even earlier date (14th century BC). Details of the texts' interpretation are open to argument – for example, the *eschara* of Pylos Ea 102+107 need not necessarily indicate the 'chthonic' nature of Dionysos' cult here¹ – and identification of images of Dionysos in Mycenaean art is speculative, but the god's presence in the pantheon at this period is incontrovertible. Amongst

¹ See the thorough discussion of terms traditionally assumed to indicate hero-cult in G. Ekroth, *The Sacrificial Rituals of Greek Hero-Cults* (Athens/Liège 2002), 23–128.

the papers on local cult, Christopher Faraone's 'Gender differentiation and role models in the worship of Dionysos: the Thracian and Thessalian pattern' (pp. 120–43) bases an interesting hypothesis on a juxtaposition of mythological narrative and epigraphic evidence. Faraone argues that the text inscribed on two ivy-leaf-shaped gold tablets found in a woman's grave at Pelinna is paralleled by the story of the infant Dionysos and his wet-nurses being chased into the sea by Lycurgus (or his brother Boutes), first attested in the *Iliad* (6. 130–141), both reflecting northern Aegean ritual; the case is supported by reference to parallels including the myth/ritual of Melikertes-Palaimon and his mother Ino-Leukothea. Faraone suggests that the child Dionysos' leap into the sea, where he is rescued and suckled by Thetis, provides a model for the initiation of young men into Dionysiac mysteries which promised rebirth as a god; similarly, the fate of the wet-nurses, who (according to Diodoros 5. 40. 4–5) escaped to the mountains or into the sea, could have been the model for women initiated into different local *thiasoi*. A pair of papers on 'Maenadic ecstasy in...: fact or fiction?' – Silvia Porres Caballero tackling Greece (pp. 159–84) and Zoa Alonso Fernández Rome (pp. 185–99) – very sensibly lays out the evidence for both mythological maenads and real-life women worshipers of Dionysos. Both argue for a two-way influence between ritual practice and literary/visual representations, the special place of Euripides' *Bacchae* in the development of Greek ideas about maenadism being to some extent paralleled in the Roman context by Dionysiac-themed pantomime. Amongst the papers which relate Dionysos to other religions is David Hernández de la Fuente's 'Parallels between Dionysos and Christ in Late Antiquity: miraculous healings in Nonnus' *Dionysiaca*' (pp. 464–87). This outlines an assimilation between the two figures which rests not only on the shared motif of the son of a supreme god being born of a mortal mother and an association with life after death (both of which parallels also often drawn with Heracles), but on a range of miracles. Some striking examples are offered of Christian motifs infiltrating Dionysos' iconography in Late Antique art, such as the adoration of the infant Dionysos in a 4th-century mosaic from Nea Paphos (Figs. 26.2.1–2), before the paper turns to Nonnus and traces the prominent theme of miraculous healing in the *Dionysiaca*, demonstrating clear parallels with healings in the *Paraphrase* of the Gospel of John, not only at the level of narrative but even in terms of language. And, finally, Patricia Meilán Jácome's 'Bacchus and felines in Roman iconography: issues of gender and species' (pp. 526–40) brings us back to the kind of imagery surveyed in the Boardman volume. The paper surveys a corpus of 118 images, from a wide variety of media, of Bacchus either riding on a feline or in a chariot pulled by felines, arguing that the predominance of the tiger (over lions and panthers) is due to its association with conquest of the Orient and with speed, while the primacy of female animals may not only reflect Dionysos' 'feminine aura' (p. 536) but may also indicate their identification with maenads.

Individual papers will be of more or less interest to different readers depending on their own preoccupations, but overall the volume constitutes an important contribution to the study of this elusive god, and to Greek religion more broadly.

TWO BOOKS ON VITRUVIUS

- P. Sanvito (ed.), *Vitruvianism: Origins and Transformations*, Transformationen der Antike 33, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, viii+212 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-037758-3/ISSN 1864-5208
- D. Balík, *Deciphering Ornament: Discourses and Thresholds in Architectural History*, Phoibos Humanities Series 4, Phoibos Verlag, Vienna 2015, 44 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-85161-115-1/ISSN 2307-8472

Vitruvius' *de architectura* seems to have made next to no impact during the Roman empire, from the time he wrote it in the late 1st century BC till the fall. In the present study, papers given at a recent conference, Peter Fane-Saunders ('Pliny the Elder: an early reader of Vitruvius') lists passages in Pliny's *Natural History* which are either taken from Vitruvius himself or at least have a common origin. Other authors mentioning him are Frontinus at the end of the 1st century AD, Faventinus in the late 3rd, Servius in the 4th and, finally, Sidonius Apollinaris in the 5th, but that seems to be all; in terms of architecture Vitruvius cannot be shown to have made any impact. It is unlikely that it was ever intended as a practical guide for architects, whose training would hardly have depended on written texts. It may have been intended as a guide for those commissioning architecture (who might in any case have had access to the Greek originals on whom Vitruvius depends so heavily). Perhaps it was inspired by Augustus' redevelopment of Rome itself. It may well have been written in the hope of securing a pension for its author, like other literary protégés. In any case, its architecture is old-fashioned and does not anticipate the impact made in Rome by the development of concrete construction and the resulting emphasis on interior design.

On the other hand, the *de architectura* gained immense interest and serious study in the Italian Renaissance of the 15th and 16th centuries, as part of a general revival of Greek and Latin studies, and it had a resulting impact on the actual development of Renaissance architecture. The present book is concerned essentially with this impact. Paolo Sanvito emphasises that, now recent work has established a definitive text, study of Vitruvius should turn to hermeneutics and the interpretation of Vitruvius' ideas, his influence on architectural theory and its significance. Horst Bredekamp writes on Leibnitz's reflections on Vitruvius' *Ichnographia* and *Scaenographia*; Giovanni di Pasquale on 'Vitruvius' Image of the Universe – Architecture and Mechanics'; Christof Thoenes on Vitruvius, Vitruvianism and the beginning of Renaissance architecture in Italy; Indra Kagis McEwen's paper is entitled 'The Architectonic Book' and is concerned with Antonio Averlino, the Florentine architect known as Filarete, who is the second Renaissance author on architecture after Alberti and who wrote what he called an Architectonic Book, concerned with all artistic knowledge, not just architecture, a range of interest found in Vitruvius himself. Matteo Burioni discusses the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* published in Venice in 1492 which includes terminology taken from Vitruvius and Alberti. Leonardo di Mauro reports on the evidence for the 1487 villa at Poggioreale in Naples, built by Giuliano da Maiano for the Duke of Calabria on Vitruvian precepts. Werner Oechslin discusses Andrea Palladio and Daniele Barbaro and their writings and architectural work. Then Paolo Sanvito writes on Vincenzo Scamozzi, and how much Vitruvianism is left in Scamozzi's architectural theory, work which marks a

tendency to move on from acceptance of Vitruvian theories, a theme carried on in the final paper, Fabio Mangone on the decline of Vitruvianism in Neapolitan neo-classical culture. Thus this book gives a good insight into the importance of Vitruvius in Italian Renaissance architecture.

The third paper in the book, by Daniel Millette, 'Vitruvius and the re-invention of Classical Architecture', requires closer examination for its significance to the study of Classical Roman architecture. It is concerned with the great Roman theatre at Orange, which, with its amazingly well preserved and impressive stage building is generally upheld as a paradigm of Roman theatre architecture. Millette refers to its status as a World Heritage monument, but argues that in its 19th-century reconstruction it was based more on Vitruvius' description of a Roman theatre than on the reality of its material survival. He cites, to start with, a drawing published in 1640 by Joseph de la Pise, with an elevation of the stage building wall and a cavea with a semicircle of seats facing an orchestra serving as an arena for fighting and animal slaughter. He suggests this was in turn influenced by Giuliano da Sangallo's late 15th-century plan of the theatre, heavily dependent on Vitruvius. In contrast, a late 18th-century drawing by P. Fourdrinier shows that the area of the cavea actually was totally built over by a mass of houses, gardens and streets, and that any trace of the Roman cavea was completely concealed. This is borne out by a Napoleonic cadastral survey which shows a plan of the various properties, through which only the vaguest outline of the cavea can be perceived. These houses would have obliterated the original structure, so that when they were demolished at the instigation of the Municipality in the 19th century what was left was an emptiness, illustrated in a drawing by Auguste Caristie, a site plan showing some clearance achieved, with a few houses still in the stage area but with the cavea empty.

Millette gives a careful study of Caristie and others who subsequently worked on the restoration of the theatre, emphasising their wider understanding of Vitruvius' Roman theatre form and that this underlay their restoration. The crucial question, however, is how much of the original cavea survived underneath the Mediaeval houses superimposed on it. What does not appear clearly from Millette's account is how much Caristie and his successors actually found. The Roman theatre at Sparta, constructed, like the greater part of Orange, against the slope of a hill, was once covered by Byzantine houses. Removal of these led to the discovery of substantial remains of the cavea and its seating preserved underneath. It seems likely that, at least in the lower parts (the upper being based on substructures) enough of Orange survived to justify the 19th-century restorers. No doubt they were influenced by Vitruvius in the detail, but to what extent would depend on what they actually found.

One of the views of the theatre in its pre-reconstructed state reproduced by Millette (Fig. 11, Theatre elevation – remains – Caristie manuscript) shows a considerable deposit over the lines of the seating in the upper part of the cavea (with houses still on the orchestra and stage) which looks sufficient to have covered at least real evidence for the seats themselves, and an earlier plan (1807, by Millin), here Fig. 7, does suggest actual traces of their line in this part of the cavea. M. also refers to another plan (1815, by de Gasparin) which showed these lines. It is referred to in Millette's text as Fig. 8, but this figure is missing, an instance of careless proof-reading which is also found in spelling and textual mistakes in this book.

I am not convinced by Millette's arguments, but this is a matter which does merit careful re-examination of the theatre itself.

Vitruvius is also the starting-off point for Deniz Balık's study of architectural ornament, a précis of B.'s PhD thesis. B. refers to Vitruvius' statement that an architect should know the reasons behind the ornament he may use, quoting the story of the origin of caryatid figures. Unfortunately B. also approves the theories of George Hersey¹ that architectural elements derive from rituals of sacrifice – for example, volutes resemble rams' horns and triglyphs refer to thigh bones chopped into three. B. does not mention earlier antecedents for architectural ornament or patterns found in other forms of art such as metalwork or carpentry or above all the painted pottery; no attempt to trace the descent of decorative patterns from the Late Bronze Age through to the renewal of contacts with Near Eastern or Egyptian art.

The remainder of the booklet is more straightforward. B. refers to Alberti's approval of Vitruvius on the proper application of ornament, and gives a good résumé of Alberti's ideas and importance. B. traces the development of ideas on architectural ornament through to the 17th and 18th century, looks at the effects of Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, and so on to modern debate on what is fitting in architecture. B. quotes liberally from relevant sources and illustrates the arguments with own photographs of buildings that B. considers important. In total, the booklet serves as an introduction to the considerable number of more substantial studies and interpretations of ornament in architecture.

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M. Augstein, with contributions by M. Harbeck, G. McGlynn, K. von Heyking and F. Immler, *Das Gräberfeld der Hallstatt- und Frühlatènezeit von Dietfurt an der Altmühl (Tankstelle): Ein Beitrag zur Analyse einer Mikroregion*, 2 vols., *Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie* 262, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Mainz, Abt. für Jüngere Urgeschichte und Frühgeschichte, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, 535 pp., illustrations, 112 plates, map in end pocket of vol. 2. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-3846-5

It is nice to see that the custom of my old department at Tübingen of giving PhD students materials for publication from otherwise unpublished rescue excavations – in this case by the Bavarian State Authority of Protection of Monuments – continues, even if now within the fairly complicated system of privatised rights of publication, regulating who, for whom and on whose land the digs were realised. The Hallstatt and Early La Tène cemetery with 20 chamber tombs (with cremations and inhumations together) and 44 small cremation graves were excavated in 2002–2003 by means of an unemployment programme and unpaid supporters; settlement is represented by remains of five huts; they respected the graves, and contained some later pottery. The preservation of metal items and pottery is poor, like everywhere in agricultural land nowadays using aggressive fertilisers. No weapons were found. Well represented among metal objects are fibulae, bracelets, torques and foot rings, small spirals decorating hair, belt clasps and pendants; 29 amber, several glass beads and one of clay belonged to necklaces. As a pupil of Manfred Eggert, Melanie Augstein uses

¹ G.L. Hersey, *The Lost Meaning of Classical Architecture, Speculations on Ornament from Vitruvius to Venturi* (Cambridge, MA 1988).

the German New Archaeology newspeak while respecting the lines of her supervisor's approach to interpret the context of the find in the frame of its vocabulary, also in the attempt to reconstruct the social structure of the unit. The families with chamber tombs were apparently of higher level, but no really rich graves, as known from Hallstatt D 2–3 to La Tène A tombs elsewhere in Bavaria, were revealed. The male burials in the chamber tombs are cremations, those of women inhumations, but exceptions exist. The social interpretation of the cemetery is discussed, but with reasonable restraint.

The graves of the second similar Late Hallstatt–Early La Tène cemetery beneath the village tennis courts are better preserved. The micro-region of Dietfurt and the whole Lower Altmühl valley show clear continuity of densely settled area without interruptions from the Urnfield to Early La Tène periods, as usual in north-eastern Bavaria and in neighbouring landscapes. The book is a solid publication of a Late Hallstatt cemetery, useful for any further study of this period in Upper Franconia.

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Jan Bouzek

P. Baas, *Landbevölkerung und Tod: Untersuchung den ländlichen Siedlungen und Nekropolen römischer Zeit auf Sizilien*, Göttinger Studien zur Mediterranen Archäologie 7, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, 239 pp., 20 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-506-5/ISSN 2194-7686

This doctoral thesis looks at the rural settlements and graves in Sicily from the time of the Roman conquest of the island in 241 BC through to the recognition of Christianity and on to the 6th century AD. This is a most useful approach and serves to balance the more usual historical emphasis which concentrates on the affairs of the cities. Philipp Baas has collected an extensive range of information, and illustrates his discussion with his own photographs of various burial places and forms, together with drawings. Where he has used illustrations from earlier publications he thanks the original authors for their permission to include them, a courtesy not always observed in some other recent thesis publications, regrettably.

B. examines a total of 63 rural settlements of various form and size, farms, villas, large scale estates to which he applies the term 'agglomerations secondaires'. He divides his study into a succession of historical periods – Hellenistic to the end of the Roman Republic; Early Imperial, to the end of the 1st century AD; Middle Imperial to the 4th century AD; and Late Antique. The settlement pattern is affected by the intrusion of Roman settlers into an area which was originally largely Greek, and by the legal incorporation of Sicily into Italy which, for instance, allowed Roman senators to travel there without having to obtain specific permission. These changes are reflected in the burials.

B. emphasises the distinction between burial practices of the rural localities and the cities. He discusses the various grave types: cist graves, where the grave excavation is lined with stone or tile; graves simply excavated in the soil or cut in the rock; sarcophagi; teguria, a form of sarcophagus with a lid supported on piers at the corners and found, he states, only in Sicily and Malta; tombs dug into the earth with the corpses perhaps covered with tiles; graves roofed with inclined tiles and perhaps with tiles forming a floor; 'oven' graves,

a loculus cut into a rock face; vase burials, usually in an amphora; arcosolia; tombs 'a cupa/cupula', a stepped pyramid form supporting a stele, cippus, pilaster or column; and, finally, hypogea and catacombs. It is these latter which form the majority of the burial places from the middle of the 2nd century AD onwards.

The earliest period graves are the hardest to find since they are often little more than excavations in the ground with no surface markers or indications. The Middle Imperial period saw in particular the development of large estates, at a time when small villas, even the luxurious examples, are rarely found. This period is marked by two main types of grave in the countryside – vast graveyards, the graves moderately equipped with grave goods, and small burial grounds with very simple graves and hardly any grave goods. The grave areas seem to have been kept secluded, even hidden, and certainly not marked by the prominent grave monuments which are found in the far more visible city cemeteries. Late antiquity is marked by rural agglomerations. B. sees these as varying in character – Christian sanctuaries, villages, stations in the Roman road system. In the prevailing catacombs distinguishing markers are not found externally but applied instead to the individual burial places within the tombs. There are catacombs especially near Christian sanctuaries, and the graves become more noticeable at the same time that city burials are more modest and contain fewer grave goods.

These changes in the pattern of burial in the rural areas of Sicily reflect developments in the economic conditions there. B. points out the comparative absence of recognisable burials in his earliest period even though burials must have taken place. He rightly dismisses the idea that cremation was preferred over inhumation. The procedures of cremation are relatively costly, and deposition of the ashes resulting from cremation is marked by containers for them, with consequent recognition in the archaeological record. So the lack of burial finds in this period seems rather to be the result of either depopulation or extreme poverty, or both: so, a population subjugated to the economic exploitation by the Roman landowners, exploitation that is by no means limited to the notorious case of Verres.

Another point made by B., in connection with the later periods, is the absence in the rural areas of substantial grave monuments, found in abundance at Rome itself, of course, and also associated with the towns of Sicily. He remarks on the custom of burial monuments – or, at least, obvious markers – lining the roads leading out of the towns of Sicily. He argues that this is the consequence of the arrival of Roman immigrant settlers to the towns following the conquest. It might be pointed out, though, that positioning clearly marked tombs along roadsides is not limited to Rome, and therefore need not be a consequence of Roman movement into the Sicilian cities. B. himself notes the links with North Africa, and though this is more directly and closely with Tripolitania it brings to mind the lines of monumental and elaborate built and rock-cut tombs lining the roads out of the towns in Cyrenaica, from Hellenistic through to its incorporation as a province of the Roman empire.

B's fundamental thesis, however, is clearly demonstrated, and sheds light on the fortunes of rural Sicily as a part of the Roman world. The burials and burial patterns are inextricably linked with the pattern of settlement and the exploitation of the land; and this, in turn, is a measure of ownership, the passing of the land into estates controlled not so much from the cities in the coastal regions as the assignation of landed estates to absentee

Roman landlords. This may result in local poverty, but does also reflect the conditions of empire, and the external influences caused by changes within the empire itself.

This is a thoughtful and stimulating study.

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Richard Tomlinson

M. Beck, *Der politische Euergetismus und dessen vor allem nichtbürgerliche Rezipienten im hellenistischen und kaiserzeitlichen Kleinasien sowie dem ägäischen Raum*, Pharos – Studien zur griechisch-römischen Antike 35, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, 496 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86757-263-7/ISSN 1435-6457

Das Phänomen des Euergetismus und die zunehmende Einflussnahme der bürgerlichen Eliten auf das politische Geschehen der griechischen Städte bis zur Herausbildung von „Honoriationsregimen“ in Hellenismus und Kaiserzeit führten im Anschluss an die Studie von Paul Veyne gerade in den letzten Jahrzehnten zu zahlreichen Diskussionen in der althistorischen Forschung. Insbesondere für die hellenistische Zeit wurden Umfang und Ausmaß des Euergetismus in den Monographien von Philippe Gauthier und Friedemann Quast ausführlich diskutiert. Daneben erschienen zahlreiche kleinere Studien zu bestimmten Problemen oder einzelnen Themenkomplexen.¹ Durch die Untersuchungen von Marc Domingo Gygax fanden in den vergangenen Jahren auch die Ergebnisse der sozialhistorischen Diskurse zur Reziprozität in vormodernen Gesellschaften Eingang in die Forschungsdebatten.²

Anknüpfend an diese Überlegungen widmet sich Mark Beck auf Basis der Reziprozitätstheorie in seiner Monographie der Untersuchung der nichtbürgerlichen Rezipienten von Wohltaten – eine in der Forschung bislang noch nicht in einer eigenen Studie untersuchte Rezipientengruppe. Die Grundlage der Studie bildet seine Dissertation aus dem Jahr 2015. Die Gründe für die Beschränkung der Untersuchung auf den ägäischen Raum und Kleinasien werden in der Arbeit jedoch leider nicht diskutiert. Unbestimmt bleibt auch der vom Autor verwendete Begriff des „politischen Euergetismus“. Kurz erörtert wird jedoch der Begriff der „Eliten“ (S. 17–18). Weiterführende Fragestellungen im Kontext eines großen Gesamtüberblicks erlaubt der eingeschränkte Betrachtungsrahmen nicht.

Die Quellengrundlage für die Untersuchung der Inklusion von nichtbürgerlichen Gruppen bildet die Recherche in der Datenbank des PHI (S. 16). Andere Inschriften finden keine Aufnahme in die Materialsammlung – obwohl die Datenbank des PHI trotz eines beachtlichen Umfangs keine vollständige Erfassung des gesamten Quellenmaterials bietet.

¹ Für einen aktuellen Überblick über den Forschungsstand s. C. Mann, 'Gleichheiten und Ungleichheiten in der hellenistischen Polis: Überlegungen zum Stand der Forschung'. In C. Mann und P. Scholz (Hrsg.), *„Demokratie“ im Hellenismus. Von der Herrschaft des Volkes zur Herrschaft der Honoratioren?* (Mainz 2012), 11–27.

² M.D. Gygax: 'Euergetismus und Gabentausch'. *Mètis* n.s. 1 (2003), 181–200; 'Les origines de l'évergétisme. Échanges et identités sociales dans la cité grecque'. *Mètis* n.s. 4 (2006), 269–95; 'Contradictions et asymétrie dans l'évergétisme grec: bienfaiteurs étrangers et citoyens entre image et réalité'. *DHA* 32.1 (2006), 9–23; 'El intercambio de dones en el mundo griego: reciprocidad, imprecisión, equivalencia y desequilibrio'. *Gerión* 25 (2007), 111–26; 'Proleptic Honours in Greek Euergetism'. *Chiron* 39 (2009), 163–91; S. zuletzt zusammenfassend *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City: The Origins of Euergetism* (Cambridge 2016).

Eine weitere Einschränkung erfolgt im Hinblick auf die erbrachten Wohltaten. Eingang in die Untersuchung finden nur Euergesien von „Privatpersonen“ (S. 16). Andere Gruppen von Euergeten wie hellenistische Könige oder römische Kaiser werden nicht berücksichtigt, „da sie aus einer anderen Motivation erfolgten und ihnen gänzlich andere Rahmenbedingungen zugrunde lagen“ (S. 16). Gerade im Hinblick auf das spärliche Quellenmaterial wäre neben einer umfassenden Recherche zu den Inschriften aus dem Untersuchungsraum auch eine Einbeziehung von Inschriften aus anderen Regionen der griechischen Welt wünschenswert gewesen. So bieten etwa die Städte an der Schwarzmeerküste wie Histria oder Olbia oder ab dem Späthellenismus auch einzelne Städte des griechischen Festlandes wie Akraiphia interessante Beispiele für bürgerliche Wohltaten.³

Die Untersuchung gliedert sich neben der Einleitung (S. 11–19) in zwei umfangreiche Hauptteile zum „Euergetismus“ (S. 21–238) sowie zu den „Rezipienten von Euergesien“ (S. 239–368). Abgerundet wird die Arbeit durch eine ausführliche „Zusammenführung“ (S. 369–86) und ein jeweils einseitiges Fazit auf Deutsch und auf Englisch (S. 387–89). Im Anschluss geben Tabellen einen Überblick über die verschiedenen nichtbürgerlichen Rezipientengruppen (S. 391–426). Insbesondere die Spalte zu den jeweiligen Euergesien hätte dabei in vielen Fällen eines ausführlicheren oder eindeutigeren Kommentars – zumindest aber einer Erklärung der verwendeten Begriffe – bedurft.⁴ Register zu den besprochenen Inschriften (S. 471–86) sowie zu Personen (S. 487–92) und Orten (S. 493–96) helfen, den Band zu erschließen. Gerade im Hinblick auf die beiden Hauptteile hätten durch eine kleinteiligere Untergliederung eine klarere Strukturierung und eine ausgeglichene Gesamtverteilung des Materials erreicht werden können. So hätte etwa das Unterkapitel 2.3 „Die euergetischen Leistungen zugrunde liegenden Beweggründe“ zu einem eigenen Hauptkapitel gemacht werden können. In der vorliegenden Aufteilung fällt Kap. 3 „Die Rezipienten von Euergesien“ – eigentlich der Hauptgegenstand der Untersuchung – in der Gewichtung gegenüber Kap. 2 „Euergetismus“ deutlich ab.

Das erste Hauptkapitel (Kap. 2 „Euergetismus“) bietet im Anschluss an einen Forschungsüberblick zum Problemfeld des Euergetismus sowie zur Quellenlage zunächst eine ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit den Forschungen zur Reziprozitätstheorie. Die wichtige Literatur ist in großen Teilen gut aufgearbeitet und ausführlich dargestellt. Im Hinblick auf die hellenistische Zeit wäre jedoch eine ausführlichere Diskussion der Studien von Philippe Gauthier und Friedemann Quäß zu wünschen gewesen. Auch die Erörterung der Quellenproblematik ist umfassend und spricht die wichtigsten Probleme an. Stellenweise hätte indes noch eine eindeutige Stellungnahme zu den angerissenen Problemen sowie eine differenziertere Auseinandersetzung mit einzelnen Themen erfolgen können. So entspricht etwa die Aussage: „Ein verstärktes Vorkommen von Inschriften zu jener Zeit, welche Euergesien anführen, spricht folglich auch für eine vermehrte Wohltätigkeit“ (S. 32), in ihrer Allgemeinheit vermutlich nicht in jedem Fall den antiken Realitäten. Das ausführliche Unterkapitel zur Reziprozität (Kap. 2.2) versucht in Anschluss an die grundlegenden Arbeiten von Marcel Mauss die in der modernen Reziprozitätsforschung gewonnenen Erkenntnisse nach einer umfassenden Darstellung des Forschungsstandes auf die griechischen

³ Ein interessantes Beispiel aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Akraiphia bietet das Ehrendekret für Epaminondas: *IG VII 2712*.

⁴ Einzelne Wohltaten werden etwa nur unter dem allgemeinen Begriff „Eifer“ subsumiert.

Verhältnisse von der Homerischen Gesellschaft bis zum Ende der Klassischen Zeit zu übertragen. In diesem Zusammenhang erfolgt auch eine intensive Aufarbeitung der relevanten Fachliteratur. Stellenweise hätte die Lesbarkeit des Textes gerade in diesem Abschnitt allerdings von einem Verzicht auf den intensiven Gebrauch von direkten Zitaten profitiert.⁵ Wünschenswert gewesen wäre insgesamt auch eine sprachliche Überarbeitung, insbesondere im Hinblick auf einzelne etwas umgangssprachliche Formulierungen.

Im Anschluss an die ausführliche Auseinandersetzung mit den theoretischen Grundlagen der Reziprozitätstheorie versucht B. vornehmlich auf Basis des epigraphischen Befundes den Motiven der Euergeten nachzuspüren (Kap. 2.3). In diesem Zusammenhang werden erneut die Quellenproblematik und der tendenziöse Charakter der Inschriften angesprochen. Warum sich die Inschriften aus Sicht des Verfassers dennoch als Quellen für die Untersuchung eignen, wird jedoch nicht ausführlich diskutiert. Neben den Inschriften werden in den einzelnen Unterkapiteln, die jeweils einem Motiv gewidmet sind, stets auch literarische Quellen diskutiert. Insgesamt bieten diese Partien – angereichert durch zahlreiche Verweise auf moderne Studien – eine umfangreiche Quellensammlung zu den jeweiligen Themenkomplexen. Die zitierten Quellen reichen dabei von den Homerischen Epen über die attischen Redner und Cicero bis zu Dion von Prusa und dem *Codex Theodosianus*. In Teilen geht bei dieser umfangreichen Zusammenstellung jedoch der Blick für die chronologisch bedingten Differenzen und die unterschiedlichen Voraussetzungen in den jeweiligen Gesellschaften verloren.⁶ Das gezeichnete Bild von den Motiven der Euergeten bleibt oftmals sehr allgemein und versucht ohne Blick auf die Besonderheiten des jeweiligen Einzelfalls „den“ antiken Euergeten zu rekonstruieren.

Das zweite Hauptkapitel (Kap. 3 „Die Rezipienten von Euergesien“) widmet sich zunächst in einem langen Abschnitt dem bürgerlichen Empfängerkreis von Euergesien. Die Untersuchung bietet dabei vornehmlich eine umfangreiche Zusammenstellung von epigraphischen Belegen. Neben einer Paraphrase des Inhalts bieten die Fußnoten in vielen Fällen den ausführlichen Wortlaut im Original. Eine Diskussion der relevanten Studien zu den einzelnen Inschriften erfolgt indes leider nicht in jedem Fall. Insgesamt gelingt es B. mit Blick auf die Rezipientenkreise das bekannte Phänomen der zunehmenden Elitenbildung in den griechischen Städten in Späthellenismus und Kaiserzeit in dessen allgemeinen Entwicklungslinien nachzuzeichnen. Gradmesser für die Bedeutung von einzelnen Gesellschaftsgruppen ist dabei die Inklusion in den Empfängerkreis der Euergesien. Einen detaillierten Blick auf einzelne Sachverhalte oder regionale Entwicklungen können die allgemeinen Betrachtungen in der Regel allerdings nicht bieten.

Die anschließenden Unterkapitel thematisieren in absteigender Bedeutungsreihenfolge die nichtbürgerlichen Rezipientengruppen von römischen Bürgern über griechische Nichtbürgergruppen wie Katoikoi oder Metoikoi bis zu Freigelassenen und Sklaven. Die jeweiligen Abschnitte enthalten – wie bereits erwähnt – eine Zusammenstellung des teilweise sehr

⁵ Der Beginn des Kapitels „2.2.4.3 Reziprozität und der Euergetismus“ besteht lediglich aus einer langen Aneinanderreihung von Forschungsmeinungen ohne nennenswerte Stellungnahmen des Verfassers (S. 124–26).

⁶ So konstatiert B. etwa in Anlehnung an eine Episode bei Dion von Prusa (46. 11–13): „Es scheint also durchaus gebräuchlich gewesen zu sein, verhasste Mitglieder der Eliten lynchen und ihr Haus plündern und anzünden zu wollen“ (S. 230).

spärlichen Quellenmaterials zu den einzelnen Personengruppen und bieten neben der Paraphrase der jeweiligen Inschriften in den Fußnoten zumeist auch den originalen Wortlaut. Auf eine Auseinandersetzung mit der relevanten Sekundärliteratur wird, um Redundanzen zu vermeiden (S. 18–19), in diesem Teil der Untersuchung in weiten Teilen verzichtet. Lediglich zu verschiedenen Spezialproblemen werden vereinzelte Forschungsmeinungen vorgestellt. Die wichtige Literatur ist dabei leider auch bei den Inschrifteneditionen nicht immer vollständig erfasst.⁷ Gerade der – etwa im Hinblick auf die *Paroikoi* und die *Metoi-koi* – recht spärliche Befund hätte zudem eine Ausweitung des Blickfelds auf andere Gebiete des griechischen Kulturkreises als wünschenswert erscheinen lassen.

Die Aufteilung nach Rezipientengruppen ist prinzipiell sehr sinnvoll, führt jedoch, da in den wenigen relevanten Inschriften in vielen Fällen verschiedene nichtbürgerliche Rezipientengruppen erwähnt werden, zu zahlreichen Wiederholungen. Zumindest auf die summierende Nacherzählung des Inhalts hätte bei manchen Mehrfachnennungen verzichtet werden können. Insgesamt hätte sich vielleicht auch eine Gliederung nach einzelnen Befundkomplexen angeboten. Eine entsprechende Aufteilung wäre den Besonderheiten der jeweiligen Städte gerecht geworden und hätte vor problematischen Rückschlüssen bewahrt.⁸ Im Detail gelangt B. aber immer wieder zu interessanten Ergebnissen im Hinblick auf die Veränderungen in der Gesellschaftsstruktur oder die Bedeutung der Empfängergruppen. Auf Grundlage der Reziprozitätstheorie lässt sich die Inklusion von einzelnen Rezipientengruppen mit deren Bedeutung und dem möglichen Vorteil für den jeweiligen *Euergeten* erklären.

Die abschließende Zusammenführung (Kap. 4) fasst die wesentlichen Ergebnisse der Arbeit zusammen. Neben einem summarischen Überblick über die Anwendbarkeit der Reziprozitätstheorie auf die antiken Verhältnisse betont der Abschnitt im Hinblick auf die Entwicklung des „politischen *Euergetismus*“ in Anlehnung an die bisherigen Forschungen den allgemeinen Wandel und die zunehmende Aristokratisierung in den Polisgesellschaften im späten Hellenismus. Insgesamt zeigt die Arbeit zum Teil gute Ansätze und bietet – wie B. selbst in Anlehnung an Linda-Marie Günther resümiert – für den eingeschränkten Betrachtungsrahmen des Ägäisraums und der kleinasiatischen Städte „eine Art Materialsammlung, die zu weiteren sozial- und kulturgeschichtlichen Fragestellungen (...) anregen soll“ (S. 387–88). Einen interessanten Beitrag leistet die Studie zudem zur Anwendung der Reziprozitätstheorie auf die antiken Gesellschaften. Für ein umfassendes und ausgewogenes Bild zur den Motiven der *Euergeten* sowie zur Inklusion von Nichtbürgergruppen in die *Euergesien* sind bei künftigen Forschungen jedoch eine differenziertere Trennung der einzelnen Sachverhalte im Hinblick auf die jeweiligen gesellschaftlichen Rahmenbedingungen sowie eine ausführlichere Zusammenstellung des gesamten Quellenmaterials für alle Gebiete

⁷ Im Zusammenhang mit den Ehrendekreten für Polemaios und Menippos aus Kolophon ignoriert B. etwa die grundlegende Erstedition mit ausführlichen Kommentaren. L. Robert und J. Robert, *Clarus I: Décrets hellénistiques* (Paris 1989). Auch die Neuedition der Inschriften aus Priene durch W. Blümel und R. Merkelbach findet keine Erwähnung.

⁸ So ist der auffällige Befund aus Priene vermutlich in erster Linie der besonderen Überlieferungslage zuzuschreiben und berechtigt kaum zu dem Schluss, dass „die Inklusion von Nichtbürgergruppen (...) in Priene im späten Hellenismus im Vergleich zu anderen Poleis besonders ausgeprägt“ (S. 321) gewesen sei.

der griechischen Kultur zwingend geboten. Eine Recherche in der Datenbank des PHI zu Kleinasien und zum Ägäisraum erscheint für belastbare Ergebnisse insgesamt nicht ausreichend.

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A.B. Belinskii and S.L. Dudarev, *Mogilnik Klin-Yar III i ego mesto sredi drevnostej Kavkaza i yugo-vostochnoj Evropy nachala rannego zheleza*, Dizajn-studia, Stavropol 2015, 445 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-5-903011-67-4

The cemetery of Klin-Yar III is located outside the spa town of Kislovodsk in the Stavropol region of Russia. This cemetery is the most widely excavated Early Iron Age burial site in the Caucasian Mineral Waters area. About 300 graves that belong to the prehistoric Koban culture were investigated here by various archaeological expeditions in the last decades of the 20th century. The largest number (180 graves) were discovered in the course of fieldwork undertaken between 1988 and 1996 by the Nasledie regional heritage unit, directed by Andrei Belinskii. The publication and detailed analysis of the material obtained is the task of this book by Belinskii and Sergei Dudarev.

The introduction (pp. 4–9) briefly reviews the history of excavations of the cemetery in the context of the Western area of distribution of Koban culture antiquities. B. and D. argue that because of its size, rich inventory and the high quality of the fieldwork undertaken, the Klin-Yar cemetery can be viewed as one of the most important Early Iron Age archaeological sites in the North Caucasus.

Chapter 1 (pp. 10–252) presents a catalogue of the graves excavated together with descriptions and excellent illustrations of numerous finds. Funerary rites are analysed in Chapter 2 (pp. 253–78), where B. and D. divide the burial constructions into six types. The Koban-period inhabitants mainly practised inhumation in rectangular grave-pits sometimes with a stone lining or a stone cover (about 90%). Each grave contained a single body that was crouched on the side. Males were laid on their right side, females on the left. The burial inventory also shows clear differences between the sexes: males were buried with weapons (usually a spearhead) and tools (knives, whetstones and flint flakes); females were buried with elements of garments and decorations (headdresses, bracelets, beads and pins). These differences probably reflect the different gender roles in pre-Scythian local society: men were involved in war and labour, while women dealt mostly with household work and sacral affairs.

The typological and morphological characteristics of various elements of the burial inventory (ceramics, weapons, horse harnesses, adornments) are discussed and compared with grave-goods from both the cemetery of Klin-Yar and others (Chapter 3: pp. 279–374). The majority of artefacts used by inhabitants of the cemetery (pots, knives, spears, etc.) were traditional for the Koban community and their general Caucasian origin is indisputable. At the same time, a number of finds point to cultural contacts with the Central European and Volga-Kama regions as well as the influence of the Pontic steppe environment that determined the shape of a warrior's kit. Some of these finds include Assyrian-type helmets, pectorals of Transcaucasian and West Asian design, and certain types of Colchian bracelets (graves 14, 25 and 186) that were used as an indicator of wealth and the

high social status of their owners, who belonged to the local elites. Such archaeological evidence suggests that the Klin-Yar cemetery was part of a contact zone between the steppe areas to the north of the Caucasian mountains and advanced civilisations to the south.

Chapter 4 (pp. 375–85) describes the results of anthropological and bone chemistry analysis of 106 skeletons from the cemetery undertaken by a Moscow-based team that included A.P. Buzhilova, M.V. Kozlovskaya and M.B. Mednikova (Institute of Archaeology, Russian Academy of Sciences). According to palaeoanthropological, palaeodemographic and chemical data, all of which provide a substantial addition to abovementioned archaeological evidence, the Koban people were a native population with a lifestyle and diet typical for an agricultural economy. The average age of deceased men was 35.5 years, whereas women on average were 33 years old. No mortality peaks were observed for either sex, indicating that a relatively high standard of living was enjoyed by the local population. Various evidence indicative of warrior involvement in the metal trade (graves 204, 300, 306) was also obtained in the course of this research. These finds provide important insights into the social aspects of the life of the Koban people (p. 384).

The book concludes with Chapter 5 (pp. 386–97), which explores the chronology of the cemetery. B. and D. discuss the most important chronological indicators from the cemetery, subdivided into four groups, varying from the Belozerksaya period (10th–beginning of the 9th century BC) to the Early Scythian period (the second half of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century BC). These point to the dynamics of development of material culture among the Klin-Yar population as well as cultural contacts between them and the outside world in the course of five centuries. However, it is worth mentioning that the first reliable written source that mentions the activity of Cimmerians in the Near East is dated to 714 BC; by contrast, B. and D. cite either the 730s or 720s as when Cimmerian military raids in the south started (p. 394).

A conclusion summarises the findings, including the value of the Klin-Yar III archaeological material for the investigation of development of iron technology in Central Ciscaucasia. This book is a useful and convincing study that highlights the importance of the Klin-Yar cemetery as one of key archaeological sites of the early Koban culture in the North Caucasus.

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H. Börm (ed.), with the collaboration of W. Havener, *Antimonarchic Discourse in Antiquity*, Studies in Ancient Monarchies 3, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 352 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-515-11095-2

This attractively produced volume contains extremely useful and stimulating essays in the form of a general introduction followed by 12 case studies. The authors approach monarchy in the ancient Mediterranean from the perspective of the critiques that it provoked. The resulting negative image helps to clarify societal expectations of monarchs and the monocratic system. Bringing monarchy into focus, the study of antimonarchic discourse is methodologically valid and performs a much needed function, offering readers a congenial and productive way of analysing evidence for what was the principal form of government throughout recorded ancient history. Opening with an Introduction that ranges from the

ancient Fertile Crescent to Late Antique Constantinople, Henning Börm offers readers a methodological rationale for this volume and also sets the stage with general reflections upon the possible causes generating antimonarchic discourse.

Using the 'Demotic Chronicle' as a foil, Joachim Friedrich Quack addresses the issue of antimonarchic discourse in Pharaonic Egypt. The criticism of rulers of the 29th and 30th dynasties expressed in this late 3rd-century BC text runs counter to normal Egyptian practices such as *damnatio memoriae* or circumlocution for the disgraced and careful avoidance of negative language as regards the living. A fascinating hybrid of history and prophecy, the 'Demotic Chronicle' exhibits traits (such as named examples of bad rule and the attribution of a ruler's misfortune to the many sins of the time) that have parallels in the other Near Eastern kingdoms and which here may be a sign of the influence of Jewish thought. In discussing antimonarchic discourse in Achaemenid Iran, Josef Wiesehöfer begins by pointing out fundamental similarities to the other Near Eastern kingdoms. Then, focusing upon what was distinctive about Iran, he sketches the problems inherent within the indigenous historiographical tradition. Deformation of historical memory by the prevailing oral culture is well illustrated and emphasised. What is of the essence, however, is the fact that Persians were clearly critical of individuals and not of the system. Monarchs are represented in their human frailty. Greek authors, by contrast, were critical of the system of monarchy, formulating theories to explain history and the 'other', and it is to them that we owe the modern European idea of 'Oriental Despotism'.

The series of case studies dedicated to ancient Hellas begins with a contribution by Nino Luraghi that is dedicated to the elusive figure of the *tyrannos* in Archaic Greece. Clearly synthesising the three dominant interpretative models for the historical reality of tyranny (Mazzarino, Andrewes and Heuß), he proceeds to explore the problems posed by the abundant literary testimony for Archaic tyrants. Most disturbing is the sources' focus on anecdotal oddities characteristic of mythical figures, for example sexual depravity and guile in seizing power. Yet epigraphic evidence shows that these oddities cannot be dismissed as mere *topoi*, and epinician poetry suggests the existence of a widespread, popular basis for support. In the next contribution, Hans-Ulrich Wiemer deals with antimonarchic discourse as it manifests itself in the reception of the figure of Alexander the Great in the Early Hellenistic period. He reviews the causes for enduring negative judgments at Athens, Sparta and Thebes, as opposed to cities such as Rhodes. Proceeding in time and geography, he next explores the works of Ehippos (pamphlet) and Kleitarchos (history), seeking to situate them within their original contexts and thus to explain the influence that they exerted upon subsequent readers. This review of the reception concludes with philosophers, who used Alexander as a foil to question societal norms and therefore furnish evidence for his widespread popularity in Hellenistic society. The following contribution by Steffen Diefenbach examines antimonarchic discourse by means of the case study of Demetrius Poliorcetes and that ruler's interaction with Athens in the years 307–287 BC. Reviewing the course of relations between ruler and city, he identifies different levels of communication (such as acclamations, *ithyphallikos*) and interaction (hospitality in the opisthodomos of the Parthenon) whereby the Athenians dealt with Demetrius as though he were a god. These show a movement from the ephemeral to the permanent as the Athenians sought to create a discourse of 'ruler cult' that would accommodate the king within the civic

landscape. Plutarch's *Life of Demetrius* demonstrates, however, how 'coming to terms' with a king might generate antimonarchic narratives.

The focus of the collection then shifts to Rome. Federico Russo opens with a provocative antithesis between Ennius' depiction of Titus Tatius as a *tyrannus* and Naevius' representing Amulius as a *rex*. Amulius is unequivocally endowed by Naevius with the virtues of *sapientia* and *pietas*, in contrast to the tradition descending from Fabius Pictor to Livy. Detailed philological analysis of prose and poetic fragments of the late 3rd and early 2nd century BC illustrates the existence of a semantic distinction between *rex* and *tyrannus*, despite the claims of the Virgilian commentator Servius. Historical analysis complements this by showing how and why the dictator Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator was viewed in some circles as a *tyrannus*. The contribution of Ann-Cathrin Harders explores the problems posed by the womenfolk of the *princeps*, illustrating in detail how sexual and familial relations might be transformed into *liaisons dangereuses* in political discourse striking an antimonarchic tone. Discussion of *The Lives of Cleopatra and Octavia* (1757) by Sarah Fielding introduces the issues in question. There follows discussion of how royal consorts might be used by Romans to advantage abroad, but were extremely problematic within the context of Rome. Indeed, in maintaining the appearance of a *res publica libera*, the *princeps* found – as Augustus did with Livia – that it was best to assign his wife to a subordinate position, lest antimonarchic discourse gain the upper hand. The contribution by Ulrich Gotter looks at the notorious episode of miscommunication with which Tiberius Caesar began his reign, analysing how Tiberius sought to distance himself from his predecessor. A review of the first two centuries of the Principate shows two unexpected structural realities that informed how emperors behaved: the successor's insecurity and the need to differentiate oneself *vis-à-vis* one's predecessor. In panegyric terms, the reign of Tiberius differed from and marked an improvement upon that of Augustus. This interpretation of what went wrong with the *recusatio* of Tiberius identifies an inherently antimonarchic strain in imperial expressions and furnishes students of Roman imperial history with a model for the transition from one reign to another. The contribution by Mihály Loránd Dészpa identifies another fundamental strand of antimonarchic discourse during the Principate. Idleness (*ignavia*) and inactivity (*inertia*) were associated with a loss of martial valour and the decline of Roman power. When the ruler was idle, for the elite to take action and enjoy success was to incur grave risk, as Tacitus observes regarding the activity of Corbulo in AD 47. Conversely, when Pliny the Younger sought to portray Trajan as *optimus princeps*, he emphasised Trajan's ceaseless military activity. While there can be no doubt of Hadrian's incessant activity as *imperator*, the fact that he, too, was said to have restored *disciplina militaris* is indicative of a deeper, structural concern.

The contribution of Meron M. Piotrowski analyses the antimonarchic strands of thought evident in the works of Josephus, with especial attention given to his account of Hasmonean history. The result is a promising key to reading the *Jewish Antiquities* as historiography written in the last years of the reign of Domitian. Josephus' preference for a 'theocratic' (i.e. priestly aristocratic) over a monocratic system is clear from his treatment of the prophet Samuel as well the handling of the Hasmonean monarchs themselves. While Josephus was writing first and foremost for Jews or those open to conversion, it is possible that he was also offering veiled criticism of the terror experienced towards the end of

Domitian's reign. In the next contribution, Matthias Haake argues that there exists an underlying and enduring antimonarchic thread to be discerned in the *Historia Augusta*. Anthropological observations scattered throughout the *Historia Augusta* (for example, *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, *Sept. Severus* 20. 4–5; *Aurelianus* 42. 3–6) make clear the anonymous author's position that monarchy is inherently incapable of producing good rulers. Moreover, the biographer's unusual decision to give separate treatment to usurpers is convincingly linked to the *Enmann'sche Kaisergeschichte* and argued to be a reflection of the contemporary problems with 'tyrants' experienced by Theodosius I. Only in the interval between Aurelian and Tacitus, when no emperor ruled, did there truly obtain a felicitous state of affairs according to the author of the *Historia Augusta*. In the final contribution, Börm focuses upon the *Anecdota* of Procopius of Caesarea, a notorious work of invective. The approach is indirect, beginning with the identification and interpretation of the criticism of rulers to be found within the *Bella* published by that same author *ca.* AD 550–553. Only then is an attempt made to contextualise antimonarchic discourse within the *Anecdota* by means of reference to the author's known or presumed biography and the desirability of taking a stance as regards opposition to Justinian. Evocatively recapturing the uncertainty of the present, this contribution reminds readers that Procopius, when starting to write, could not know that Justinian would outlive Theodora († AD 548) by nearly 20 years.

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B.A. Brown and M.H. Feldman (eds.), *Critical Approaches to Ancient Near Eastern Art*, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2014, xxxix+812 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-61451-029-1

This volume brings together 30 papers, plus an Introduction, by art historians specialising in one or another area of the ancient Near East. The papers are arranged under six rubrics – 'Defining the Field'; 'Technologies and Practices of Artistic Production'; 'Text and Image'; 'Social Identities'; 'Religion, Ritual and Politics'; and 'Making and Defining Space'. In her Introduction, Marian Feldman poses the question, 'Can we speak of a discipline of "Ancient Near Eastern Art History"?' (p. 3) and suggests that the contents of the volume 'provide an answer in the affirmative'. Certainly the contributors self-identify as ancient Near Eastern art historians. However, as someone who is not an art historian, let me pose a related consideration: even if we *can* speak of a discipline of ancient Near Eastern art history, *should* we? Feldman herself does not delve into the definition of art, using the term 'visual culture' (p. 2) in contemplating the chronological boundaries of the volume's subject matter and suggesting that the carved stone stelae at Göbekli Tepe (10th millennium BC) might easily have been dealt with, though disciplinary boundaries conspired to make the earliest material considered of 4th-millennium BC date. Both Allison Karmel Thomason and Karen Sonik, however, do grapple with the notion of 'art' and the applicability of this term in an ancient Near Eastern context. Sonik invokes Irene Winter's definition of art as 'any work that is imaginatively conceptualised and that affords visual and emotional satisfaction, for which manufacturing skill is required and to which some established standards have been applied' (p. 267, quoting from Winter's 'Aesthetics in Ancient Mesopotamian

Art'. In J. Sasson [ed.], *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* [New York 1995], 2570). Whether one chooses to use such a formulation as a working definition of art in any given period, the question posed above remains, should a discipline of ancient Near Eastern art exist?

Readers may well think it churlish to even doubt the validity of the study of whatever visual culture, broadly defined, from whatever period, a given scholar wishes to devote his or her energies to. The point is not to denigrate any particular object of study. Rather, it is to pose a question: in order to understand the ancient Near East, it is surely *necessary* to study its reliefs, sculpture, cylinder seals, etc., but is it *sufficient*? I would argue that it is not, and therefore I question whether a deep understanding of the ancient Near East is possible in the absence of a wide range of other sources, the kinds of things studied by archaeologists, Assyriologists and historians whose primary concern is not just 'art.' It is also the case that when, for instance, anthropomorphic figurines or cylinder seals are abstracted as categories of material culture to be studied on their own, barriers arise, often unwittingly, that separate such objects from their broader social, economic, political and religious context (and here I am fully aware that distinctions such as social, economic, political and religious are generally meaningless in studies of the ancient Near East, and in many other contexts). The fetishisation of seal style and iconography, a preoccupation with chronological problems raised by undated objects and the incessant emphasis on visual culture broadly defined, can lead to subjective characterisations of the societies that produced these objects that can scarcely be harmonised with studies based on economic and historical texts. Just as aesthetics-driven publications on Persian miniatures paint a portrait of Safavid society that is totally at odds with the torture, deportations and unspeakable cruelties committed by many Safavid rulers, so too does a fixation upon the heroic elements of Old Akkadian glyptic cast Sargon and his successors in a light that can never be harmonised with the image gleaned from the royal inscriptions – think, tales of campaigns to suppress rebellions and accounts of dead bodies heaped up on the plains of Elam by Rimuš. My point is simply that a study of the art of any period or region in the ancient Near East, no matter how attractive that art may be to 21st-century sensibilities, should never be an end in itself, for the abstraction of art from its political and economic context risks re-casting what were often brutal, exploitative dynasties into no more than a series of 'styles' that seem to blend and merge and develop via an internal logic independent of reality across time and space.

Let me stress, however, that most of the papers in this volume go beyond 'art history' and attempt, some more successfully than others, to situate the art forms studied in a broader social, historical, political and religious context. Most of the volume's papers concern Mesopotamia, from the 4th millennium BC to the Seleucid period, though the Levant, Cyprus and the Achaemenid empire feature as well. It is impossible to comment on all of the papers, many of which are excellent, and as such my remarks are highly selective, reflecting some of my own interests.

Stephanie Langin-Hooper's study of terracotta figurines from Seleucid Babylonia (pp. 451–79) notes the large numbers of figurines documented and suggests that 'they were widely available to a broad swath of people' (p. 458). I think, however, it would be possible to go further with this analysis by looking more closely at the demographics of Seleucid Babylonia. Which settlements were *poleis*, for example? What were the relative proportions of Greeks to Babylonians in the cities where these figurines are found? In Paul Collins's

treatment of gods, heroes, rituals and warfare in the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs, the issue of propaganda is raised yet again. He expresses doubt about the validity of characterising Assyrian images of war as propaganda, noting the problem of audience (p. 621). If propaganda is intended to influence public opinion or disseminate a particular viewpoint, then one is hard pressed to imagine anything like a suitable audience exposed to the Assyrian reliefs who were not already convinced of Assyria's might and right. Foreign ambassadors, to be sure, would have visited Assyrian palaces, but never the masses, and surely Assyrian courtiers and bureaucrats, or military officers, required no convincing about the justifiability of their imperial endeavours. In her study of 'uniforms and non-conformists' in Early Dynastic Mesopotamia, Aubrey Baadsgaard suggests that, 'The co-emergence of standardized, occupational and class related dress and of high status fashion by the Early Dynastic phase was an essential component, even perhaps a primary instigator, of profound social and political developments' (p. 445). This I find, frankly, difficult to believe. Warfare, fiercely contested battles for hegemony and struggles over access to irrigation water and arable land all formed part of the crucible in which Early Dynastic society and its hyper-competitive city-state system were forged. Status was undoubtedly reflected in dress and ornamentation, but calling it a 'primary instigator' in 3rd-millennium Mesopotamia is likely to be as inaccurate as attributing the roots of the French Revolution to a constellation of wigs, powder, perfume and silk. These are, at best, epiphenomena.

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G. von Bülow (ed.), *Kontaktzone Balkan*, Beiträge des internationalen Kolloquiums 'Die Donau-Balkan-Region als Kontaktzone zwischen Ost-West und Nord-Süd', von 16.–18. Mai 2012 in Frankfurt a. M., Kolloquien zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte 20, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, x+259 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-2983-7

The volume consists of several studies of wide spectrum. The first by F. Tuchner compiles an account of the beginnings of archaeology in the Balkans as a story of German amateurs, thus adding aspects less known from similar surveys published by more nationally oriented specialists in the Balkan countries. O. Perić (with several colleagues) provides a paper on the Neolithic in the Morava valley, A. Jockenhövel (with C. Popov and K. Nikov) an exhaustive report on Ada Tepe gold mine with local pottery. B. Atanasov and R. Kraus discuss the Late Bronze Age in Bulgaria and I. von Bredow the Persians in the Pangaion area during the Graeco-Persian wars, with rich documentation of Thracian toreutics inspired by the Persian/Anatolian school. J. Škundrić writes on Roman Gamzigrad, M. Lemke and C. Rummel on the Roman northern boundary on the Danube, and L. Mrózewicz discusses Flavian city foundations in the Balkans.

S. Conrad and the late D. Stančev published a Roman relief mirror in the Ruse museum with Athena and two other goddesses, H. Commick discussed the provincial coinage during the Severan dynasty, A. Schwarz the north-east Balkan *foederati*, A. Gladkova and E. Schulze the Černjachov culture and M. Zahariade the Roman frontier in Scythia Minor. The last paper by K. Wachtel brought stories from the Iatrus-Krivina excavations. The

volume honoured the publisher, G. von Bülow, on the occasion of her retirement and brings useful reports on German engagements in these areas, with East and West German projects running many years side by side.

Charles University, Prague

Jan Bouzek

L. Buzoianu, A. Avram, C. Chera, G. Custurea, P. Dupont and I. Nastasi (eds.), *Histria, histoire et archéologie en Mer Noire*, volume dédié au centenaire des recherches archéologiques à Histria Pontique, *Pontica* XLVII, Suppl. III, Constanța 2014, 382 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 973-7951-29-8/ISSN 1013-424

Of all Black Sea archaeologists Romanian scholars have been leading in research and publication of their ancient sites. Of those with a strong Mediterranean heritage Histria is foremost, and this volume offers essays on several aspects of recent work there and research on past finds (no less important), brought together to celebrate the centenary of excavation there. It is in a way also an unvoiced tribute to the leadership and high scholarship in Histrian studies provided by Prof. Petre Alexandrescu over many decades, and it evokes in the reviewer recollection of a visit to one of the most evocative and instructive of all Black Sea sites.

Z. Petre explores the puzzling lack of monumental evidence about its foundation and founder(s), and the nature of the Apollo worship there. M. Angelescu describes in detail the progress of study at Istria and gradual uncovering of the Greek town. A. Panaite turns to its Roman history and consequent developments of its local landscapes and new settlements. M.M. Cârstoiu and V. Apostol consider what the four remaining blocks which remain of the Late Roman city gate might tell of its original two-/three-story appearance, a truly colossal structure.

P. Dupont identifies another source for 'Ionian cups' on the Hellespont. K. Zimmermann presents the relatively small haul of Archaic palmette antefixes from the site. M. Alexandrescu Vianu takes a broad view of the development of the arts in the west Black Sea area from Archaic to Roman times. F. Panait Bîrzescu presents some unfinished classical sculpture fragments but doubts local production. V. Lungu and A. Avram offer a fragmentary funerary epigram of the 4th/3rd century BC. L. Buzoianu and C. Nopcea publish amphora stamps from the extramural tumulus Pescarie, and A. Bădescu and V. Bottez lamps from the acropolis, C. Băjenaru some Late Roman ware from the city.

A section follows devoted to scientific analysis of finds and sites. It dwells on the extramural basilica – architecture and coins (V. Rusu-Bolindeț *et al.*); skeletal remains from extramural burials (C. Radu *et al.*); and a post-ancient grave with offerings (Bottez *et al.*). A final section on coinage considers the pre-Roman from the basilica area (D. Talmațchi and D. Vasilescu) and a Byzantine deposit (G. Custurea and I. Nastasi).

The volume concludes with Buzoianu's brief preamble to an exhibition 'Un siècle d'archéologie en Dobroudja' – a series of colour tableaux of the work of the leading scholars involved, the sites, etc. Papers in French, English, Romanian and German.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

R. Carboni, *Dea in limine: Culto, imagine e sincretismi di Ecate nel mondo greco e microasiatico*, Tübinger Archäologische Forschungen 17, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, 290 pp., 46 plates, 15 pp. of tables and diagrams, 4 maps. Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-997-7/ISSN 1862-3484

L'ouvrage de Romina Carboni est composé de deux grandes parties: 1. 'La figura di Ecate attraverso le fonti iconografiche e testuali' (p. 19–58, avec commentaires et considérations portant notamment sur les syncrétismes avec d'autres divinités); 2. 'Testimonianze del culto' (p. 59–206). Ces deux chapitres sont précédés par une introduction et suivis de brèves conclusions, un résumé en allemand, un index et une liste bibliographique. Il est manifeste, ne fût-ce qu'à regarder les dimensions de chaque chapitre, que la principale contribution de l'ouvrage est le répertoire, à prétention d'exhaustivité, des monuments épigraphiques, numismatiques ou iconographiques, de même que des sources littéraires ayant trait à Hécate.

Le titre n'est pas forcément inspiré: le binôme 'greco e microasiatico' laisse comprendre, à moins que je ne m'abuse, que le monde micrasiatique ne serait pas grec. D'autre part, je ne comprends pas la présence des monuments de Dacie dans ce répertoire (section II.12), pour autant que la Dacie soit une province latinophone de tous les points de vue.

Comme il est tout à fait normal, le répertoire est distribué par régions géographiques. Seulement, pourquoi ne pas avoir utilisé l'ordre privilégié par le *SEG* (Grèce, mer Noire, îles égéennes, Asie Mineure, avec un ordre spécifique au sein de chaque entité)? C. commence avec les régions d'Asie Mineure, enchaîne avec la Propontide, la Bithynie et le Pont (section II.9), descend jusqu'à Chypres (II.10), pour remonter en mer Noire (II.10, côtes ouest et nord, car la côte sud avait été présentée en II.9) et continuer avec une section très hétérogène (II.12): 'Dacia, Illiria, Mesia, Tracia e isole'. Quelles îles? Car Samothrace et Thasos sont les seules à y être représentées, alors que les Cyclades ne viendront que plus tard (II.16), après que C. eut rendu compte des régions de la Grèce continentale. Pire encore, dans la section incriminée, C. opte pour un ordre alphabétique, ce qui donne entre autres la succession plus que bizarre Samothrace – Sarmizegetusa (Colonia Ulpia Traiana) de Dacie – Thasos.

Quoi qu'il en soit, le répertoire demeure utile, car les références bibliographiques sont riches et les commentaires pour la plupart appropriés. Il y a, de surcroît, une illustration de très bonne qualité. En revanche, les textes grecs ne sont pas dépourvus de nombre d'erreurs qui auraient pu être facilement évitées à la suite d'une relecture attentive du manuscrit et des épreuves.

On s'étonnera que C. n'ait pas insisté davantage sur l'épiclèse *Phosphoros* portée par Hécate/Artémis. Pour arriver aux lieux où il en est question, il faut utiliser trois entrées distinctes offertes par l'index: 'Ecate' (avec, entre autres, l'épithète *Phosphoros*), '*Phosphoros*' (avec un autre renvoi qui ne figure pas sous l'entrée précédente) et, enfin, sous 'cose notevoli', '*phosphoros*'. Seule la première de ces entrées renvoie à Kabylè (II.12.2), mais là, à la grande désillusion des lecteurs, seules les monnaies à la représentation de la *Phosphoros* sont commentées, alors que le site voisin de Seuthopolis a fourni le célèbre 'serment de Bérénice' (mention dans *IGBulg* III.2 1731 et édition complète dans *SEG* 42, 661), où il est entre autres question du *Phosphorion* de Kabylè. Il est dommage que C. n'ait pas mis à profit ce témoignage épigraphique précieux, d'autant plus qu'elle y fait indirectement référence

lorsqu'elle rappelle que 'siamo a conoscenza dell'esistenza del culto della dea *Phosphoros* in relazione con Cabile' et qu'elle mentionne même explicitement le *Phosphorion* (p. 143). Elle tire cette information d'un article de Z.H. Archibald, dans G.R. Tsetschladze (éd.), *Ancient Greeks West and East* (Leiden 1999), 441, où elle aurait pourtant pu trouver (440, n. 33) toutes les références épigraphiques à ce sujet. C'est toujours là qu'elle aurait découvert la mention d'une dédicace (IVe/IIIe siècles a.C.) à la même *Phosphoros* en provenance de Sboryanovo, autre centre du pouvoir thrace, ce qui aurait enrichi son répertoire.¹

Le répertoire présente donc des omissions et les inscriptions ne bénéficient pas toujours du meilleur traitement (il manque surtout très souvent les références, obligatoires dans ce genre d'approche, au *SEG*). Il reste pour autant utile comme instrument de travail.

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Alexandru Avram

D. Charpin, *Gods, Kings, and Merchants in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*, Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France 2, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2015, 223 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3275-3

This volume is the second in the *PIPOAC* series and the fourth book by Dominique Charpin in English,¹ in which he aims to 'share certain results of French Assyriological research with the wider public' (p. 10). Like his *Writing, Law, and Kingship in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia*, it is based on articles published by him in French between 1996 and 2012 (p. 8, n. 9). These were translated by P. Cochet-Balmet and revised by C. and others (p. 10). By means of this it was possible to include some recently published sources and studies.

Each of the book's eight chapters deals with particular aspects of Old Babylonian intellectual, religious, social, legal and economic life. Many of these are based primarily on Mari sources, which further highlights C.'s great interest on this city and the overwhelming corpus from its palace. It is especially welcome to present the results of Mari studies in English, for the corresponding Assyriological literature is almost exclusively in French.

Chapter 1 deals with prophetism and prophecies according to the Mari archives, complemented by further sources from Uruk, Nērebtum, etc. The book itself is meant not only for Assyriologists, but also for those less familiar with cuneiform studies, so the introduction touches on the history of research and the corresponding literature. C. presents the available sources, the gods and the people involved in prophecies, as well as the historical and political context. He demonstrates that prophecies should be considered as part of a two-way communication and in a complementary manner to divination. He convincingly argues against the traditional view of geographical distribution of the former and the latter practices between the western and eastern part of Ancient Near East.

¹ Voir aussi l'article récent de M. Čičikova, 'Le culte de la *Phosphoros* en Thrace (IVe–Ier siècles a.C.) (à partir des données épigraphiques et archéologiques)'. Dans *Studia classica Serdicensia* II (Sofia 2013), 377–89 (en bulgare). Cf. *Bulletin épigraphique* 2015, 463.

¹ The others are *Writing, Law, and Kingship in Old Babylonian Mesopotamia* (Chicago/London 2010); *Reading and Writing in Babylon* (Cambridge, MA/London 2010); *Hammurabi of Babylon* (London/New York 2012).

Chapter 2 presents a case study on the right of asylum in the city of Aleppo. The practice of extradition of fugitives and criminals was a common part of diplomatic relations. Yarim-Lim, the king of Aleppo, however, notoriously refused to extradite those who had taken refuge with him. The reason behind this is the role of the Storm-God Addu as 'the guardian of inviolable space'. An allusion to this practice in a Hittite letter and a treaty from the 8th century BC support C.'s theory of this custom's survival into the 1st millennium BC.

Chapter 3 discusses the historical allusions in the Mari letters. These may refer to events that are not reflected by contemporary documents. These references to past events aim to support the sender's intention as a rule. Most of them apparently ask Zimri-Lim for some kind of assistance, by means of which he could be faithful to the example of his ancestors.

Chapter 4 treats the death of a ruler and the accession of his successor to the throne. One finds here valuable observations concerning the death and the funeral of Amorite sovereigns, the opening of royal tombs as well as the mourning period. The accession of the new king underlines the solar aspects of Old Babylonian kingship.

Chapter 5 is about the relation between the living and their dead. It briefly presents the use of archival sources and the aims of the ARCHIBAB database,² somewhat misplaced from a book's point of view. Besides the epigraphic data, the archaeological material concerning funerary vaults is included.

The economic role of temples is studied in Chapter 6, based on their loan contracts. C. carefully distinguishes commercial loans and those considered 'necessity' loans. He emphasises that the preserved loan contracts are, as a rule, those that the debtors failed to pay and were finally cancelled by the ruler.

Chapter 7 investigates the fines and corporal punishment in archival texts. After presenting their various types, C. tries to establish which must be taken literally and which are acts of legal symbolism. He argues convincingly for different legal traditions rather than a centre/periphery geographical distribution.

Chapter 8 re-examines the textual and archaeological data on the large residences of wealthy entrepreneurs. Based on the archives of the Sanum family³ and of Šilli-Ištar on the one hand, as well as the residential area excavated in Larsa on the other, C. demonstrates how the members of subsequent generations acquired the neighbouring plots to build up their own residence.⁴ These not only looked like the royal palaces but used a similar administration too, even if on a smaller scale.

Each topic is amply supplied with further literature, but these are not compiled into a bibliography. Unlike C.'s three books published in English, the present volume lacks both indexes and lists of abbreviations and figures. The source of the latter is sometimes unclear

² <http://www.archibab.frl>.

³ As for their family tree (p. 202), cf. F.R. Kraus, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 16 (1952–53), 322, n. 16.

⁴ C. also proposes a special meaning of *ganūnum*, i.e. a room with the funerary vault beneath, which must remain the eldest son's property. Even if it was indeed identical to the *ekallum* of the same size, however, it remains unclear why Iddin-Amurru had to purchase it from his cousin Iddin-Nanāya (TCL 10, 29).

(pp. 28, 97). Even if one considers the ARCHIBAB database as a complementary part of this book (p. 9, etc.), this cannot fully replace such essential tools.

It is regrettable that C. did not make more effort to include further literature in English. In fact, he consistently refers to J.-M. Durand's French translations, but does not mention W. Heimpel's English ones (except for p. 14, n. 15), although these would also be of interest to English-speaking readers.⁵ ARCHIBAB, again, contains French translations as a rule. Furthermore, C. prefers the French customs in the transcription of Akkadian terms (*âpilum* for *āpilum*, etc.), again in contrast to his earlier three English books.

In general, C. handles impressively all kinds of sources in reference to the Old Babylonian period. His vast knowledge of this age as well as his expertise in utilising and presenting the material – both published and unpublished – is well demonstrated on every page. Unpublished texts are referred to many times (especially from Mari). In several cases, the results of unpublished theses are utilised as well (pp. 25, n. 74, 197, n. 12, etc.).⁶ Besides the traditional publication forms, references to on-line databases also appear.

The textual references are plentiful and accurate. References to tablets by museum number, usually employed for unpublished texts, are in some instances used also for published ones: for instance AO 11152 (p. 143) was published as early as 1929; an English translation was provided by J.J. Finkelstein.⁷ Some cross-references within the book are slightly inaccurate: read 87 for 81 (p. 86), 116–117 for 107–108 (p. 101, n. 71), etc. The number of misprints is exemplary low; the name of J. Stökl is, however, consistently misspelled as Stöckl (Chapter 1, *passim*).

In conclusion, we must be very grateful to the author for making his revised studies available in English.

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Zsombor Földi

V. Cojocaru, A. Coşkun and M. Dana (eds.), *Interconnectivity in the Mediterranean and Pontic World during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*, Proceedings of the International Symposium organized by the Iaşi Branch of the Romanian Academy, the Museum of National History and Archaeology Constanţa, the Research Project 'Amici Populi Romani' (Trier–Waterloo, ON), and the Cultural Complex 'Callatos' Mangalia, Constanţa, July 8–12, 2013, *Pontica et Mediterranea* 3, Mega Publishing House, Cluj-Napoca 2014, 708 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-606-543-526-1

Dieser Auswahlband mit 27 (nicht 25; S. 11) Beiträgen aus 47 Vorträgen einer Tagung in Constanza im Juli 2013 sowie mit einem zusätzlichen Beitrag trägt einen absichtlich doppel-, ja dreideutigen Titel: Er bezeichnet einerseits mit dem zentralen Begriff „interconnectivity“ historische Verbindungen in der Mittelmeerwelt und dem Schwarzmeerraum und

⁵ Another anthology, published in the meantime, is J.M. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake 2015).

⁶ M. Rede's PhD thesis (2004; published as *Família e Patrimônio na Antiga Mesopotâmia* [Rio de Janeiro 2007]), is surprisingly missing from the discussion of the Sanum family (pp. 202–06).

⁷ C.-F. Jean, *Revue d'Assyriologie* 26 (1929), 103; translated by J.J. Finkelstein in J.B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton 1969), 543.

zwischen diesen beiden. Andererseits bezieht er sich auf einen „Brückenschlag zwischen der Erforschung der Antike in der westlichen und östlichen Hemisphäre“ insbesondere in der Schwarzmeeresforschung (S. 9). Von daher kommt ein drittes Moment zu Geltung: Der Band ist dem Gedenken des renommierten Trierer Althistorikers Heinz Heinen gewidmet, der an der Tagung teilnehmen sollte und wollte, jedoch kurz vor deren Termin verstarb. Heinen hatte längst noch in der Zeit des Kalten Krieges zwischen althistorischer Forschung und Forschern im bürgerlichen Westen und im sozialistischen Osten, vor allem in der Sowjetunion, Brücken geschlagen und die so entstandenen Verbindungen zwischen West und Ost unter den ab 1989/90 eingetretenen politisch-gesellschaftlichen Veränderungen konsequent weiter geführt (S. 28–37). Dem Charakter eines Gedenkbandes entsprechen der erste Teil des Vorwortes (S. 9–11) und vor allem die Würdigung der Verstorbenen durch seinen akademischen Schüler A. Coşkun nebst Schriftenverzeichnis (S. 25–40 bzw. 40–71, vgl. auch Cojocar S. 83).

Der Inhalt des Bandes, soweit er geographisch definiert ist, bedarf freilich einer Klärung: Mittelmeer- und Schwarzmeerraum sind trotz des Buchtitels nicht gleichwertig vertreten, sondern im Mittelpunkt steht, wie sich bereits aus der Buchbeschreibung auf der vierten Seite des Buchumschlages in aller Klarheit ergibt, der Schwarzmeerraum, und zwar in seinen Beziehungen sowohl zum Mittelmeerraum als auch zu anderen Nachbarn sowie in den Beziehungen seiner verschiedenen Küstenregionen untereinander. Dem entspricht die Anordnung von 26 Beiträgen, soweit sie geographisch angelegt ist, weitgehend, aber nicht vollständig: „Pontica & Micro-Asiatica“ mit 10 Beiträgen, „Seleucidica & Mithridatica“ mit 4 Beiträgen (also nicht historisch-geographisches, sondern dynastisches Kriterium. Der Beitrag M.H. Sayars über „Lysimacheia. Eine Hauptstadt zwischen zwei Kontinenten und zwei Meeren: ein Ort der Interkonnektivität“ (S. 363–82) ist freilich historisch-geographischer Art), „Pontica Romana“ mit 8 Beiträgen und „Micro-Asiatica Romana“ mit 4 Beiträgen. Der Beitrag Cojocar, also eines der Herausgeber, über „Die „Beziehungen der nordpontischen Griechen zu den außerpontischen Regionen und Dynastien, einschließlich der römischen Hegemonialmacht. Historiographische Übersicht“ (S. 73–96) ist alledem vorangestellt, weil er, wie sich aus dem Vorwort (S. 11) ergibt, als Grundsatzreferat über das wechselhafte Verhältnis zwischen russisch- sowjetischer bzw. postsowjetischer und westlicher Forschung gedacht ist. Der Mittelmeerraum tritt in der von den Herausgebern gewählten Gliederung nicht in Erscheinung, sondern Kleinasien, das vom Schwarzen Meer her gesehen, nur bedingt zum Mittelmeerraum und mehr zum Pontosgebiet gehört.

Auch erstaunt der Umstand, dass für den Hellenismus und teilweise für die Zeit davor Schwarzmeerraum und Kleinasien in einem Abschnitt vereint, für die römische Zeit jedoch in zwei getrennten Abschnitten erfasst sind, und das trotz der nur zu berechtigten Feststellung Heinz Heiners, die im Vorwort (S. 11) zitiert wird: „Den Begriff ‚Interconnectivity‘ finde ich sehr passend, denn net-working im Schwarzmeerraum war sehr wohl ein Anliegen der Pontosanrainer, vor allem in römischer Zeit. Die Idee, den ganzen Raum zu einem politischen Ganzen zusammenzuschmieden, ist in vorrömischer Zeit anachronistisch, trotz der Auseinandersetzungen mit den einheimischen Völkern und Stämmen. Erst das Römische Reich hat die Voraussetzungen dafür geschaffen, den Gesamttraum im Sinne eines kooperierenden Ganzen im Imperium zu positionieren“ (Brief vom 2. Mai 2013). Den Herausgebern müssen Zweifel an der von ihnen geschaffenen Anordnung der Beiträge gekommen sein, denn im zweiten Teil des Vorworts, in dem sie ganz knappe Inhaltsangaben der

Beiträge bieten, ordnen sie diese nach anderen Gesichtspunkten an, die sich ebenfalls aus den Inhalten der Beiträge ergeben: „geopolitische Implikationen“ – „ökonomische Verbindungen des Schwarzen Meeres und dessen Einfügung in Handels-Netzwerke“ – „Mobilität von Personen, kunsthandwerklichen Produkten und kulturellen Konzepten“ (S. 12–14). Warum nur haben die Herausgeber nicht dieses Schema zur Anordnung der Beiträge verwendet, sondern ein anderes, in sich nicht konsequent logisch aufgebautes und angewandtes?

Ein weiteres Problem des Buches ist sprachlicher Art: „Kunsthandwerkliche Produkte“ im voranstehenden Absatz stellt einen Versuch des Rezensenten dar, das englische Wort „artwork“ wiederzugeben, so dass es auf einige Beiträge dieser Gruppe einigermaßen zutrifft. Die übliche Wiedergabe dieser englischen Vokabel im Deutschen mit „Bildmaterial“ (in einem Buch) oder „Druckvorlage“ weist darauf hin, das „artwork“ von den Herausgebern hier nicht der Sache angemessen gebraucht wird. In Cojocarus hier zitiertem Beitrag ist bereits der Schluss des Titels „...Historiographische Übersicht“ unglücklich, denn gemeint ist nicht die antike Geschichtsschreibung, sondern eine Übersicht über die moderne Forschung; und die „Polemik zwischen sowjetischen und *abendländischen* Fachleuten“ (82: Hervorhebung durch den Rezensenten) entspricht im gegebenen Zusammenhang überhaupt nicht dem deutschen Sprachgebrauch. In der deutschen Zusammenfassung von B. Öztürks Beitrag über die äußeren Beziehungen der Polis Tieion (S. 155–85) ist der Begriff „coastal settlement“ des englischen Summary's, bezogen auf die Stadt Tieion, deutsch unzutreffend mit „Küstenlandschaft“ wiedergegeben (S. 177). Das sind nur wenige Beispiele.

Da, wie hier bereits mitgeteilt, die Inhalte der Beiträge von den Herausgebern knapp wiedergegeben werden, überdies ausführlicher am Ende eines jeden Beitrags in Englisch, Deutsch und Französisch zusammengefasst sind und so im Band selbst bequem nachgelesen werden können, sei hier nur auf drei Beiträge hingewiesen: Die Mitherausgeberin M. Dana fragt anhand mehrerer Kriterien nach der geographischen Ausrichtung der Griechenstädte an der Südküste des Schwarzen Meeres von Herakleia bis Trapezunt in den Pontosraum oder nach Kleinasien oder in die Ägäis und stellt – nicht verwunderlich – Überlappungen der Ausrichtungen fest (S. 133–53). David Engels füllt mit seiner Untersuchung über den Gebrauch der Titel „Großkönig“ und „König der Könige“ in hellenistischer Zeit eine Forschungslücke, sprengt freilich mit seinem Bezug auf das Seleukidenreich und dessen innere Entwicklung zu einem feudalistischen Großreich entsprechend bereits spätachämenidischer Tendenz den Rahmen des Bandes deutlich (S. 333–62). D. Braunds Beitrag über den Bernsteinhandel von Herodot bis in die Zeit des Römischen Reiches reicht mit der Ostsee im Norden und Indien im Südosten – angesichts des Gegenstandes zu Recht – weit über den im Band thematisierten Raum hinaus (S. 435–56).

Angefügt seien Kurzfassungen der Titel der hier inhaltlich nicht vorgestellten Beiträge: A. Avram, Personenmobilität zwischen Schwarzmeer- und Mittelmeerraum; A. Robu, Byzanz und Chalkedon zwischen Bündnis und Rivalität im Hellenismus; T. Castelli, Ökonomische Netze zwischen Nordwestpontos und Rhodos im Hellenismus; S. Ušakov und S. Bočarov, Taurische Chersones und Ägäis archäologisch im 5.–3. Jh. v. Chr.; F. Panait Bîrzescu, Wandernde Kultbildmotive des Dionysos zwischen Ägäis- und Schwarzmeerstädten in Hellenismus und römischer Zeit; I. Bîrzescu, Hellenistische Terrakottaweihegaben in westpontischen Heiligtümern; J. Nollé, (Nicht)Auftreten indigener Elemente auf kleinasiatischen und

thrakischen Münzen; C. Chiriac und L. Munteanu, Sphragistische Überlegungen zu Handelsverbindungen zwischen Kleinasien und Westpontos im 4. Jh. n. Chr.; G.R. Bugh, Mithridates VI. und die Freiheit der Griechen; M.-A. Buelens, Mithridates VI. und das Hystaspes-Orakel; M. Bărbulescu und L. Buzoianu, Der Westpontos unter Tiberius anhand eines unedierte Dekrets; F. Matei-Popescu, Integration der westpontischen Griechenstädte in das Römische Reich; L. Ruscu, Wechselnde Identitäten in römerzeitlichen westpontischen Griechenstädten; I. Piso, Der Amtssitz des Statthalters von Moesia Inferior; M. Oller Guzmán, Prosopographische Forschungen zu römisch-kaiserzeitlichen Magistraten Olbias; C. Chiriac und S.-P. Boțan, Römische Glasgefäße in Westpontos im 1.–3. Jh. n. Chr.; G. Rizzo, Kaiserzeitlicher Handel zwischen Pontos und Rom; F. Russo, Der Troiamythos in der frühen römischen Expansion in Griechenland und Kleinasien; H. Güney, Verbindungen zwischen Propontis und Pontos anhand des römerzeitlichen Handels der Stadt Nikomedeia; M.A. Speidel, Verbindungen Kappadokiens durch die römische Armee; F. Dönmez-Öztürk, Epigraphische Feldforschungen in Bithynien.

Der teilweise falsche Erwartungen erweckende Buchtitel, die problematische Gliederung des Buches sowie sprachliche Unzulänglichkeiten in den Beiträgen sind den Herausgebern anzulasten. Diese Mängel sind leider aber auch geeignet, ein schlechtes Licht auf die Beiträge zu werfen. Damit täte man diesen freilich Unrecht, denn auch wenn nicht alle Beiträge vollständig in den durch den Buchtitel abgesteckten Bereich fallen, gibt es genug Gutes in ihnen.

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Andreas Mehl

G. Cupcea, *Professional Ranks in the Roman Army in Dacia*, BAR International Series 2681, Archaeopress, Oxford 2014, 154 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1325-2

This is a revised version of the PhD thesis of the same title defended at the Babeș-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania, in 2011. The subject is a classic for scholars of the Roman army since A. von Domaszewski's seminal paper published in 1908 and reprinted in 1967. George Cupcea has done a great job, including also the lower ranks, starting with *miles immunis*, which were often disregarded in the general studies.

The book is divided into three general parts (following Domaszewski's previous classification: of military ranks: *principales* – making no distinction between them and *immunes*, based on Vegetius' confusion, centurions and *primipili*): I. *Immunes* and *principales* (pp. 13–71), II. Centurions (pp. 73–112 – excluding the auxiliary centurions and decurions) and III. *Primipili* and *primipilares* (pp. 113–34), preceded by a short Introduction (pp. 5–12) and terminating in Conclusions (pp. 135–42). The three parts are divided into chapters and sub-chapters. The epigraphic information, by far the most important in this type of research, is systematised in 16 tables and figures (the list can be easily checked at p. 3).

The Roman province of Dacia was the last to be conquered (not counting Trajan's ephemeral achievements during the Parthian expedition) and the first to be abandoned. Throughout the empire the bulk of epigraphic sources relating to Roman military ranks are to be dated between Trajan's reign and the middle of the 3rd century. Dacia is no

exception. Thus the same method used everywhere could have been applied to the military inscriptions from the Dacian provinces, too.

The first part is dedicated to the *immunes* and *principales*. C. acknowledged the fact that the rank of the *immunis* was not higher in respect of the soldiers, but still implies some privileges, like a special status during the works in which they took part. An important observation is that literacy was an important criterion for promotion, but recommendation was probably decisive. The *immunes* and *principales* served in the different *officia*, like the *officium consularis* (especially the *officium consularius trium Daciarum* where 86 *principales*, 14 *immunes* are attested), *officium legati legionis*, *officium tribuni legionis / cohortis*, *officium praefecti alae / cohortis*, or *officium praefecti castrorum*, performing numerous duties. In the same time, the tactical ranks, like *aquilifer*, *imaginifer* or *signifer*, are also well represented. A special case is the one of the *beneficiarii consularis* attested at the governor headquarters in Apulum, or in the different *stationes*¹ throughout the province (see the case study dedicated to the important *statio* from Cășei – *Samum*, which became *regio Ans[- -]* during Gordianus III' reign, pp. 47–48). The attested number of the *immunes* and *principales* of the auxiliary units is lower in respect of the legions, the best represented being *ala I Tungrorum Frontoniana* (Ilișua), *ala II Pannoniorum* (Gherla) or *cohors I Vindellicorum* (Tibiscum).

The second part of the book deals with the careers of the centurions. Regarding the highly debate issue on the hierarchy of the centurions, the author rightly follows T. Wegeleben (not Wegebelen as in the text, pp. 82–84, but spelled correctly in the footnotes) and not A. von Domaszewski, who argued that there was no difference between the centurions of the II–X cohorts, but only between the *primi ordines* (the centurions of the first cohort) and the rest (see in this respect *L'année épigraphique* 1993, 1364, from Novae, Moesia inferior, where a Septimius Severus' statue base was set by the *primi ordines et centuriones legionis I Italicae*). Another important difference, not enough highlighted by the author, is between the *centurio ex equite Romano* (see Sex. Pilonius Modestus' case study, p. 104, although I am not agree with the author that he was not at all interested in seeking an equestrian career, he probably did not have anyone to recommend him for the first equestrian militia) and the *centurio ex caliga*. It seems that by joining the legions, the Roman knights might hope to promote to the higher military and administrative posts by a different mean, since there were not enough available number of posts in the equestrian militias and not every knight had a powerful *patronus* to recommend him.

The third part is dedicated to the *primipili* and *primipilares*. Only 25 are attested in the Dacia, out of which 18 belonged to the *XIII Gemina* legion in Apulum. Their pattern of promotion is the same with the one attested in the other provinces of the empire.

In the conclusions, the author stressed out once again that: 'epigraphic attestations from Dacia have helped to reach to the conclusions of this study just as much as those from other provinces' (p. 142). Therefore the author must be praised for collecting the material and for the case studies presented throughout the book. The epigraphic material from Dacia allows the author to confirm the general conclusions regarding the hierarchy of the

¹ For *statio* see now the very interesting collected papers published by J. France and J. Nelis Clément, *La statio. Archéologie d'un lieu de pouvoir dans l'empire romain* (Bordeaux 2014).

Roman army already reached by the historiography. His book is an outstanding contribution to the military history of Dacia, an important step forward in this field.

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F. De Romanis and M. Maiuro (eds.), *Across the Ocean: Nine Essays on Indo-Mediterranean Trade*, Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 41, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2015, ix+204 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-28919-2/ISSN 0166-1302

This book consists of nine chapters from papers presented at 'A Tale of Two Worlds', a conference held at Columbia University in March 2011. It presents an overview of different facets of trade between the Mediterranean and the western Indian Ocean from the Roman empire to the Early Modern period. The volume comprises two parts: a homogenous group of five papers that focus on the Red Sea in the Roman period ('The Cradle of the Ancient India Trade: The Red Sea') and a mixed group of four studies, 'Comparative Perspectives on the India Trade', examining a variety of other regions and epochs. The collection begins with an Introduction by the editors Marco Maiuro and Federico De Romanis who survey the historiography of trade between the Roman Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean beginning in the 18th century when this network was recognised by economic and social historians. This led to the development of different methodologies that formed the basis of a comparative approach. The rich panoply of sources that appear in these contributions is reflected in the source index where apart from the expected list of Greek and Latin authors and inscriptions, one encounters ostraca and papyri, Semitic inscriptions, Arabic and Armenian authors, and ancient Chinese and Indian texts, as well as Mediaeval and Early Modern authors and archival sources. The text is completed by an Afterword by Elio Lo Casico, who offers a conclusion without a definitive closing and takes up the debate where the Introduction left off by situating this network within the wider context of current debates in comparative history.

Drawing on sources like the Muziris papyrus (P. Vindob. G 40822), Andrew Wilson argues that private merchants more than defrayed much of the cost of maintaining the road system between the Nile and Red Sea ports, like Myos Hormos (Quseir al-Qadim) and Berenike, with road stations, watering points (*hydreumata*) and *sagiyya*, and watch-towers (pp. 14–18) in exchange for their safe passage (p. 21). The 3rd century marks a significant decline in this road system due to the insecurity caused by the desert tribes, such as the Blemmyes, even though the port of Berenike continued to operate well into the 6th century (pp. 29–31).

In his assessment of the evidence of Trajan's Canal, *Traianos Potamos*, supposedly constructed by the emperor in the 2nd century AD linking the Nile to the Gulf of Suez, Jean-Jacques Aubert concludes that it played no role in the Indo-Roman commerce and instead was restricted to irrigation and local traffic. His dismissal of its use in long-distance trade is due in part to the expense that would have been incurred to operate it, especially given the road system in the Eastern Desert, and the fact that the time of year when the Nile flooded does not correspond to the respective monsoons.

Beginning in the 1st century BC, pearls were a much sought after luxury item imported from the Persian Gulf, the Indian Ocean and, as Katia Schörle asserts, the Red Sea

(pp. 46–49). Among those responsible for their dissemination in the Mediterranean were prominent Italian families, like the Peticii, Annii and Calpurnii based on written testimony. The Calpurnii, for example, are attested as importers and merchants of pearls, suggesting that there was a ‘vertical integration and a particular investment in the pearl business, although it is likely that this was just one venture within a larger trading and investment portfolio’ (p. 52).

The tradition crediting Trajan with having constructed the first Roman fleet in the Red Sea is traced back to a rhetorical *topos* expressed by Cassius Dio. Dario Nappo regards as wholly plausible a Roman fleet in the Red Sea beginning with Augustus, whose presence Trajan later expanded following his annexation of *provincia Arabia*, the creation of the Bostra road to the port of Aila, the construction of the ‘Trajan Canal’ and the establishment of a military detachment on two islands of the Farasan archipelago. This military and economic approach to the region, however, was left to his successors up to the reign of Antoninus Pius (pp. 62–68).

Based on his analysis of 21 inscriptions (pp. 92–94) from the eastern Mediterranean and Italy, of which more than half derive from Puteoli, Taco Terpstra argues that not only did this city house ‘the only permanent Nabataean community in the Mediterranean’ but it ‘established a mercantile connection between the Nabataeans and their Roman buyers’ (p. 73). Since the Nabataeans traded in luxury items like frankincense, myrrh, spices and possibly silk, and involved the high risk of sending payment and goods over long distances, having Nabataean settlers as permanent residents in Puteoli allowed them to become ‘trustworthy contractual partners’ (p. 88) with their Italian hosts.

For Harry Falk, the reason the Harrapan weight standards are the same as those in Egypt is that both exported gold to Mesopotamia. He also shows that the method of counting weight in the Harrapan and Vedic periods corresponds to the same system used in Mesopotamia. After a brief discussion of the weight standards of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic kings, he turns his attention to the Kuṣāṇa gold standard introduced by Vima Kadphises. Following a period of experimentation, Vima Kadphises settled on that introduced earlier during Augustus’ reign. In doing so, he was not the only Kuṣāṇa king to style his coinage after this Roman emperor.

Having identified a number of uncertain names of Indian ports that ‘can be mapped’ from an examination of ancient literary and archaeological sources, Jarius Banaji shifts his discussion to the ‘forces that had shaped the destinies of the Indian Ocean’, including the ports that lined it (p. 123) up to the Early Modern period. Ironically, he does not provide a much-needed map. The result is that ports like Muziris (Pattanam) were superseded by new centres such as Quilon (Kollam). He concludes with an assessment of the merchants who inhabited these emporia by concluding that they were responsible for introducing capitalism into the Indian Ocean trading network.

In his comparative study of the pepper trade, De Romanis assembles data from Roman and Early Modern sources to conclude that the amount of pepper carried in Roman and Portuguese ships was comparable and necessitated large cargo vessels. In this regard, the information of Philostratos and fra Paolino complement one another. He also examines the transformative effect that this trade had on Malabar from antiquity to the Early Modern period in relying heavily on the harvests provided by ‘the forest dwellers of the Western Ghats’ (p. 150).

Martha Howell takes up the issue of European merchants in the Indian Ocean beginning in the 15th century, noting that when the Romans ventured there they did so as participants whereas Europeans of the Early Modern era acted as predators (p. 152). She focuses on the factors that allowed the Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) to flourish to such an extent that they became the dominant player in the region's trade in the 17th and 18th centuries, emphasising their acumen, organisation and brutality.

The history of trade and exchange between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean remains largely understudied, although, as this useful book shows, the field is beginning to draw greater scholarly attention. The editors are to be congratulated for the criteria they used in selecting a wide variety of topics, and whose authors employed different comparative methods. In this respect, the greatest asset is that this collection provides a sound basis for future studies on the topic

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J. Elayi and A.G. Elayi, *A Monetary and Political History of the Phoenician City of Byblos in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.E.*, History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant 6, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, IN 2014, xvi+384 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-57506-304-1

The book by Josette and A.G. Elayi represents the third volume in a planned series of four dealing with the consistent analysis of the ancient Phoenician coinage. As E. and E. themselves underline in the Introduction, 'This book ... is not just a traditional numismatic study; it is also a study of all the other fields of research enlightened by numismatic studies – in particular, epigraphy, iconography, technology, metrology, political and economic history, history of religion and so on' (p. 5). The whole content of the book clearly proves that this is not just a kind of promotional declaration, but also the essence of the authors' approach to numismatics, which is considered as an important and valuable source of historical information. One should be capable of extracting such information, and E. and E. do it masterfully. They have composed an impressive corpus of Byblian coins, which is given in Appendix 1 as 'Catalog of the Coins of Byblos' (pp. 137–315) and enumerates 1662 pieces. Carefully systematised according to the well-founded classification scheme and sorted by obverse and reverse dies, it can be regarded as model example for presenting coin material in numismatic research. I should add at once that all variants of obverse and reverse dies are well illustrated on plates with black-and-white photographs of good quality set at the end of the book.

The book itself is divided in five chapters, covering consecutively various fields of research mentioned in the Introduction. Chapter 1, 'Analysis of the Monetary Inscriptions' (pp. 8–26), offers comprehensive characteristics of the coin legends of Byblos, including their reading and interpretation. Special attention is given to the palaeographic analysis of the letters and comparison of the Byblian monetary script tradition with other Phoenician mints. As against coin issues of Tyre, Sidon and Aradus, legends on the Byblian coins were given in full and were aimed foremost at presenting the minting authority, in particular name of the king and his title, thus acting as an important instrument of political propaganda.

Chapter 2, 'Analysis of Iconography' (pp. 27–51), considers the typological repertoire of the Byblian coinage. Minute description of the motifs used is accompanied with commentaries on their origin and interpretation. As experienced scholars, E. and E. are cautious in their suggestions and eschew any conclusiveness on possible inner meanings of coin depictions. Nevertheless, their general interpretation – that it was the intention of the city authorities to secure symbolically religious protection for the city with the help of specific coin images, and at the same time to express clearly its sovereignty and power – sounds convincing.

Chapter 3, 'The Monetary Workshop of Byblos' (pp. 52–75), on the one hand presents an interesting look inward at the manufacturing activity of the Byblian mint, and on the other deals with more general questions regarding its structure and output. Unlike other Phoenician mints, Byblos struck only silver and did not produce bronze coins. Analysis of the technological peculiarities of the Byblian coinage allows E. and E. to conclude that local mint was less innovative than those of Tyre and Sidon and as whole remained congruent with evolution of coin production techniques taking place in the main Phoenician centres. Workers at Byblos did not use punches for the production of coin dies as some earlier scholars presumed. Based on the known quantity of the dies used at the Byblos mint during the Persian period, E. and E. offer some interesting calculations of mint output under various kings of this time.

Chapter 4, 'Metrological Study' (pp. 76–90), deals with careful investigation of the metrological data of Byblian coinage. It is noteworthy that first coins here were struck according to a specific weight standard with a shekel of 9.42 g. E. and E. connect the origin of this with the weight of the Lycian coins which were found in hoards from Phoenicia. Later on, Byblos joined the normal Phoenician standard with a shekel weighing *ca.* 13.66 g. The metal content of the coins studied was impermanent and increase in coin weight was accompanied by a reduction in fineness. The shekels of Byblos were not intended for export and served exclusively the needs of local trade.

Chapter 5, 'The Coinage of Byblos and the History of the City' (pp. 91–130), summarises information on the history of Byblos, which study of its coinage has brought forth, tracing simultaneously the historic context of the coinage, from the end of the second quarter of the 5th century BC until 333 BC (when Byblos voluntarily surrendered to Alexander the Great). The high chronological limit is the date at which Byblos began minting – the first of four Phoenician mints to produce coins, as hoard data indicate. Unlike other Phoenician cities, Byblos initially did not have its own navy and thus did not suffer to any considerable extent during Graeco-Persian wars, accumulating the economic potential necessary for coin production. As coin-types show, Byblos acquired her navy only at the end of the third quarter of the 5th century BC. Her coins shed light on dynastic history as well, testifying that at the beginning of the 4th century BC some *coup d'état* took place and a new dynasty of priestly origin rose to power.

Appendix 1 has been mentioned; Appendix 2 addresses 'Counterfeit or Dubious Byblian Coins' (p. 316), Appendix 3 (pp. 317–36) offers detailed die-study and analysis of the relative chronology; and Appendix 4 registers all known hoards containing Byblian coins (pp. 337–40). The book is supplied with exhaustive bibliography and indexes of geographical names, sale catalogues and hoards.

To sum up briefly, E. and E. live up to expectations in a further example of a masterful and solidly executed scholarly work.

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A. Eppinger, *Hercules in der Spätantike: Die Rolle des Heros in Spannungsfeld von Heidentum und Christentum*, Philippika 89, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xi+408 pp., 14 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10418-0/ISSN 1613-5628

This is a wonderful study and I am privileged to have learnt much from reviewing it. With 'Teutonic thoroughness' Alexandra Eppinger traces the imaging, referencing and usages of the Hercules figure from the AD 260s to the so-called 'Fall' of the Western empire (her formal dating of late antiquity, though, being AD 284–476). First documenting representations of Hercules (Heracles, Alcides) in private houses, in gardens and public spaces (Part AI), as revealed by archaeological excavation across the vast regions held by Rome, she contemplates the continuing hold of this divine hero on the imagination even as 'Christianising' processes occurred. Herculean aspects of virtue could be accommodated by 'pagans' (*Heiden*) and Christians alike, the hero's spurning of Vice and his labours to defeat monsters being inspirational for the good life as each saw it. Of course his libidinous and Dionysiac sides were objects of condemnation by church Fathers, but show up as serviceable for celebrations and in prostibules, and it is E.'s purpose to range over material evidence – a mosaic in Sepphoris (Palestine), a relief from Chiragan (France), glass in a sarcophagus at Trier, finds in graves and hippodromes, just to hint at her book's extraordinary scope – to plot what she can of attitudinal shifts.

When attending to relevant literature and philosophical texts (Part AII), E. skilfully demonstrates that, despite general Patristic anxiety over the attraction of the old gods (as demons), Christian poets such as Ausonius and Claudius and philosopher Boethius can still go on praising Herculean toils. On the pagan side the emperor Julian and polymath Macrobius are considered in depth, the former accentuating that Hercules was Jupiter's Son as part of his 'highfalutin' rear-guard action for the old deities against the Galileans' Son of God. Despite the ideological tensions and the growing strength of the Church, E. affirms that Hercules keeps his staying power as *exemplum virtutis* (p. 156), yes, his very persistence can generally inspire the undaunted quest for salvation in hard times.

Politically, in imperial representations (the subject of Part B), Hercules is seen to bear advantages for regime legitimation, from the messy time of the Tyrants in the 260s (in the case Marcus Postumus to the north), through the Diocletian Tetrarchy (basically 293–311), on to the Christian rules of Theodosius the Great and Honorius (379–423) and beyond. Here E. shows her knowledge of numismatics and inscriptions over and above historiography and panegyrics, and she is especially revelatory on how Hercules was evoked to clinch the fraternal union of *Augusti* under a fatherly, Jove-like Diocletian, mainly in the instance of the 'adopted' Maximian, whose efforts at imperial security were so admired that he was actually rehabilitated and honoured by deification early in Constantine's sole reign. That Constantius, Constantine's father, was Diocletian's 'adopted son' like Jupiter adopted Hercules, in *eine Göttergenealogie* (p. 182), and surrounded as all the Caesars were in an

aura of invincibility, better helps explain, in my view, Constantine's ostensive transition from the cult of *sol invictus* to defender of *filius Dei*. That the motif of Hercules bolstered Christian emperorships to come only goes to show the common need of reassurance for supernal strength to hold together a long-enduring *ordo* increasingly frayed at the edges. It is no wonder that the pagan cult of Hercules, with signs of a priesthood, lasted into and probably beyond the 4th century.

We do not ever get a palpably 'Christianised Hercules' in antiquity, as if by syncretistic effort, but E.'s book locates the Alcidian as a crucial meeting-point between Graeco-Roman myth and Christian teaching, more fruitful than Homer's *Iliad* and Hesiod's *Theogony*, though less so than the Sibyls. The work raises the issue of acculturation, or the extent and motives of intercultural borrowing, accommodation and adjustments in meaning and story, but E. is less concerned to develop a sociological analysis than to comment exegetically on the different pieces of data that confirm the long-lasting 'shelf-life' of the greatest Greek hero.

The author realises that she writes on the back of scholars addressing the same subject – Douglas Boin, Manfred Fuhrmann, Bill Leadbetter, Carlos Machado, Friedrich Pfister, Marcel Simon, Raimund Wünsche, etc. – although some we expect to be there – Charles Cochrane, David Liwa, Levente Nagy, Michael Peppard, to name a few – make no appearance. Further, perhaps the reader might have been made better aware of how myths of Hercules developed under the Hellenistic mythographers to render him more a saviour figure for Late Roman times. Perhaps the widespread popularity of the agonistic aspect of life (expressed in funerary contexts and in celebration of sporting achievements) could have been better probed to explain Hercules' persisting popularity. Evidently fastening too much on to Christian (New Testament-based) responses, E. omits the Jewish tradition (and its effects) that Abraham and Hercules fought together in an ancient battle (Josephus *Antiq.* II 240–241), a story in a different version additionally mediated to the Roman world by Plutarch (*Sertorius* 9). But these minor reactions aside, who has done so exhaustive and searching a job on Hercules in late antiquity as E., and from her mighty research labours, and the very clear organisation of them, many benefits for scholarship will flow.

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J. Farley and F. Hunter (eds.), *Celts: Art and Identity*, The British Museum Press, London 2015, 304 pp., colour illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-0-7141-2836-8

In the last year or so two books on Celtic art by V. Kruta¹ and the *Festschrift* dedicated to J.V.S. Megaw² have appeared, all of them trying to approach from a new angle the somehow hidden message of Celtic art. This exhibition catalogue starts with chapter of rediscovery, on attempts to decipher and explain the specific meaning of ornaments, especially concentrated in later periods in the British Isles. The brief survey of other Iron Age

¹ *L'art des Celtes* (Paris 2015); *Le monde des anciens Celtes* (Fouesnant 2015).

² C. Gosden, S. Crawford and K. Ulmschneider (eds.), *Celtic Art in Europe: Making Connections* (Oxford 2014).

development on the continent is followed by attempts to explain the symbols of Celtic warriors as depicted on their armour. Then the authors discuss the *oppida* time and Roman impact, followed by survey of later development chronologically rendered up to the Early Christian and Mediaeval levels in Britain and Ireland.

Paul Jacobsthal started as a classical archaeologist and had no problem in understanding both fields, but later the Celtic special school took a separate path and the time seems to be ripe to compare Greek and Celtic art again. The rise of Early La Tène art was contemporary with the Greek enlightened cosmology of Anaxagoras and Parthenon. The founder of La Tène art and his school of *flacons* knew the same level of craftsmanship and geometry as the Greek artists, but their dragons should help to introduce a shock, in order to open the mind to some following message in the mystery religion, part of which was apparently the feast of drinking with libations.³ The dissolving of realistic representation expressed the religious message, some kind of astrology was part of rituals in megalithic constructions, calendars and even with ritual vessels.⁴

The message was according to the Greek sources related to the orphic, whose movement was strong in Magna Graecia. The *têtes coupées* with mistletoe which flourishes in winter were illustrations to the message of the cycle of death and rebirth, of consolation, overcoming fear and strengthening hope and courage. Celtic art during its development followed the styles of Greek art, but with a rejection of realistic representations, just as Jewish art reflected the common style of its European neighbours, or the Ottoman art of Istanbul Art Nouveau.⁵

The Early Style was followed by the Waldalgesheim and related Plastic style, reflecting the Greek 4th-century 'Ripe Classical' style; in the later 3rd century it followed the Hellenistic 'baroque' phase with a final 'rococo' stage *ca.* 200 BC, and the late 'Bucket Style' of Schönefelder⁶ followed in its 'noble' version the simplifying forms of so-called Graeco-Roman transitional style in jewellery and sculpture

French Romanesque art largely derives from Gallo-Roman tradition and in many cases marginal Mediaeval sculpture in Central Europe is very near to it; the memory maintains a continuous stream of identity for any particular country with Celtic heritage, its spiritual atmosphere,⁷ not only in Great Britain and Ireland.

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³ L. Olivier, 'Les codes de représentation visuelle dans l'art celtique ancienne'. In Gosden *et al.* (see n. 2), 39–55.

⁴ V. Kruta, *Le monde...* (see n. 1), 177–87.

⁵ A. Bammer 'Art nouveau in Istanbul'. *Studia Hercynia* 8 (2004), 117–20.

⁶ M. Schönefelder, 'Zurück aus Griechenland – Spuren keltischer Söldner in Mitteleuropa'. *Germania* 85 (2007), 307–28.

⁷ J. Bouzek, *Prehistory of Europe as Seen from its Centre: Czech Lands from Paleolithic to the end of the La Tène period in European context* (= *Studia Hercynia* 15.1) (Prague 2011), 160–66.

R. Frederiksen, E.R. Gebhard and A. Sokolicek (eds.), *The Architecture of the Ancient Greek Theatre*, Acts of an International Conference at the Danish Institute at Athens, 27–30 January 2012, Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 17, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2015, 468 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-87-7124-380-2/ISSN 1397-1433

The papers published in this book were given at an international conference held in January 2012 at the Danish Institute in Athens attended by architectural historians and archaeologists whose recent studies have brought new information to bear on the history of the Greek theatre building, its form and function, from the earliest theatral arrangements through the Classical period and to architectural development in Hellenistic times. There are a total of 26 papers, mostly concerned with individual theatre structures. The first paper, 'Studies on Greek Theatres: History and Prospects' (by Hans Peter Isler) gives a general review of the subject. It includes an account of reports about theatres from the early travellers to Greek lands, from Cyriac of Ancona onwards. He ends with a warning about the increasing use of ancient theatres for modern performances (he does not list them, but I once saw advertisements for Turkish wrestling matches at the Theatre of Aspendos) and specifically the over-restoration of the ancient remains to accommodate this.

The next paper is the longest and arguably the most significant. Christina Papastamati-von Moock gives a preliminary report on new observations of the structural remains of the earliest stages of the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens, supported by small-scale trial excavation in the context of restoration work carried out on the retaining walls of the cavea and within the cavea itself. A trench in the inner south-western corner of the auditorium revealed two postholes for the *ikria*, the wooden scaffolding that supported the seats. These, and indications from other trial trenches lead her to deductions about the original form and development of the theatre. The position of the theatre and its seating was originally determined by the lines of pre-existing roads; the theatre fits in between these. From this she makes a proposal for the original form – a rectangular plan with a main section of straight line seating, with further seating projecting at right angles to this, so enclosing and directing the vision of the seated audience towards a rectangular space for performances which would have involved chorus and actors alike. She suggests this, and the wooden posts which supported it, began with the original foundation of the theatre in the late 6th century and survived to the middle of the 5th (and so presumably escaped destruction during the Persian occupation of Athens). This was then extended northwards above the original *peripatos* walk.

There is a similar layout, but with stone seating and so actually surviving recently excavated at Kalydon and described by Rune Frederiksen in the next paper. Significantly the uppermost seats curve round the corners of the rectangle, and thus provide a more direct view of the orchestra and stage building. So the next phase at Athens was intended to anticipate such an arrangement. Papastamati-von Moock argues for an intended Periclean redevelopment of the theatre at Athens, together with the construction at its side of the Odeion. This would most likely have resulted not only in increased dimensions above the existing auditorium but also its transformation from wood to stone. However, only the Odeion was achieved before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War led to its abandonment, so that the stone auditorium had to wait till the mid-4th century – and definitive

– Lycurgan reconstruction. The evidence behind this is clear, and thus Papastamati-von Moock's paper gives a firm basis for understanding theatre development in Athens.

Alexander Sokolicek examines the 'Form and Function of the Earliest Greek Theatres'. He repeats the argument of seating arranged in straight rows, using the examples of Thorikos and Trachones in Attica, both with stone rather than wooden seating. Looking at function he notes they served as political meeting places as well as for the performance of drama but that, in comparison, the Pnyx in Athens had curved seating.

Elizabeth Gebhard discusses theatres where the orchestra is excavated into the subsoil, enhancing the potential rake of the seating and emphasising the separation of the orchestra from the place for the actors. She cites the examples of Sikyon, Oropus, Eretria, Isthmia and Corinth.

In 'The Greek Vocabulary of Theatrical Architecture' Jean-Charles Moretti and Christine Mauduit list the various sources for words which are relevant to this. They look at literary sources, specifically non-technical texts such as Andocides *On the Mysteries* where a witness tells how he saw accomplices of the conspirators descending from the Odeion of Pericles to the orchestra of the theatre. They also cite Aristophanes on the machinery of the theatre, the *μηχανή* and the *ἐκκύκλημα*. Technical texts include Juba and Hero of Alexandria as well as Vitruvius. Finally, epigraphic texts. They then summarise the application of these terms to the Hellenistic theatre.

Fede Berti and Nicolo Masturzo, with Mauuella Vittori give an account of their recent survey of the theatre at Iasos, with a cavea dated to the 3rd century BC. They show it is not, as previously thought, a strict semicircle but that it extends slightly further. The *analemma* employs pulvinated masonry found also at Priene, in particular.

Martin Hofbauer presents new information about the great Hellenistic theatre at Ephesus. He refers to recent excavations in two of the oldest internal rooms of the *skene* which produced material from undisturbed contexts dated securely to the second quarter of the 2nd century BC, proving that the construction of the whole theatre dates to the period of domination by the kings of Pergamum, disproving alternative dating. He describes the arrangement of the rooms in the Hellenistic *skene*, eight rooms on the lower floor, separated by a central passageway, giving access to a frontal corridor, and on the upper floor three wider rooms flanked by staircases at north and south opening off the east corridor. He tentatively supports a thyroma façade to the corridor, anticipating the later marble façade.

Chris Hayward and Yannis Lolos discuss the natural geological context of the early Hellenistic theatre at Sikyon, part of Demetrius Poliorketes' reconstruction of the city on a new site. It shows how the precise orientation of the theatre, which ignores the general layout of the new foundation's grid plan, is the result of the underlying nature of its terrain. Interestingly, this was not because of a natural hollow which would have suited the plan of the cavea. The exact plan of the theatre was created by excavating an area for the orchestra and building up the extremities of the cavea.

Studies for the restoration of the theatre at Dodona involved the detailed recording of the existing remains by modern high-technology equipment. Georgios Antoniou discusses the results of this. They demonstrate that the high retaining walls of the cavea were constructed as a single original phase, but he suggests that the upper section, the epitheatron, was originally formed of plain earth, presumably with wooden seating and that the surviving stone seating represents a subsequent improvement of the structure.

The Theatre at Corinth has a complex history, with considerable alteration in the Roman period of the city. David Scahill presents evidence, from the recent American training excavations, of its Hellenistic form. This shows the line of the Greek-period *analemma* wall. It appears that the cavea had two phases, the first in the early 4th century, followed by expansion in the early 3rd. There is also rather tantalising evidence concerning the stage building. Two series of post holes for an early stage appear to be slightly in front of the Hellenistic *proskēnion* and behind the front wall of the *skēne*. Scahill concludes that the theatre was remodelled at the same time as the construction of the South Stoa in the Agora, i.e. specifically when Corinth was under the aegis of Demetrius Poliorcetes and the formation of a revived league of Corinth (and so at the same time as the theatre of Sikyon).

Petros Themelis discusses the theatre at Messene, dated to the 3rd century BC. There are no traces of the wooden stage of the original construction, but in the 2nd century BC a moveable stage building similar to the example at Sparta was constructed. The stone tracks in which this moved are particularly well preserved at the eastern side. This was replaced by a fixed stone *skēne* and *proskēnion* of Hellenistic type still but constructed in the 1st century AD. Then, in the 2nd century AD, a three storeyed *scaenae frons*.

Christine Wilkenig-Aumann discussed the Hellenistic theatre at Kastabos, first noted by Spratt in 1860 and partly excavated by J.M. Cook. She suggests a reconstruction based on the Vitruvian Greek theatre but finds there is little coincidence. By comparison with other Asia Minor theatres she suggests a 3rd-century date.

Another Hellenistic theatre has been excavated at Maroneia by a Greek team. It is on a south facing slope with views over the sea towards Samothrace, and, on the horizon, Mt Athos.

An Austrian team give a preliminary report on recent studies of the finds from Wilhelm Alzinger's 1970s excavation of the theatre at Aigeira, but point out that further study is needed to evaluate the results more fully.

A theatral structure of a rather different type is the south building in the main urban sanctuary of Selinunte, discussed here by Clemente Marconi and Scahill. This comprises a series of rectilinear steps or seats facing an area mainly occupied by a temple (Temple C.). It is argued, convincingly, that this temple is a later construction and that the area was originally a clear space in front of another temple, Temple R, which is situated to the west of it. The steps thus form a theatral structure from which activity in the space could be observed. It recalls to me the suggestion I made in my book on Argos of the stepped area to the side of the Temple of Hera in the Argive Heraion as a structure from which processions to the temple and its altar could be observed.

The theatre at Halikarnassos was excavated between 1974 and 1985 by the late Prof. Ümit Seradoğlu but unfortunately he died before he could publish the results. He believed the theatre dated to the mid-4th century BC. Further excavations conducted by Budrum Museum did not produce any new secure evidence for the dating. The present paper, by Poul Pedersen and Signe Isager, describes the actual remains of the theatre and its architectural background. It is placed in the context of the reconstruction of Halikarnassos by Maussollos and the historical evidence for the production of drama there. It therefore coincides with the Lycurgan reconstruction of the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The relationship of this to the concept of 'central space' in architecture and the development of Dionysus in the 5th century is raised, but accepting that there is no certainty that the theatre

at Halikarnassos dates to the time of Maussollos. They suggest, with Jim Coulton's approval, that the use in the foundations of equal length ashlar represents Vitruvius' *emplekton* masonry. I still prefer my own explanation (in *JHS* 81 [1961], 133–40).

J.R. Green, C. Barker and G. Stennett describe the evidence for the Hellenistic phases of the theatre of Nea Paphos. They date the theatre to the late 4th century BC, though the earliest phases are difficult to reconstruct. Fragments of local stone but in Alexandrian style from the Hellenistic stage building demonstrate the connection (as would be assumed on historical grounds) with Alexandria.

Stefan Franz and Valentina Hinz discuss the architecture of the Greek theatre at Apollonia in Illyria, dated to the second third of the 3rd century BC. The front of the *proskenion* was decorated with Ionic half-columns, while at the upper level the *skene* opened towards the orchestra with a Doric colonnade. Rather awkwardly, in their reconstruction drawing of this the Doric columns are out of alignment with the Ionic half-columns.

Marco Germani gives an overview of theatres in Boeotia, a pioneering study. He reckons that between the ends of the 5th and 1st centuries BC at least nine Boeotian centres had theatres, of which only that at Chaironea has been examined previously. He lists the places with theatres: Akraiphia, Chaironea, Coronea, Orchomenos, Plataea, Thebes (two examples), Thespiiai (two examples) and Tanagra.

Valentina di Napoli considers the transition to Roman form in Greek theatres built or at least partly rebuilt in the Augustan period, particularly the theatres at Piraeus, Sikyon, Corinth, Nicopolis, Sparta and Dodona, as well as *odeia* at Nicopolis and that of Agrippa at Athens. She points to variations within the degree of Romanisation involved, more noticeable in new theatres rather than in reconstructions or alterations.

Arzu Öztürk discusses the increased evidence now available for theatres in the Roman period, specifically at Aphrodisias, Stratonikeia and Ephesus, for the involvement of a raised stage, while the theatre at Aphrodisias is also examined by Nathalie de Chaisemartin, who points out the original Hellenistic pattern of the *scaenae* building and the orchestra in its first phase dedicated by Zoilos, freedman of Augustus, and the marble cavea constructed in Julio-Claudian times. A reconstruction drawing demonstrates the apparent relationship between the diameter of the orchestra and the three levels of the stage building, Corinthian above Ionic above Doric. She also discusses the relationship of the orchestra dimensions to the Vitruvian versions of the Greek and Roman orchestra.

Katja Piesker reports on the recent excavation and study of the theatre at Patara. Originally Hellenistic it was redeveloped in the 2nd century AD with a Roman-style *scaenae frons* with marble revetment, and a 'theatre temple' added at the back of the cavea. However, the stage building did not reach the same height as the cavea and remained separate from it, access still being possible through the *parodoi*.

Gudrun Styler Aydin discusses recent studies of the theatre at Ephesus carried out by the Department of History and Building Archaeology at the TUWien, particularly into the survival of Hellenistic elements in the auditorium. She publishes a plan of the entire existing structure, following the building survey of 2003–2011.

Finally, Isler considers the continuity of the Hellenistic theatre types in Asia Minor during the Roman period. He lists theatres of Asia Minor Roman type, where the *skene* building is not as large as that of western Roman theatres, while the seating is divided into an

odd number of wedges, where the western theatres had an even number. The theatre at Myra is discussed as a typical example of this Asia Minor Roman type.

Despite its title this book is not a general account of the architecture of the ancient Greek theatre. Two important themes emerge: the early stages of theatre development in Greece with wooden (and probably rectilinear) seating, with the recent work at the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens all-important here; and secondly, the continuation of Greek elements in the theatre architecture in the Greek world (and particularly in Asia Minor) during the Roman empire.

The book is excellently produced and lavishly illustrated. The publishers – and the printers – deserve a special commendation for the high-quality reproduction of the photographs, particularly those in colour.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

K. Galinsky and K. Lapatin (eds.), *Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire*, Getty Publications, Los Angeles 2015, xii+ 296 pp., illustrations (many in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-1-60606-462-7

Cultural Memories in the Roman Empire is one of many thought-provoking outputs of the 'Memoria Romana: Memory in Roman Civilization' project.¹ This particular publication is an edited collection of conference papers – originally presented in April 2013. The editors and contributors to this volume have accomplished a magnificent feat by bringing together case studies from the Roman empire into dialogue with memory studies in an accessible, effective and engaging way – to those familiar and unfamiliar with memory studies. Other outputs have included conferences, support for individual projects and publications, and two other major works.

In the Introduction (pp. 1–22), Karl Galinsky pinpoints key developments in the history of memory studies from Sigmund Freud's well-known ideas about the impact of the psyche or memory on the individual, to the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs's progressive views about the significance of collective and shared memories to individuals and communities. The scholarly debt to Jan and Aleida Assman, who further developed ideas about cultural memory and cultural identity and the way in which individuals and communities are able to create concepts of history and memory based on ideas and events in the distant past, is also noteworthy from the outset and is picked up several times throughout the book. The message here is emphatic and clear: cultural memory *is* multifaceted, fluid, culture-specific and can be expressed through a variety of media, resulting in wide-ranging local responses from provincial communities to Roman rule...and *vice versa*.

Part One, 'Concepts and Approaches', opens with Susan Alcock's chapter 'Kaleidoscopes and the Spinning of Memory in the Eastern Roman Empire' (pp. 24–32), and presents three different archaeological case studies to demonstrate how Roman culture studies can yield fresh perspectives and results when approached from the perspective of memory studies. Chapter 3, 'Monument and Memory in Ancient Greece and Rome: A Comparative

¹ For information about the project, see <http://www.laits.utexas.edu/memoria/index.html>.

Perspective' (pp. 33–48), by Rachel Kousser, re-evaluates Roman practices of remembering and forgetting by considering Greek precedents. Next, Tim Whitmarsh's chapter, 'The Mnemology of Empire and Resistance: Memory, Oblivion, and Periegesis in Imperial Greek Culture' (pp. 49–64), compares the works of two 2nd-century AD travel writers, Dionysius of Alexandria and Pausanias, to assess what the literary record can reveal about memory strategies.

Part Two, 'Imperial Memories and Local Identities', continues with John Weisweiler's 'Making Masters, Making Subjects: Imperial Ideology and Memory Policy in the Early Roman Empire and in the Later Roman State' (pp. 66–85). This study stresses that despite Rome's belligerent characterisation Roman authorities did not impose a unified conception of the past on provincial communities, thus giving some subjects of empire a degree of agency in terms of shaping and managing their cultural memories, experiences, and ultimately identities within the broad framework of Roman conquest. Carlos Noreña's 'Ritual and Memory: Hellenistic Ruler Cults in the Roman Empire' (pp. 86–100) offers another perspective concerning the perpetuation of shared memories and experiences in the Roman provinces. Analysis of the survival of some Hellenistic ruler cults suggests that the continuation of these cults solidified acceptance of the Roman emperor in the Greek East. Chapter 7, 'Cultural Memory, Religious Practice, and the Invention of Tradition: Some thought on Philostratus's account of the Cult of Palaemon' (pp. 101–15), by Jaś Elsner, questions the authenticity of cultural memories through a close reading of Philostratus' *Imagines* – an iconic text of the so-called 'Second Sophistic'. Elsner explores what omissions and apparent inventions in the text reveal about the worship of Melicertes-Palaemon at the Isthmus near Corinth. Ann Marie Yasin's chapter, 'Shaping the Memory of Early Christian Cult Sites: Conspicuous Antiquity and the Rhetoric of Renovation at Rome, Cimitile-Nola and Poreč' (pp. 116–32), presents three Christian churches from late antiquity to demonstrate how the materiality of place plays a major role in shaping communal memory when such spaces are designed, renovated and restored.

Part Three, 'Presence and absence of memory in the Roman East and West', transports the reader first to Troy – an evocative site of memory because of its history as the home of the Trojan prince Aeneas who famously brought the proto-Romans to Lavinium. In Chapter 9, 'The Homeric Memory Culture in Roman Ilion' (pp. 134–52), Brian Rose explores the site as a place of manufactured memory. In Chapter 10, 'From the individual to the collective: Memory practices on religious sites in Roman Britain' (pp. 153–69), Zena Kamash focuses on Roman Britain to discuss the cultivation and expression of cultural memory and identity amongst pagan and Christian communities. Chapter 11, 'The Western Empire and the "people without history": a case study from Southern Iberia' (pp. 170–90), by Alicia Jiménez, addresses the broader theme of the impact of Roman rule on the history of the western provinces by exploring archaeological evidence of a very local character to investigate the creation of micro-identities. Chapter 12, 'Kings from the Deep: The Lydian Lakes and the Archaeological Imagination' (pp. 191–204), by Felipe Rojas, returns eastwards to Anatolia where the development of local and regional cultural memories are explored in relation to water. This study highlights that rivalries and the expression of power, prior to and after Roman rule, centred on human connections with the divine nature of the lakes in the region.

Part Four, 'The Transformation of Memory at Rome', concentrates solely on Rome. In Chapter 13, Mars and Memory (pp. 206–24), Greg Woolf explores the Forum of Augustus as a focal point in the city where cultural memory was presented and reinvented through the materiality and organisation of its space. He suggests that we consider the space of the Forum as we would a religious sanctuary in order to consider how different audiences and viewers might experience the space and the messages that they would come away with. Woolf underpins key questions about the way in which literate, illiterate, learned and uneducated audiences may have interacted with, and interpreted, material artefacts and monuments, thus reminding us not to take for granted key assumptions about shared knowledge in antiquity. With Chapter 14, 'Conflict, culture, and concord: Some observations on alternative memory in ancient Rome' (pp. 225–39, Steven Rutledge moves us to another provocative site in the city, one which is associated with plebeian history and memories – the Temple of Concord – to explore aspects of 'Augustan memory management'. Finally, in Chapter 15, 'The Multivalence of Memory: The tetrarchs, the senate, and the Vicennalia Monument in the Roman Forum' (pp. 240–63), Elizabeth Marlowe focuses on the renovation of the Rostra in the Roman Forum in the early 4th century AD with the building of the Vicennalia in AD 303.

The breadth, scope and variety of the contributions which make up this volume present a wide spectrum of cultural phenomena and a range of approaches for the study of cultural memory in the Roman empire. While each part of the volume is thematic in focus, it is fair to say that the perspectives of each are not exclusive to one part of the volume but are shared throughout. Lines of enquiry and sub-themes that emerge throughout this publication include: the malleability of cultural memory and identity; the manipulation and abuse in the evolution of memory; acts of wilful forgetting and remembering; the materiality of place and space; and competing memories.

The multi- and interdisciplinary scope of the contributions will appeal to a wide readership within the broad fields of classics, ancient history and archaeology. This book is of immense value to researchers from other disciplines across the humanities and social sciences. It goes without saying that the Roman world is full of rich and fruitful comparative case studies for investigations of memory, empire, identity and imperialism throughout history. Without doubt, this edition – along with the other outputs of the *Memoria Romana* project – will inspire further lines of enquiry into the study of cultural memory, not just in the Roman empire but across antiquity.

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G. Gambash, *Rome and Provincial Resistance*, Routledge Monographs in Classical Studies 21, Routledge, London/New York 2015, xi+206 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-0-415-82498-0

The premise of this book is stated clearly enough: 'provincial revolts under the Roman empire have rarely been approached *en groupe*, as a general problem' (p. xi). It is this dearth that Gil Gambash wishes to amend. Between his Introduction (pp. 1–19) and Conclusion (pp. 180–95) are four thematic chapters – 'Tension Management' (pp. 20–61), 'Handling Revolt' (pp. 62–98), 'Official Appointments' (pp. 99–123) and 'Commemoration' (pp. 124–

43). These are followed by a chapter on 'The Jewish Revolts' (pp. 144–79) in order to set 'the uncharacteristically aggressive Roman treatment of the Jews against the background of the regular conciliatory approach towards restless local populations, thus highlighting the exception that proves the rule' (p. 144).

The four thematic chapters draw on a number of provincial experiences – chiefly Britain, with special reference to the conquest and the revolt of Boudica; Judaea in the first two centuries AD; and Africa with special reference to the revolt of Tacfarinas. Within each thematic chapter, G. shifts from one geographical context to another as he aims to illuminate different issues. This is a useful intellectual exercise and G. is clearly knowledgeable about a wide range of problems. One challenge of this kind of work is simply to stay up to date with the bibliographies and debates on each topic: in the four thematic chapters, G. draws roughly half his bibliography from the 25 years before publication; in the chapter on Jewish revolts, the proportion is about three-quarters. The overall effect is not, it must be said, the 'general treatment of the issue of provincial unrest from the Roman perspective' (p. xi) that G. claims to offer. But that would be a very ambitious book indeed. What he has provided might instead be understood, more accurately, as a study of the Jewish context (the most substantial and consistent ingredient) in comparative relation to Britain and Africa. This is a worthwhile project in itself.

How far G. is right to suggest a contrast between a peculiar degree of aggression toward the Jews and a more typical conciliation of other restless populations will remain an interesting question. Given that 1st-century Britain is a major component of his discussion, it is very odd that G. has so little to say about the Ordovices: 'Several indicators suggest that provincial issues played in the background of Agricola's arrival in Britain. At that point in time, the local Roman administration would have had the recently conquered peoples of Wales to organize – above all the Silures and the Ordovices' (p. 36). Yet this is to miss what, in today's parlance, we might call the 'ethnic cleansing' of the Ordovices by Agricola (Tacitus *Agricola* 18: 'caesaque prope universa gente, ...'). Equally, it is hard to be confident where the line falls between the authorities in Rome and the initiative of governors in the provinces. G. notes the severity of the reprisals carried out in Britain by Suetonius Paulinus, including the observation by Tacitus that Paulinus wanted to match the achievement of Corbulo in Armenia (pp. 77–79, especially 78). This, in turn, underlines the point that Judaea was not the only environment in which, in certain circumstances, Roman authorities treated provincials like a foreign enemy. When they did so, the circumstances were themselves perhaps unusual. As G. notes: 'For Roman decision-makers observing events in Judaea in 66, the most notable precedent would have been the annihilation, in the year 9 CE, of Varus' three legions by Arminius' coalition of German tribes' (p. 145). Conversely, as he points out: 'the later Roman-Jewish conflicts retrieved the more modest scale of the quintessential provincial revolt. They were not commemorated as grandly and as universally as the first revolt' (p. 170). All things considered, a central argument of this book should in that case perhaps be restated.

Though literary merit is perhaps not obligatory in an academic work of history, one always hopes for clarity. Sentences in the present book are sometimes unduly convoluted. To pick a typical case: 'As will be shown, there is little on which to base a view according to which the Roman administration was apprehensive of a potential lack of Jewish submissiveness throughout the process' (p. 29). The argument sometimes relies heavily on 'would

have' or 'would not have'. Turning the page, I counted seven instances of this tic at pp. 30–31, and randomly, at pp. 62–63, as many as ten. (These are not isolated cases.) No author can be expected to deliver a flawless manuscript and G. should have been better served by the editorial process. Such things, though, will not deter readers with a substantive research interest in the field.

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I.R. Gammel, *The Power of Beauty: On the Aesthetics of Homer, Plato, and Cicero*, Aarhus University Press, Aarhus 2015, 178 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-87-7124-771-8

In *The Power of Beauty* Inga Gammel presents her ambitious attempt to contest modern theories of aesthetics. She identifies a desideratum concerning beauty as a holistic concept. In her view, most scholars became hostile to a holistic concept and rather opted for its fragmentation, which lead to several reductive fields, such as art philosophy.

In order to change these views towards a holistic concept of beauty and to reintroduce a new discipline of aesthetics into philosophy, she attempts to introduce ancient philosophy and myths to that end. Therefore, the main sources are Homer, Plato and Cicero. Based on them, she makes up a triad of beauty: which is the beautiful, the good and the true. Beauty is thus to be understood in terms of cosmology, general education and the art of living. Further key concepts, upon which her approach relies, are rhetoric, the ugly and the experience of performance. Each chapter concludes with the author's 'legacy'.

G. starts with Homer. She attempts to reconstruct his holistic worldview through the details of aesthetic experiences. The beauty is the expression of a cosmological order that appears in an infinite variety of shining beautiful things. Thereby, G. detects different aesthetic preferences between the gods and humans. Whereas the gods are appealed by 'grand-scale aesthetics' (p. 58), such as cosmic order and harmony, humans are rather interested in 'natural features'. Good taste evidently differs. In this holistic worldview, G. identifies a hierarchy between the beautiful and the ugly. This hierarchy maintains ideas about good and bad. Since things are not that simple, G. illustrates the ambiguities of the beautiful and the ugly consistently. The Homeric epic then sets up a second hierarchy, namely between living beauty and artificial beauty.

Although almost the same in length, the treatment of Plato in the second chapter serves as the most important chapter in this book. Plato elaborates on the holistic cosmological concept of beauty, which G. *de facto* reflects back towards to Homer and forward to Cicero. G. deals with the difficulty of maintaining the infinite diversity of the appearances of beauty in Platonic thought and Plato's rather holistic considerations and reflections upon the very essence of beauty. Therefore, she decides to take his four-step conception of education as a general frame for a further, more detailed investigation. This frame starts with a shallow experience of beauty, such as beautiful bodies, passes via the experience of a good soul as well as the beauty of order (laws), and ends in the lofty recognition of beauty in all sorts of things as soon as contemplation is finished.

As a result, experiencing and therefore recognising beauty is experiencing the Cosmos and thus the Divine, which is separated into countless concrete pieces. Beauty is an absolute

state and thus sustains truth, the good and the variety of the beautiful automatically in itself. The 'beauty is the shining bond between man and the Divine' (p. 105). In face of this contemplative approach, G. detects Plato's lack of interest in the ugly. One might ask at this point if beauty is only an intuitive narrative to illustrate Plato's and then Cicero's concept of contemplation, and is thus not the most important philosophical concept itself.

Coming to Cicero, the chapter starts with an idealisation of him as an historical person. Cicero's philosophy is introduced as an unselfish mission to educate the people, which is evidently not his aim, since he serves various strategies of self-fashioning through these kinds of authorial roles.¹

G. unfolds Cicero's attempts to elaborate his art of rhetoric as an art of life. Cicero elaborates an aesthetic and ethical dimension around the intuitive term '*decorum*'. He introduces good taste as an expression of a holistic understanding of – not an approach to! – beauty. Again, the concept of beauty lacks a concept of ugly, as G. states. It is basically all about the harmony in life, which includes the experience of nature. The '*decorum* originates in nature' (p. 128), which means in the cosmos again. G. emphasises Cicero's holistic view, which contains both aesthetics and ethics simultaneously.

The strongest claims are made in Part IV. By referring to the holistic approaches on beauty in ancient thought, G. strengthens her point about a modern ignorance or even 'arrogance' (p. 13) and the unjustified separations between the aesthetical and ethical parts of the beauty (beautiful and good). Therefore, she summarises the main lines of philosophical considerations, such as art, philosophy and the like, in order to trace back the 'collapse of the philosophy of the beauty' (p. 148). According to G., most scholars simply misinterpreted Plato's concerns. G. offers her new reading of ancient philosophy as 'a healing remedy against... modern, reductive tendencies' (p. 161). That is to say, instead of looking for the beauty of things and bodies by separating them from its ethical content, one rather should analyse the 'concrete experience of beauty and the reflection upon it' (p. 162).

Despite her ambitious claim to 'redefine the discipline of aesthetics anew' (p. 163) in a holistic sense, her main concern goes far beyond the concept of beauty. Her claim concerns maintaining European culture. She argues for treating European heritage better. She wants to revitalise a common tradition and its cultural heritage. Scholars of all sorts have not undertaken this task sufficiently according to her.

In the end, this contextual approach has many advantages, such as arguing against the variety of reductive philological and legalistic approaches to our ancient sources (pp. 17–19). In the same way, her argument against 'intellectualization and rationalization' (p. 150) serves as rich ground for the analysis of ancient sources and thus helps to break new ground. Nevertheless, her attempt to avoid these kinds of reductionism unfortunately causes new ones, especially in regard to using specialist literature. Concerning Cicero, for instance, there are some approaches that might have helped her considerations in regard to her claim, such as Schulz's approach of beauty of the voice in Cicero's rhetorical treatments.² In the same way, the approach to the ugly, as in the case of Brutus, lacks discussion about ancient physiognomy. Additionally, the dubious reading of Cicero's biography could have been

¹ H. van der Blom, *Cicero's Role Models: The Political Strategy of a Newcomer* (Oxford 2010).

² V. Schulz, *Die Stimme in der antiken Rhetorik: Untersuchungen zur Antike und zu ihrem Nachleben* (Göttingen 2013).

avoided. Another reductive tendency is the obvious Platonic lens through which Homer and Cicero are examined. Unfortunately, G. makes no clear cut distinction between aesthetics and beauty. Given the importance of the concept of aesthetics in religious and other studies, it would have been helpful for non-philosophical readers to elucidate the difference.

I make these observation as an historian. In no way do they diminish the philosophical vibrancy of this book (as I stated before).

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A. Ganter, *Was die römische Welt zusammenhält: Patron-Klient-Verhältnisse zwischen Cicero und Cyprian*, Klio 26, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, x+433 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-043905-2

In her postdoctoral thesis, Angela Ganter (née Kühr) has set herself an ambitious goal: her study tries to tackle the question of the relations between patrons and clients in the Roman world. The term 'patron-client relations' is one of her own inventions and serves to distinguish her work from contemporary concepts on the one hand (for example, 'networking') and from a particular tradition within the discipline of ancient history on the other hand (for example patronage or *Bindungswesen*). Nevertheless, the concept of 'patron-client relations' does not take fully into account the fact that clients were called *amici* in Roman times in order to veil social dependencies, even though G. seems to be well aware of this fact.

In her first chapter, she diligently analyses the current state of research and provides a brief history of the topic within classical history. In addition, G. develops her methodological and theoretical framework: throughout the entire study, she explicitly applies the concept of a face-to-face society and slightly modifies Bourdieu's practice theory – which is something of a fashion within German scholarship of Roman history.¹ Moreover, she refers to Marcel Mauss's model of gift-exchange to conceptualise the social ties between the Roman upper class and the *plebs*.

With great effort G. elucidates her themes in chapters that cover a timespan from the 1st century BC to the 3rd century AD. Some parts are organised as case studies of different authors that represent a certain time and/or problem. First of all, G. examines the ideas of patron-client relations that emerged in the Ciceronian epoch, including Cicero's speeches, letters and philosophical as well rhetorical writings (Chapter 2). She states that Cicero and his contemporaries noted changes in the tight social relations between single members of the elite and their dependent citizens. The clients increasingly tended to loosen their loyalty to one single patron and started to visit the houses of several potential supporters (*salutatio*). In the world of Cicero a patron was always on the move and cultivating *amicitia* and *clientela*, which was an inherent part of everyday life and sometimes led to divided loyalties.

¹ See K.-J. Hölkeskamp, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic. An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research* (Princeton 2010), 107–24.

However, this view stands and falls with the question whether Cicero was a typical member of the Roman elite or rather an exception as a *homo novus*.

Since there is no direct literary tradition before Cicero that gives any detailed account of patron-client relations, G. instead focuses on the Late Republican and Early Imperial authors who provide some indirect insights into the previous eras (Chapter 3). By considering different authors such as Sallust, Plutarch and Livy, and especially Dionysius of Halicarnassus, she brings to light a picture of the late 1st century BC that highly idealises the social balance between patrons and clients during the High Republic concerning the process of taking and giving. On the one hand, she further proves their idealisation of past times by a close reading of Polybius who did not mention this kind of social bonds at all. On the other hand, she illustrates the importance of *patrocinium* by closely examining the works of Plautus who already stated a 'denaturation' of social ties.

When discussing the changes of the Augustan period, G. places special emphasis on the usurpation of social bonds by the first *princeps* (Chapter 4). She also agrees with the broadly accepted argument that Augustus, as a single person, simply took over the *clientela* of his father and his dead enemies. This created an incredibly big 'pool' of individuals who were officially indebted to the emperor because of his recommendations or his *clementia* after the civil wars (*officium*). At the same time, Augustus was responsible for more people than any other Roman before him and he had to fulfil their wishes and supplications to a certain degree (*beneficium*). Apart from the well-known writings about Augustus by Suetonius, Appian and Cassius Dio, contemporaries of the *princeps* like Horace and Maecenas serve as sources which can be problematic because many historians tend to treat this genre with not enough caution; in some general remarks, G. takes into account the different literary genres but sometimes she falls back into a positivist's interpretation (*laus Pisonis*, for example). In addition, the example of Horace and Maecenas illustrates the shift from political to other fields of 'patronage' that were not accepted to that degree in the republic (see Ennius and Fulvius Nobilior on pp. 106–09.). Horace even inverted the social hierarchy in a literary way.

The next chapter is dedicated to the perpetuation of the new patron-client relations during the Principate (Chapter 5). Since the reign of Augustus, the *princeps* did not take over formally all social relations between noble patrons and clients of different statuses (or sometimes less noble or honourable aristocrats and even provincials). In contrast, G. shows – more or less in harmony with current research – that the emperor remained decidedly within traditional forms of patron-client interaction. He assented to the aristocracy's continuation of their lifestyle, which included the housing of *salutatores*, etc., as long as nobody really challenged him. The only difference was that single *nobiles* were neither able nor allowed to sponsor a client in an important affair or business without the agreement of the *princeps*. On the one side, G. is able to illuminate a new trend in the problematisation of different *officia* in authors such as Martial and Juvenal: in fact, their verses give an insight into the duties of a client which were increasing rather than decreasing during the Empire. On the other side, Seneca's letters and his philosophical *oeuvre* shed light on the perspective of the patrons and especially on the question how difficult it was not to challenge the emperor by engaging too much in patron-client relations. Both, clients and patrons, even incurred debts in order to set themselves apart from rivals who had the same status (*Ökonomisierung*).

This leads directly to questions about status and behaviour of patrons during the period of stability of the High Empire (Chapter 6). Being a client of Trajan himself, Pliny the Younger provides an extraordinary example of an elite member in correspondence with the emperor about his clients. G. states that Pliny performed an *imitatio Ciceronis* in his patron-client relations what may be one of the most interesting hypotheses in her book. Surprisingly though, remarks on Tacitus' *Agricola* are missing. It would have strengthened her argument about the difficulties a noble man had to face when hosting clients under the fully developed Principate (Tacitus *Agricola* 40. 3–4). Obviously, the importance of *vis-à-vis*-interactions loses weight compared to the communication via letters and we might ask ourselves whether we should assume such a high degree of face-to-face communication in earlier periods as G. suggests. The correspondence of Cicero and the conclusions G. draws from it might be reconsidered from this perspective.

The problems of the communication through letters are picked up in the chapter dealing with Cyprian (Chapter 7). G. argues that the use of rhetorical figures was supposed to counterbalance the lack of physical presence, but that they cannot have had the same effect as talking with each other. In addition, she is able to show that the social mechanisms between patrons and clients that had been installed during the Empire remained nearly unchanged in the Christian environment. Even though Cyprian tried to create a counter society, Christians appropriated and reinterpreted old structures. Nevertheless, G. states that the theological aspect of recommending individuals to god and including people in a prayer are something entirely new. Therefore, the problem of reciprocity is left to ecclesial salvation.

The indexes of sources, places, persons, etc. are very helpful. Considering the broad range of questions addressed in the study, one also has to compliment the up-to-date bibliography. This may be due to the short period of time that lay between the appraisal and the publication of the study. In addition, a detailed table of content facilitates access to single fields of research.

Overall, G. meets her ambitious goal, but with one exception: her book is rarely brave. However, her approach accords with the latest works on patronage.² Nevertheless, the master narrative of declining patronage during the Empire is undermined by G. She shows how individuals and collectives firmly adhered to social ties in times of crisis in order to overcome problems. At the same time, people criticised contemporary conditions and bewailed the older days of social responsibility of the elite and the loyal *clientela*. G.'s study offers many insights into 'what binds the Roman world's core together' by illustrating at the same time what should bind 21st-century scholarship of ancient history together: a meticulous interpretation of the sources connected with a high degree of awareness of theoretical and methodological needs that goes far beyond former positivism.

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² For example, A. Winterling, 'Freundschaft und Klientel im kaiserzeitlichen Rom'. *Historia* 57 (2008), 298–316.

A. Gerstacker, A. Kuhnert, F. Oldemeier and N. Quenouille (eds.), *Skythen in der lateinischen Literatur*, Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 334, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Munich/Boston 2015, vii+401 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-029671-6/ISSN 1616-0452

The interest of European scholars in the ancient history of the northern Black Sea coast has continued unabated in the last decade, as evidenced by numerous publications,¹ including this one.

I have already reviewed in this journal the work of R.A. Mason, dedicated to the Roman sources on the history of the northern Black Sea.² The current volume is very close in subject to Mason's since it is dedicated to Roman sources on the history of the Scythians – the main population of the northern Black Sea coast.

The abstract of the publication states:

This source book includes the first complete collection (*die erste vollständige Sammlung*) and translation of the ancient Latin texts up to the time of Constantine about the Scythians and other peoples of the Scythian culture circle, such as Massagetae, Essedonians, Dahae, Sacae and others. ... Thus, the book offers a comprehensive view of the Roman ideas of the nomadic culture and lifestyle. [It] will help historians, archaeologists, ... philologists and ethnologists in their research work.

This provokes an immediate response. The authors are unaware of the most comprehensive collection of sources, such as the Greek and Roman, about the Scythians, the peoples of Scythian circle and other realities of the northern Black Sea coast: V. Latyshev's 2-volume *Scythica et Caucasica e veteribus scriptoribus graecis et latinis...* (St Petersburg 1893–1906), which, along with the Russian translations, also contained Greek and Latin texts in the original. The second edition of the Russian translation of Latyshev's work, with a short commentary, was published in 1947–49 in the journal *VDI*, readily available in the libraries of any major European university. A high-quality collection of Greek and Latin sources on the history of the Scythians was published in Moscow in 1992.³ Finally, if the authors have

¹ See, for example: I. Lebedynsky, *Les Scythes. La civilisation nomade des steppes, VII.–III. siècle av. J.-C.* (Paris 2003); D. Braund (ed.), *Scythians and Greeks: Cultural Interactions in Scythia, Athens and the Early Roman Empire (Sixth Century BC–First Century AD)* (Exeter 2005); D. Braund and S.D. Kryzhitskiy (eds.), *Classical Olbia and the Scythian World. From the Sixth Century BC to the Second Century AD* (Oxford 2007); H. Parzinger, *Die Skythen* (Munich 2009); L. Prager (ed.), *Nomadismus in der 'Alten Welt'. Formen der Repräsentation in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Berlin/Münster 2012); R. Kath and M. Rücker (eds.), *Die Geburt der Griechischen Weisheit oder: Anacharsis, Skythe und Griechen* (Halle 2012); C. Schubert and A. Weiß (eds.), *Amazonen zwischen Griechen und Skythen. Gegenbilder in Mythos und Geschichte* (Berlin/New York 2013); G.R. Tsetskhladze (ed.), *The Black Sea, Paphlagonia, Pontus and Phrygia in Antiquity: Aspects of Archaeology and Ancient History* (Oxford 2012); G.R. Tsetskhladze et al. (eds.): *The Bosphorus: Gateway between the Ancient West and East (1st Millennium BC–5th Century AD)* (Oxford 2013); *The Danubian Lands between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic Seas (7th Century BC–10th Century AD)* (Oxford 2015).

² *The Ancient Sources on the History, Geography and Ethnography of Ukraine. Latin Authors 1: Authors of the Republic and Early Principate to the Death of Domitian* (Vancouver 2008). In *AWE* 12 (2011), 420–22.

³ T.M. Kuznetsova (ed.), *Skifi. Khrestomatiya* (Moscow 1992). The most important Greek and Latin sources on the history of the northern Black Sea region have been collected and published in A.V. Podossinov (ed.), *Antichnye istochniki. Khrestomatiya*, vol. 1 (Moscow 2009).

followed the notorious slogan *Rossica non leguntur*, then why is Mason's 2008 Vancouver book (see my n. 2) not mentioned in this peer-reviewed publication, although it is an exemplary annotated collection just of Latin sources (in Latin and English) on the history of northern Black Sea region, including the Scythians? Thus, the authors' claim to be first and only appears to be somewhat inflated.

Nevertheless, the book is very carefully and thoroughly compiled. In the preface (pp. 1–16), the authors talk about the purpose and history of the creation of this sources collection. They expected the book will be useful for historians working in Scythology, and for a wide range of readers, especially in connection with the roaring success of the exhibition 'Gold of Scythians', organised in several cities in Europe and North America in the 1990s, and of a some other 'Scythian' exhibitions in more recent years.⁴

The book grew out of the project 'Differenz und Integration. Wechselwirkungen zwischen nomadischen und sesshaften Zivilisationen der alten Welt', which in 2001–2012 was developed by historians from the universities of Leipzig and Halle. In 2013, a collection of Greek sources on the history of the Scythians was published as a part of this project.⁵ The current book is considered by the authors as a Latin *pendant* to this edition. The preface also contains an overview of Roman knowledge about the Scythians and a small bibliography of works about the Scythians (none of it in Russian!).

In the introduction, written by Alexander Weiss, 'Die Skythen als paradigmatische Nomaden', the task is defined, by extending the scope of the study of Roman representations of the Scythians, to show their importance as a paradigmatic nomadic people *par excellence* for the whole of antiquity. Having considered the concept of nomadism as a whole, as well as the problem of identifying the concepts of 'nomad' and 'barbarian', he comes to the conclusion that such an identification was not obligatory, especially in relation to the Scythians.

Next Weiss describes the image of nomads imprinted in Greek literature, its relation to the Scythians, and the problem of the idealisation of the Scythians as nomads and as barbarians. In this regard he pays particular attention to a famous lines in the Epistle of Paul to the Colossians: that 'there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcised nor uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman, but all and in whole Christ' (*Colossians* 3:11). According to Weiss, the concepts of barbarian and Scythian in this text are opposed, as in other parts of enumeration, and that reflects the then understanding of the Scythians.

Using example of the polemic of the Christian author Tertullian, Weiss shows the transformation of the concept of 'Scythian' in Christian discourse. Tertullian, to defame Marcion, a native of Pontus (Sinope), paints a picture of a wild Scythian barbarism in Pontus, attributing to Marcion the disgusting qualities of the local residents. In this debate the opposition of 'civilisation' and 'barbarism' is transferred to the opposition of 'orthodoxy'–'heterodoxy'.

Weiss touches upon the problem of according written sources about the Scythians with archaeological finds. If much Greek evidence is supported by archaeological material, few should not expect such correspondence from the Roman sources, according to him, because

⁴ For example, 'Im Zeichen des goldenen Greifen. Königsgräber der Skythen', held in 2007–2008 in Berlin, Munich and Hamburg.

⁵ M. Rücker, C. Taube and C. Schubert, *Wandern, Weiden, Welt erkunden. Nomaden in der griechischen Literatur. Ein Quellenbuch* (Darmstadt 2013).

the Scythian culture was to the Romans the distant past, and the word 'Scythian' was used by them or as a poetic ornament or metonymic designation of the northern steppe peoples. Weiss makes an exception only for Ovid, in whose descriptions he finds the real features of the local barbarians, and for some texts of Imperial times, reflecting the military actions against the Pontic barbarians.

Latin texts with German translation then follow.

As the abstract states, the book also includes information about the peoples and tribes of the northern Black Sea coast, among whom the Scythians lived and with whom they had contact. The collection of sources contains all Latin texts, starting with the 3rd century BC and ending in the 4th century AD, in chronological order. The book is divided into five chapters: texts of the period of the Roman Republic; from the time of Augustus; from the death of Augustus to Hadrian; from Antonine to Constantine; and texts from the 4th century AD. It contains information on the standard editions of the texts, index of places of cited authors, as well as a real and names index.

Every Latin author is published to the same scheme: first, short information about the author, then a brief reference to literature about the author, in which articles about him are named from several encyclopaedias (*Neue Pauly*, *Lexikon der antiken christlichen Literatur*, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*), as well as from the relevant sections in the *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike* and *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* by Michael von Albrecht; several monographs on the work of the author are mentioned. This is followed by the Latin text, which is preceded by a summary of the context, allowing us to understand the sense of the fragment. Finally, a precise and at the same time quite literary German translation.

Comparison with Latyshev's collection reveals that some authors absent there are present here. These are the Greek author Gorgias in the Latin translation of Publius Rutilius Lupus, a fragment of Sallust, a fable of Phaedrus, Terentianus Maurus, Marius Victorinus, and Origen in the translation of Rufinus. Among the texts containing information about the Scythians missed by German compilers are many *scholia* to Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius and Juvenal, only partially taken into account in the book under review (they were fully published in the source collections of Latyshev and Mason). I can see also no reason why Julius Solinus with his *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* (3rd century AD) is not present in German edition. After all Solinus refers to Scythia, Asiatic Scythia, the Scythian Ocean, Scythian Diana, the Scythians, Scythians-Aroteres, Scythotauri, Sarmatians, Sauromatians, Neuri, Geloni, Agathyrsi, Arimaspi, Anthropophagi, Dahae, Essedonians, Auchetae, Callipides, Satarchi, Axiaces, Hyperboreans, Cimmerians, Amazons, Massagetae, Sacae and other peoples of the 'Scythian cultural circle'.

The Pontic *Abii Scythae* are mentioned also in the *Itinerarium Alexandri* (16, 79, 81, 95–96), prepared for the emperor Constantine in the middle of the 4th century AD (Alexander the Great leads a conversation with them).

It is a pity that the excerpts from the *Descriptio orbis terrae* of Rufius Festus Avienus (4th century AD) are here not published. Avienus refers in his work to the Scythians, Sarmatians, Arimaspi, Cimmerians, Bastarnae, Alani, Melanchlaeni and many other 'Scythian' tribes. This text, even if it is a translation of the Greek poem *Description of the Earth* by Dionysius of Alexandria, in the first place deviates often from the original text, and

secondly, characterises ideas of the Romans about Scythia, the study of which is, according to the compilers, the purpose of this publication. And publication of a Latin translation from Greek is not something considered undesirable in the book: see, for example, the Greek text of Gorgias in the Latin translation of Publius Rutilius Lupus on p. 41, and the text of Origen translated by Rufinus on pp. 331–34.

Aurelius Prudentius (absent from the book) in the *Apotheosis* 426–427 wrote: ‘The Gospel word with its infiltration weakened Scythian frosts’ (*Laxavit Scythicas verbo penetrante pruinas vox euangelica*); see also *Scythica pietas* in his *Contra Symmachum* 2. 294. Also unpublished here are the last major Latin poet, Claudius Claudianus, the great Augustine, Lucius Septimius, and Vibius Sequester, to exhaust authors of the 4th century AD who mention the Scythians and their neighbours. I hope that the compilers will continue their work chronologically and will provide the reader with ‘Scythian realities’ from the works of Paul Orosius, Martianus Capella, Salvianus, Apollinaris Sidonius, Priscianus, anonymous *Divisio orbis terrarum* and *Demensuratio provinciarum*, Julius Honorius and other authors of the 5th century, who found a place in the collection of Latyshev and are absent here.

And of course, absence of any comment reduces the information content of the source and its perception by the reader. But the authors did not set to themselves such a task.

The book contains few typographical errors. I noticed a misspelling of the name of the book published in 2005 Braund (see my n. 1); the absence of a comma between the words *Scythia* and *Athens* in the title makes it vague (occurs four times on pp. 14, 15 and 16); on p. 360, instead of the *nostril climatis* we should expect *nostris climatis*. Weiss is wrong in putting the Greek city of Olbia in the Crimea (p. 29).

It is of undoubted use to all interested in Scythian past of Eastern Europe, and will serve as a stimulus for the study of the region.

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C. Gutjahr and G. Tiefengraber (eds.), *Beiträge zur Hallstattzeit am Rande der Südostalpen*, Akten des. 2. Internationalen Symposiums am 10. und 11. Juni 2010 in Wildon (Steiermark/Österreich), Internationale Archäologie – Arbeitsgemeinschaft, Symposium, Tagung, Kongress 19, Hengist-Studien 3, Verlag Marie Leidorf, Rahden 2015, 275 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-3-89646-449-1/ISSN 1434-6427

Most of the papers are devoted to sites and finds from Slovenia and from the neighbouring parts of Austria, the area of the Situla art. The majority of contributions are summaries of excavation reports and of revisions of the most prolific sites of the Situla art excavated already in the 19th century.

Of the former group D. Eibner-Baur refers to the 1962–69 excavations at Frög-Rosegg, C. Gutjahr writes on grave 3 from Kainach near Wildon, M. Kramer on the cemetery at Wildon and, together with A. Csapláros, digs on Grazer Schlossberg. All are summaries of results of larger projects

Of the second group of papers, B. Teržan with two young colleagues reports on supplementary research at Pivola; D. Božič on Vače, and in another contribution with

A. Marić, on Certosa fibulae; and A. Priložnik on archers from Libna (so-called Scythian and other arrowheads). G. and S. Tiefengraber give a general report on 'central settlements' in the area and B. Kavur contributes a paper on absolute dating of the Early Iron Age in Slovenia.

A few papers are on the Later Iron Age in Croatia and Bosnia. The contribution by A. Providur is on the hillfort of Čolaci in Donji Vakuf in eastern Bosnia, with Late Hallstatt pottery and Late Duchcov fibula; another by D. Ložniak Dizdar on graves at Slatina; and a third by M. Didra on Belišće, with an interesting bipartite Certosa fibula, finger-ring and bracelet (Slavonia, Croatia).

The papers in this volume cover the most sophisticated part of the Central European Hallstatt area, Situla art, three monuments of which have been found long ago. Using modern auxiliary methods supplementary information on the tumuli of the elite can still be added; and the less well known middle-class settlements and cemeteries help to get better knowledge of the area and of migrations and their theories.

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S. Harrison and C. Stray (eds.), *Expurgating the Classics: Editing Out in Greek and Latin*, Bristol Classical Press, London 2012, viii+224 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-1-8496-6892-7

The subject interests me, not least in light of my own experience and belief in free speech.

I glanced at the contents, full as they are of word-play (opening with 'Unnatural selection: expurgation of Greek melic, elegiac and iambic', moving through "'Seeing the meat for what it is': Aristophanic expurgation and its phallacies', how droll, and "' From out the schoolboy's vision": expurgation and the young reader', to conclude with 'For the gentleman and the scholar: sexual and scatological references in the Loeb Classical Library' and 'How to fillet a Penguin' – what could not be published in 1956 passed muster in 1968).

In between comes 'Headlam's Herodas: the art of suggestion'. One Headlam or another has loomed in my professional life for about 35 years. Many of the Headlams, indeed, might be described as 'upper-middle-class' (p. 53), which means different things to different people (in different countries at different times), but some others were definitely poor upper class: the head of the family in Walter Headlam's time scraped into John Bateman's *Great Landowners* in the late 1870s, though by then the family finances were on the slide, and there was occasional marriage into both the aristocracy and high Sephardic Jewry. As a family, accomplished, certainly, and more so than indicated. Alas, but understandably, no mention of James Wycliffe Headlam(-Morley) of the Foreign Office (falsely credited with a knighthood in too many sources of reference), the sort of man who would know everything there was to know about the Schleswig-Holstein Question; or Sir Cuthbert Headlam, Bart, a diarist of distinction, dry of wit and politics, who, while serving on the Western Front, had, in daily correspondence with his wife, at one point to explain Sapphism to her (in inferential prose, of course, and with palpable embarrassment).

We need not feel smug. The escape from the mire is but temporary. I suspect that we shall march forward into the past as our poor little over-indulged students decide that even the comfort blanket of 'trigger warnings' is no longer enough and that all the things they

faddishly and transiently dislike should be blown from the literary can(n)on. Perhaps we can rewrite history to remove the offensive bits too – a sort of Whig interpretation on steroids? Might not those ever-popular courses on, let us call it ‘German Expansion in Europe’, leave out all the gory bits? My own misdemeanour, 25 years ago at an ancient seat of learning, involved the use of ‘nigger in the woodpile’ (a phrase used in a review recently submitted to this journal) in reported speech when précising an exchange between Roy Welensky and ‘Bobbety’ Salisbury from 1961/62: the target was Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, who dealt mainly with black territories; the laboured joke was that the Commonwealth Secretary, unpopular with them too, but dealing more with white territories, was described as ‘the white man in the woodpile’ (which was left to stand in print, its entire context lost). I think, however, that this illustrates one of the points made by several contributors: by losing some of the text we lose more than just the words in question.

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S. Hornung (ed.), *Produktion – Distribution – Ökonomie: Siedlungs- und Wirtschaftsmuster der Latènezeit*, Akten des internationalen Kolloquiums in Otzenhausen, 28.–30. Oktober 2011, Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte der Universität Mainz 258, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2014, vi+446 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Paperback. ISBN 978-3-7749-3883-0

These 25 papers on different aspects of La Tène economy start with a methodical introduction by T. Knopf and a chapter on routes between Bohemia and the Rhine-Moselle region by G. Pierrevelcin. Then follow two papers on corals by S. Fürz and by an archaeometry group, and a survey by A. Varon on lignite (bracelets, etc.). O. Buchsenschütz and S. Weffers contribute papers on the production and transport of rotation mills in France; B. Bonaventure on large transport/storage vessels in Gaul; R. Schwab on copper smelting and metallurgy between the Alps and Eifel; and G. Gussmann and G. Wiegand on iron production in the northern Black Forest. S.A. Adams discusses brooch distribution and production in Middle Iron Age Britain and S. Marion the rise of production in the 4th century in the Paris basin.

P. Baral and D. Lallemand give papers on open air agglomerations of the 2nd century BC in Gaul, and C. Felu calculates identities – political, social and economic – in north-eastern France in the final La Tène period, A. Stocklin tries to restore the general economy of an *oppidum*, D.C.T. Martinez that of an estate in Reinach, Switzerland, and G. Stegmaier the economy of the *oppidum* Haidengraben. A group of botanists compile a survey of land-use and agricultural production, onsite and offsite data. A. Kreuz and K. Fridrich seek to calculate the potential source of wealth from agriculture, S. Schade-Linding and F. Verse study the settlement structures between Lahn and Sieg, P. Trebsche the Austrian Danube region, while A.G. Heiss with M. Kobler-Schneider report on botanical research in La Tène Lower Austria. N. Venclová and J. Militký attempt to define local identities in Bohemia, Moravia and surroundings by the distribution of coin-types and specific glass beads. As for Bohemia, there is again the hope raised of distinguishing more tribal territories, especially that of the Volkoi-Tektosages in the northern part of the country. A paper by A. Danielisová

and M. Hajnalová discusses the agricultural production at the Staré Hradsko *oppidum*, and J.E. Markiewitz the pre-Roman settlement structures in the Middle Elbe and Middle Oder areas. The Late La Tène civilisation of *oppida* was for some time successful in agriculture, crafts and several other domains of economy, but collapsed under a complex of climatic problems and attacks of more barbarian Germanic peoples

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M. Krebern timer and H. Neumann (eds.) unter Mitarbeit von G. Neumann, *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spätkbabylonischer Zeit*, Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium aus Anlass des 75. Geburtstags von Joachim Oelsner, Jena, 2. Und 3. März 2007, Alter Orient und Altes Testament 369, Ugarit Verlag, Münster 2014, vii+338 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-86835-077-7

This volume is the published proceedings of a colloquium on the Neo- and Late-Babylonian period in honour of the 75th birthday of Joachim Oelsner, whose own research has added much to our understanding of these eras of Mesopotamian history. The editors, Manfred Krebern timer and Hans Neumann, have brought together eleven papers in German and one in English that investigate topics on the developments in political history, the social make-up of Babylonia in this era, ancient and modern perceptions of the societies and a handful of textual studies.

The volume opens with Uwe Becker's assessment of the nature and historicity of Artaxerxes' letter in *Ezra* 7:12–26 in the light of recent research (pp. 17–24). Becker falls on the side of those who do not see the text as recorded in *Ezra* as an historical document (though it could well be based on authentic sources). Becker also discusses how the formation of this passage reflects the development of the Judean identity and theology in the Hebrew Bible during the late Persian or Hellenistic era.

Janos Everling's 'A Babylonian Tablet from the Time of Alexander IV' provides an overview of the cuneiform texts that attest to this king's reign. The focus of the paper is the edition of a hitherto unpublished administrative text (BM 22022) dated to Alexander IV's sixth regnal year. However, Everling also presents a useful summary of published cuneiform texts that mention Alexander IV and a catalogue of cuneiform administrative tablets dated to the reign of this king.

An important study of the fall of Assyria and the 'unbelievable' rise of Nabopolassar is undertaken by Andreas Fuchs (pp. 25–71). Fuchs presents a very detailed case for the thesis raised in recent times by Paul-Alain Beaulieu and Michael Jursa that locates Nabopolassar's origins in Uruk as well as following his rise in the context of the destruction of the Assyrian empire. The strength of this study is the careful treatment of the numerous, yet often disparate, cuneiform texts in reconstructing the historical developments of this imperfectly understood period of history.

Michael Jursa examines the nature of violence across society in the Neo-Babylonian period (pp. 73–93). Despite the abundance of textual sources that have been recovered from the Neo-Babylonian era, few shed light on the nature of violence and the majority of

those come from the Eanna temple archive. With this limitation in mind, Jursa examines each text that reports on acts of violence and a chief finding is that it is more common for violence to be committed against officials and other elites by members from lower ranks of society. Jursa's interpretation of why this is so is absolutely correct: the bias of results is inherent in the context of corpus dominated by a temple archive. Hence, violence that cuts against the norms of the social hierarchy is more likely to find its way into judicial affairs than acts of violence and coercion 'from above', which would largely go unreported.

Two studies concentrate on the veracity of classical accounts of Babylon. Karlheinz Kessler examines Lucian's treatment of Babylon, in particular the issues of the nature of his account of Menippos and the decline of the city of Babylon (pp. 95–112). Robert Rollinger provides a number of insights into the historicity of Herodotus' account of Babylon under the authority of the Persians (pp. 147–94). Considerable time is spent challenging H.-G. Nesselrath's defence of Herodotus as genuine source on Babylon, to which Rollinger suggests we should understand the presentation of Babylon under the Persians as a Greek vision of the 'other' rather than a reflection of what might have been the historical reality.

There are two essays using onomastic evidence to better understand the populations of Babylonian cities in the late 1st millennium. Kai Lämmerhirt (pp. 113–33) uses the common Assyriological methodology of personal names to identify ethnic identity and looks at how the nature of the population of Nippur changed from the early Neo-Babylonian period through to the Seleucid era. Cornelia Wunsch (pp. 289–314), on the other hand, surveys the different forms of family names in the Neo-Babylonian period. She also presents a catalogue of names frequently attested in the sources.

Joachim Marzahn's paper discusses the pertinent question for many Assyriologists regarding public knowledge and the Ancient Near East (pp. 135–46). Marzahn specifically looks at the conceptions of 'Nebuchadnezzar', 'Babylon' and the more general conception of the Neo-Babylonian era among the German public in an age with access from various media, from museum galleries to block-buster films and, of course, the Internet. The findings are troubling, but unsurprising and apply equally to the English-speaking world as the German: little of the archaeological or Assyriological work of the past 150 years is consumed and/or understood, even by the casual visitor to the Vorderasiatischen Museum for whom the name Nebuchadnezzar is just as likely to be associated with the Ishtar Gate as it is *The Matrix*. The discussion ends with a warning to us all – we need to pursue opportunities to engage the public in our research and findings or face increasing obscurity.

Rüdiger Schmitt examines the Urartian influence on Persian royal inscriptions (pp. 195–218). After establishing Urartian influence in the archaeological remains from Achaemenid Persia, Schmitt argues that there are four influences discernible in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions: the titulary, forms of introductory speech, royal action as expression of the gods' will and the motif of multiple feats achieved within one year. While, these motifs and practices are all a feature of Assyrian royal inscriptions, Schmitt argues that the influence stems from Persians' northern neighbour since up to Cyrus there was direct contact between the two states.

Peter Stein re-examines the Taymā Stele and argues it is not a cult stele, rather a document of a transfer of an agricultural estate. Stein demonstrates that the structure of the text, while written in Imperial Aramaic, follows standard form of legal documents (such as

kudurrus) from Babylonia. The use of Imperial Aramaic also leads Stein to date the stele to the Persian period rather than the Neo-Babylonian era.

Michael P. Streck provides a lengthy and comprehensive study of the case system in the *status rectus* in Neo- and Late-Babylonian Akkadian (pp. 247–88). Streck carefully draws his evidence from the Graeco-Babyloniaca and late cuneiform texts to show that by the Late Babylonian era the case vowel had largely disappeared and the instances where it is represented in written form are the result of orthographic conventions rather than a reflection of a linguistic reality.

The volume closes with a list of Joachim Oelsner's publications from 2000 to 2013. This list is an appendix to the earlier bibliography of the honouree's works published in the *Festschrift* edited by J. Marzahn and H. Neumann, *Studia Assyriologica et Semitica* (Münster 2000) for his 65th birthday.

The editors are to be congratulated on editing a *Festschrift* with a narrow focus and filled with high-quality papers. This approach to a multi-authored work means that these important studies on the later periods of Mesopotamian history will be easily found and should be regularly consulted.

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Luis Siddall

H. Lohmann, G. Kalaitzoglou and G. Lüdorf (eds.), with contributions by H. Lohmann, J.-H. Hartung and G. Petzl, *Forschungen in der Mykale I, 2. Survey in der Mykale: Ergänzende Studien*, Asia Minor Studien 75, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2014, xxxvii+197 pp., 44 plates, 3 maps in end pocket. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3901-1

Mt Mykale, rising between the Cayster and Maeander rivers and forming a promontory into the Aegean, lies between major Ionian cities, Ephesus to the north, Miletus to the south and, off shore, the island state of Samos. It is thus in the Ionian heartland. The present volume continues a long history of research and excavation by the German Institute; apart from Miletus and Samos, on Mykale itself. The excavation of Priene revealed what has become a vital reference in the history of Greek urbanism, town planning and housing.

This volume contains two distinct parts. The first is a printing of the excavation diary of the work carried out in 1957, 1958 and 1960 in the vicinity of Güzelçamlı on the northern side of the mountain. The purpose of this excavation was to locate and elucidate the position of the Panionion, the site of the cult of Poseidon Helikonios common to all the Ionians and a centre for Ionian unity, a focus in the Ionian rebellion against the Persians at the turn of the 6th and 5th centuries BC. That the Panionion was believed to be in this area resulted from an inscription found in 1673 by Dr Pickering and J. Saltier in the porch of the church of the Panagia at Güzelçamlı. Theodor Wiegand, the excavator in the late 19th century of Priene, had postulated the site of the Panionion on a hill above Güzelçamlı, then called Hagios Ilias and renamed, after the expulsion of the Greeks, Otomatik Tepe (after a piece of ordnance located on the hill in the fighting between Greeks and Turks in the early 1920s). In the vicinity was an ancient settlement, tentatively identified with the Carian place Melia associated with the Panionion in one of the inscriptions (no. 37) found at Priene.

The expedition was led by G. Kleiner, assisted by P. Hommel and W. Müller-Wiener. A religious site was unearthed on the Otomatik Tepe, comprising an altar but not a temple, and Hellenistic in date. The adjacent settlement was excavated and tentatively identified as Melia, but no trace of a pre-Hellenistic Panionion was found in the area.

A new survey of the Mykale area was authorised by the Turks in 2001. In 2004, this survey found at a locality called Çatallar Tepe a Carian settlement dated to the 7th century BC together with the remains of an Archaic-period Ionic temple which became a much stronger candidate for identification as the site of the Panionion than Güzelçamlı, which was demoted rather to an attempted Hellenistic revival. Doubts have been expressed about this, and the present publication of the 1950s excavation diary is to counter these doubts by making clear the separation of the finds on Otomatik Tepe (which are purely Hellenistic) and the separate, but earlier, settlement. This the diary does effectively: the two parts of the 1950s excavations were distinct and no Archaic material is recorded on Otomatik Tepe, only on the separate settlement site.

The diary itself forms a nostalgic glimpse of excavation methods and procedures of half a century ago. Large numbers of locally recruited workmen – 76 noted for 20 April 1957, supervised only by the trio of German archaeologists, one of whom, Müller-Wiener, was largely occupied with surveying. Transport was a (seemingly dilapidated) Mk 1 Land Rover in which travel was uncomfortable. Publication of these diaries does confirm that the Otomatik Tepe site is purely Hellenistic.

The second part of the present volume, by Jan-Henrik Hartung, gives an account of a survey of the site on the southern side of Mykale which can be certainly identified as the Greek settlement of Thebai, and which was partly excavated by Wiegand at the time of the Priene excavations.

The site is situated on a steep-sided hill which seems to have been military in origin. Hartung gives a full account of the written sources for Thebai. First mentioned by Theopompus, it was originally in Samian territory but then ceded to Miletus. The finds, both in the earlier excavations and the present survey suggest the earliest occupation was in the first part of the 4th century BC. Wiegand uncovered two buildings at the northern end of the hill which appeared to be temples: one (A) is apparently tristyle prostyle. The second (B) was identified by Wiegand on the basis of objects found in it but which are now lost as a Temple of Dionysos. Hartung suggests instead a parallel with the oval building at Tourkovouni identified by Hans Lauter as a 'cult-house' rather than a conventional temple. It is only 4.06 × 4.86 m with an apparent doorway in its east side.

Hartung gives the plan of the houses either side of a central road along the north–south spine of the hill, visible in the central section but only scattered fragments to the south. He finds no indication of the water supply, suggesting cisterns only and nothing resembling the sophisticated system at Priene which piped water from a distance for distribution within the town. The location of the settlement on the hill would have required a pressure system (as at Pergamum) and so is rather unlikely.

One of the problems for Hartung's account is the loss of Wiegand's records and the finds from his excavation at Thebai. The finds included a marble kore at the temple; there is a drawing of this but no photograph except of the broken feet and basis in situ. It appears to have been left on the site and has now vanished. Archaic in appearance, it suggests that the temple or sanctuary dates back to the 6th century. No other finds are as early as this,

and the temple should rather be contemporary with the foundation of the fortification and settlement. An explanation could be that the statue is archaising; the alternative, preferred by Hartung, is that the statue was brought to the site from elsewhere, perhaps with some transference of population. Hartung emphasises that the earliest ceramic material found on the site dates to the second half of the 4th century BC, so an earlier date for the temple is most unlikely. It is difficult to be certain about the date of the statue from the reproduction of the drawings (from the back) and feet. Hartung points to parallels from Samos and Miletus, and concludes that it dates to *ca.* 535 BC and was of 'Milesian-Didyma' origin, transported to Thebai when the site was taken over and developed by Miletus in the 4th century.

Hartung gives as full an account of the place as is now possible from the surviving remains, with a full account of the pottery discovered during the present survey. However the fate of Thebai does emphasise the need for full publication of excavations and the folly of excavating without any real guarantee that what is revealed will be safely preserved.

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Richard Tomlinson

C. Meier and P. Veyne, *Kannten die Griechen die Demokratie?: Zwei Studien*, revised edition, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2015, 125 pp. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-11139-3

Der Initiative von Katharina Stüdemann und des Franz Steiner Verlags ist es zu verdanken, dass zwei Studien über die athenische Demokratie von Paul Veyne und Christian Meier nach ihrer Erstveröffentlichung 1988 (zweite Auflage 1990) mit einem Abstand von gut 25 Jahren, mit einem Vorwort von M. versehen, erneut vorgelegt werden. Der Text der beiden Studien ist bis auf kleine Korrekturen und wenige neue Literaturangaben unverändert. Das Thema, die auf Freiheit und Gleichheit beruhende Demokratie, ist angesichts jüngster Bedrohungen nach wie vor von aktuellem Interesse. Die beiden Studien tragen zur Selbstvergewisserung demokratischer Gesellschaften in der westlichen Welt bei und zeigen einmal mehr die historische Fundierung von Freiheit und Gleichheit in der antiken, speziell der athenischen Demokratie. Und dies steht nicht in Gegensatz dazu, dass beide Autoren die Unterschiede zwischen antiker und moderner Demokratie betonen und eher um Verfremdung des vermeintlich Gleichen bemüht sind. Beiden Beiträgen liegt die Frage zugrunde, wie es zur Ausbildung eines Bürgerbewusstseins und einer hohen Eigenverantwortung, wie es zum Wandel aristokratischer Herrschaftsformen hin zu einer breiten Machtlagerung kam.

Einen aktuellen Bezug kann das Büchlein auch deswegen in Anspruch nehmen, weil es angesichts einer zunehmenden Zahl englischsprachiger Publikationen ein „französisch-deutsches Gespräch“ (S. 7) dokumentiert, in dem beide Autoren ein Zwiegespräch führen und gegenseitige Anregungen aufnehmen. So nahe sie in der Ausgangsfrage beieinander liegen, so sehr zeigt sich doch auch die unterschiedliche Verwurzelung beider Gelehrter in ihren Wissenschaftstraditionen. Auch wenn M. dem Beitrag von V. den Vortritt gelassen hat, so geht er selbst stärker auf die Genese der athenischen Demokratie ein, verfolgt das Wachsen einer Bürgeridentität von den Reformen eines Solon an bis zu dem für M. entscheidenden Wendepunkt der kleisthenischen Reform und der konsequenten Fortführung

durch Ephialtes, wohingegen V. dem ideologischen, demokratiekritischen Niederschlag vor allem in der antiken Philosophie nachspürt, der auf die ‚Militanz‘ des Bürgers in der von ihr ungeliebten Demokratie reagiert.

M. zeigt die Leitlinien der athenischen Demokratie auf, die – in dauernden Modifikationen – in die europäische Neuzeit und Moderne weitergewirkt haben. Anknüpfend an die begriffsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen von Reinhard Koselleck hebt er hervor, dass Freiheit in der athenischen Demokratie nicht unseren Vorstellungen entspricht, nicht die individuelle Freiheit des Einzelnen meint, sondern zunächst die Freiheit von der Tyranis, später die Freiheit, an der Polis partizipieren zu können. Die Idee der Partizipation, die das Bürgersein ausmacht, steht nach M. im Zentrum der Eigenart der athenischen Demokratie, bildet die ‚Bürger-Identität‘ und die bürgerliche ‚Militanz‘ im Sinne von V. Die Analyse von M. bleibt auch 25 Jahren nach ihrer Abfassung beeindruckend. Stärker als er es tut, würde aber heute die bisweilen ins Übermaß gesteigerte kompetitive Verhaltensweise griechischer Aristokraten Berücksichtigung finden müssen, mit ihren Wurzeln in den Welten Homers und der Dark Ages. Aristokraten hätten nach M. die kulturellen Werte vorgegeben, auf die hin sich die neu in die Politik drängenden Schichten ausrichteten. Neuere Untersuchungen legen indes nahe – und M. scheint dies in seinem Vorwort (S. 8–9) aufgenommen zu haben –, dass auch Normvorstellungen bäuerlicher Schichten Eingang z. B. in die Gesetzgebungen des 6. Jh. gefunden haben. Einige Facetten würde eine heutige Altertumswissenschaft anders werten und gewichten: Ausgeklammert etwa bleiben bei M. neue Erkenntnisse zu den politischen Ordnungen einer städtischen Selbstverwaltung in Mesopotamien. Doch auch wenn politische Partizipation von Bürgern nicht erst in griechischen Poleis der archaischen und klassischen Zeit begonnen hat, haben die mesopotamischen Vorläufer keinen Eingang in die Rezeption und spätere Reflexion früher politischer Ordnungen gefunden, weil sie sich nur fragmentarisch in Keilschrifttafeln erhalten haben und nicht in den literarischen Überlieferungsstrom eingeflossen sind. Zu prüfen bleibt, ob der von M. postulierte Gerechtigkeitsdiskurs und die Labilität der Machtverhältnisse, die Bedeutung des Weisen und die Hervorbringung einer Rationalität im politischen Denken sowie das hohe Maß an Öffentlichkeit nicht notwendige Bedingungen für eine Bürgeridentität und -beteiligung waren, die in dieser Intensität nur dem Griechischen eigen sind.

M. und V. fokussieren ihre Beiträge ganz auf die athenische Demokratie, ungeachtet der in den letzten Jahrzehnten zunehmenden Vereinigung Europas, die eine ganze Reihe von Arbeiten zu antiken Bundesstaaten und ihrer inneren politischen Organisation angeregt hat, in denen die direkte und unvermittelte Partizipation zurücktritt hinter Amts- und Ratsgremien, die proportional zu ihren Mitgliedsstaaten zusammengesetzt waren. Doch auch wenn die Leitfunktion der Demokratie hinter den bundesstaatlichen, föderalen Organisationsformen zurückzutreten scheint, die demokratischen Prinzipien von Freiheit, Gleichheit und Gerechtigkeit werden auch in neuem Gewand ihre Relevanz bewahren.

Das hohe Maß politischer Partizipation ist auch der Ausgangspunkt V.s, und M. hat gut daran getan, am Anfang eine kurze Erläuterung zu ergänzen, was der französische Gelehrte in Hinsicht auf die athenische Demokratie unter ‚militantisme‘ versteht, nämlich die ‚Militanz‘ des antiken Staatsbürgers, sich politisch zu engagieren. Auch für V. – der Beitrag wurde 1983 in *Diogenè* erstmals publiziert – ist die vorausgesetzte ‚Militanz‘ mit ihrem

imperativen Charakter ein, wenn nicht das entscheidende Charakteristikum der athenischen Demokratie: „Die antiken Demokratien waren immer anfällig und bestanden nur so lange wie die kollektive Leidenschaft anhielt“ (S. 43). V.s Weg zum Verständnis dieser spezifischen Bürgeridentität ist freilich ein anderer. Der philosophische Diskurs zu Muße und Arbeit führt ihn zu den theoretischen Entwürfen eines Platon und Aristoteles, deren elitäre Ansichten den demokratischen Prinzipien der Militanz des Bürgers entgegenstehen und deren ideologische Voraussetzungen und Unstimmigkeiten V. offenlegt. Diese Diskurse dienten der Aufwertung der Mächtigen, die sich selbst als die Guten definierten und damit eine politisch privilegierte Stellung rechtfertigen wollten. Dass die antike Demokratie, Freiheit und Gleichheit nicht aus der Verwirklichung eines allgemeinen Rechts resultierten, sondern aus der Ausweitung der Partizipation, die auch wieder eingeschränkt werden konnte, darin sieht V. die Ursache dafür, dass die Demokratie im späten 4. Jh. bruchlos in ein Honoratiorenregime überging.

Aus seiner Beschäftigung mit den Kritikern der Demokratie in Philosophie, Historiographie und Drama speist sich die Einstellung V.s, „daß zwar die Polis frei, aber die Bürger ihre Sklaven waren“ (S. 52). Man erwartete vom Bürger eine aktive Beteiligung am Unternehmen Polis; jeder musste sein Bestes zum allgemeinen Wohl geben (S. 27). Die antike Polis habe daraus ein starkes Kontrollrecht, gerade auch in ethischer Hinsicht, ausgebildet, „als das Korrelat des selbstverständlichen Militanzgebots“ (S. 52). Die Polis habe die Bürger zu Werkzeugen gemacht, zu Sklaven der Politik, weil das Gelingen der Polis davon abhängig war, dass die Bürger ethische Qualitäten ausbildeten. Daher die ungemeine Bedeutung der Ethik für die Politik. Die Polis habe den Anspruch entwickelt, in Fällen, wo das Gewissen aussetze, einzuschreiten, und daher eine Sittenaufsicht – durch Ephoren, Gynaikonomoi und den Areopag – eingerichtet, um so eine Identität des Bürgers mit der Polis einzufordern. In diesem Punkt scheint mir V. über das Ziel hinauszuschießen: Diente die Aufsicht des Areopag und ein Einschreiten gegen Verschwendung des eigenen Vermögens nicht eher dazu, den Söhnen des Hauses eine sichere Existenz zu bewahren? Jedenfalls wurde auf die politische Kontrolle der Amtsträger wesentlich größere Anstrengung aufgewendet als auf eine sittliche des Bürgers. Ist die politische Kontrolle nicht der Impuls, aus der sich der hohe Grad von Öffentlichkeit speist?

Man nimmt das Büchlein gerne zur Hand und erfreut sich an der Lektüre eines Werks, das essayistisch angelegt und sprachlich eingängig formuliert ist, geschichtsphilosophisch und ethisch ausgerichtet, bei V. mit spürbarer Nähe zu marxistischen Standpunkten. Für einen fruchtbaren wissenschaftlichen Dialog über die Grenzen hinweg ist die Publikation ein Vorbild, das nachzuahmen ermutigen sollte.

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Winfried Schmitz

M. Miše, *Gnathia and Related Hellenistic Wares on the East Adriatic Coast*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, vi+168 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-164-5

Maja Miše's reworked and enlarged PhD thesis shows the important progress achieved since the previous studies of Gnathia pottery in Dalmatia by B. Kirigin and other scholars.

The Introduction sums up the aims of the study and the methodology used; the first two chapters are devoted to Gnathia wares in South Italy and Croatia (Issa-Vis); the third discusses other Hellenistic wares in Dalmatia – red-figure, West Slope, Alto Adriatico, black-glazed and grey-glazed wares and Hellenistic coated ware. Then follows an historical survey of the East Adriatic from the 4th to the 1st century BC and a catalogue of the Gnathia ware in the Split Archaeological Museum. Among the prevailing imports from Italy products of several East Adriatic workshops are represented, including the Issa *ateliers*.

The 10th–7th centuries BC knew imported Daunian pottery from around the northern Adriatic in considerable quantities. Lucilla Baresi, in her Prague PhD thesis, brings a list of them from Slovenia and Istria over 100 pages thick, in contrast to very rare finds of Greek Geometric and Early Orientalising sherds. The main shapes are krater and olla, perhaps containers of some cheese or salted fish. Around 600 BC the best ships of Aegina reached Adria, but imports of fine Attic pottery are more common only in the 5th century. An important change in the situation was brought about by the foundation of the Greek colonies of Pharos on Hvar and Issa on Vis in the early 4th century, jointly by colonists from Paros and by Dionysius I of Syracuse. In the later 4th and early 3rd century most of pottery imports came from Apulia (Taras, Canossa), in the Late Hellenistic period also from Durrhachion and Lissus. The Issa local production of Gnathia was founded by potters coming from Canossa.

M. distinguishes with Kirigin several stages of the local production of Gnathia on Vis, working from the late 4th to the beginning of the 1st century BC; new as yet unpublished excavations on Vis have much enlarged the corpus. Small local production of Gnathia in other sites in Dalmatia is unclear and doubtful, perhaps with the exception of Budva. Of special interest are the Peloponnesian moulds for Megarian bowls from Resnik near Split. As for other fabrics, most of imports came from Italy, only a few of them from the East. The 2nd-century BC red-glazed pottery may be in fact Eastern Sigillata A, the grey pottery the Knidos ware and the brown coated ware another class from the Aegean, if not being their Apulian imitations. Fragments of Aegean trade amphorae have been found in north-eastern Italy and can be expected also on the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

A 2014 Trnava University MA thesis by T. Kolon (*Keramika typu Gnathia a 'West Slope'*) brings a good compilation of the dispersed literature on the subject produced in many parts of Italy and occasionally influenced by Attic and Ionian West Slope fabrics. M.'s book is a ripe synthesis successfully filling a gap in the knowledge of Hellenistic pottery.

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Jan Bouzek

J. Monerie, *D'Alexandre à Zoilos: Dictionnaire prosopographique des porteurs de nom grec dans les sources cunéiformes*, Orient et Occident 23, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart 2014, 225 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-3-515-10956-7

Der vorliegende Band, die überarbeitete Fassung der Magisterarbeit des Verfassers, besteht nach den technischen Informationen aus vier Teilen: eine Einleitung (S. 17–29), eine Diskussion, wie die griechischen Namen durch die Keilschrift wiedergegeben worden sind

(S. 31–63), ein Aufsatz über die Gesellschaft im hellenistischen und parthischen Mesopotamien (S. 65–107), sowie ein prosopographisches Lexikon (S. 109–76). Das Buch ist mit verschiedenen Anhängen und ausführlichen Indizes abgerundet (S. 197–221)

Den Kern des Bandes bildet der prosopographische Teil. Der einheitliche Eintrag der jeweiligen Namen besteht aus den folgenden Angaben: der normalisierte Name selbst (in Umschrift bzw. in französischer Form und mit griechischen Buchstaben), Geschlechtsangabe, ungefähre Datierung, Verwandtschaft, Textbelege, belegte Formen (die bei Xanthippe [S. 174] ausgeblieben sind, was zu den sehr wenigen Tippfehlern des Bandes gehört), Informationen zur Person sowie Bibliographie. Das Lexikon wird zutreffend durch die ausführliche Diskussion über die Wege der Umschrift eingeleitet. Es ist allerdings nicht klar, worin die Funktion der historischen Einleitung bzw. des Aufsatzes, der kaum mit der Prosopographie zu tun hat, besteht. Die Einleitung, aus der man kaum etwas über die vorhellenistischen griechisch-mesopotamischen Kontakte erfährt und die nur eine oberflächliche historische Übersicht zur hellenistisch-parthischen Periode sowie einen Überblick zu den keilschriftlichen Quellen dieser Periode bietet, hätte ohne Weiteres ausgelassen werden können. Daneben sollte der Aufsatz, der sogar aus drei miteinander nur locker zusammenhängenden Teilen besteht (Historiographie des Hellenismus, Namengebung und soziale Strategien; Hellenisierung Mesopotamiens), offenbar separat veröffentlicht werden. Ohne diese Beilagen wäre allerdings das prosopographische Lexikon selbst einfach zu kurz gewesen, um als Buch veröffentlicht zu werden, was der Grund ihres Miteinbeziehens gewesen sein dürfte.

Bei der Lektüre des Buchs fällt einem sofort die Präponderanz der hellenistisch-parthischen Periode, des eigentlichen Fachbereichs des Verfassers auf. Dies macht den eigenartigen Umstand verständlich, dass dieses Buch trotz seines Titels kein prosopographisches Lexikon der in der Keilschrift belegten griechischen Eigennamen bietet: man sucht vergebens die in der hethitischen Keilschrift belegten Namen griechischen Ursprungs (z. B. *Alakšandu*, *Tawagalawa*) oder *Ur(iya)ik(ki)*, König von Hiyawa, dessen Gräzität seit zwei Jahrzehnten diskutiert wird.¹ Die Belege außerhalb des Fachbereichs des Verfassers sind

¹ M. Forlanini, 'Awariku, un nom dynastique dans le mythe et l'histoire'. *Hethitica* 13 (1996), 15 und 'Un peuple, plusieurs noms. Le problème des ethniques au Proche Orient ancien. Cas connus, cas à découvrir'. In W. van Soldt (Hrsg.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia* (Leiden 2005), 113 (dem schließen sich A.M. Jasink und M. Marino, 'The West Anatolian Origins of the Que Kingdom Dynasty'. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 49 [2007], 408–09 an); einen anderen griechischen Namen suchen darin C.R. Krahmalkov, *Phoenician-Punic Dictionary* (Leuven 2000), 38–39 (dem schließen sich E. Lipiński, *Itineraria Phoenicia* (Leuven 2004), 120–21 [dessen Arbeit auch dem Verfasser bekannt war]; P.C. Schmitz, 'Phoenician KRNTYŠ, Archaic Greek *KOPYNHTHPIOΣ, and the Storm God of Aleppo'. *Kleine Untersuchungen zur Sprache des Alten Testaments und seiner Umwelt* 10 (2009), 141; I. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luvian Language* (Leiden 2010), 152–53; und I. Singer, "'Old Country" Ethnonyms in "New Countries" of the "Sea Peoples" Diaspora'. In R.B. Koehl (Hg.), *Amilla. The Quest for Excellence. Studies Presented to Guenter Kopcke in Celebration of His 75th Birthday* (Philadelphia 2013), 324 an) bzw. Lipiński 2004, 120–21; M. Egetmeyer, *Le dialecte grec ancien de Chypre I. Grammaire* (Berlin 2010), 352–53. Die griechischen Verbindungen wurden von D. Pardee, 'Rezension zu Krahmalkov, *op. cit.*' *JNES* 64 (2005), 202; M. Gander, 'Ahhiyawa – Hiyawa – Que: Gibt es Evidenz für die Anwesenheit von Griechen in Kilikien am Übergang von der Bronze- zur Eisenzeit?'. *Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici* 54 (2012), 297, Anm. 108; M. Novák, 'Kizzuwatna

zudem nicht immer zuverlässig; im Falle der zyprischen Könige zitiert er nur die Beiträge E. Lipiński, ohne sie ausführlich studiert zu haben (z. B. ¹*i-tu-u-an-dar* wird als *Étéwanthros* (mit Fragezeichen) aufgenommen (S. 46, 142), obwohl Lipiński selbst in einem auch vom Verfasser zitierten Buch diesen Namen zu *Etewandros* korrigiert hat²) und ohne auf die Problematik dieser Namen einzugehen. Statt der einschlägigen Diskussionen und Vorschläge wurde einfach ein Fragezeichen hinzugefügt, wodurch der Verfasser den falschen Eindruck erweckt, als ob diese Namen in der Fachliteratur noch nicht ausführlich erörtert worden wären.³

Das Buch bietet zweifellos ein nützliches Handbuch zur griechischen Prosopographie der hellenistisch-parthischen Periode Mesopotamiens sowie einen wichtigen Beitrag zum griechisch-akkadischen Sprachkontakt. Der Titel ist aber leider irreführend und es wäre besser gewesen, wenn das Buch sich auf sein eigentliches Thema, die Prosopographie dieser Periode, begrenzt geblieben wäre, um die Verbreitung oberflächlicher Informationen zu vermeiden.

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R.M. Motta, *Material Culture and Cultural Identity: A Study of Greek and Roman Coins from Dora*, Archaeopress Archaeology, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, ix+103 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-092-1

Rosa Maria Motta's book is based partly on her dissertation, presented in 2010, amended for publication with new data, one more chapter and bibliographical references. It comprises six chapters accompanied by a 'Coin catalogue' (pp. 96–99), numbering detailed descriptions of 50 coins produced by the mint of the harbour town of Dora in modern Israel. It has a rather typological character, presenting all known types of civic issues and covers the period from the end of the 3rd century BC until the beginning of the 3rd century AD.

M. raises the quite uneasy problem of using coins as an indicator of self-identity and considers coinage as peculiar instrument of communication in ancient society, stressing the semiotic character of coin images, which might have served as a sort of code that needed to be deciphered.

Chapter 1, 'Tel Dor's Context' (pp. 1–22) provides a valuable essay on Dora's history, archaeology and coin finds. Each of the three subsequent chapters dealing with specific

– Hiyawa – Que. Ein Abriss der Kulturgeschichte des Ebenen Kilikien'. In J. Becker, R. Hempelmann und E. Rehm (Hrsg.), *Kulturlandschaft Syrien. Zentrum und Peripherie. Festschrift für Jan-Waalke Mayer* (Münster 2010), 407–08; und J. D. Hawkins, 'A New Look at the Luwian Language'. *Kadmos* 52 (2013), 16 (letzte beide ohne Begründung) abgelehnt. Für die jüngste kritische Diskussion s. Z. Simon, 'Awarikus und Warikas. Zwei Könige von Hiyawa'. *ZAs* 104 (2014), 91–103, bes. 93–95.

² Lipiński (Anm. 1), 69, so auch K. Radner, 'The Stele of Sargon II of Assyria at Kition: A focus for an emerging Cypriot identity?'. In R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, M. Lang et al. (Hrsg.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts* (Wiesbaden 2010), 436, Anm. 41.

³ S. dagegen die Diskussionen z. B. in G. Neumann, 'Beiträge zum Kyprischen XV'. *Kadmos* 33 (1994), 4–6; Egetmeyer (Anm. 1), *passim*.

analysis of Dora's coins begins with a lengthy theoretical introduction. Chapter 2, 'Material Culture, Coins and Cultural Identity' (pp. 23–30), is preceded by a discussion regarding the definition of culture and identity; Chapter 3, 'The Mint of Dora' (pp. 31–41), considers the concept of money and general questions on its functions and origin; Chapter 4, 'The Iconography of Dora's Coins' (pp. 42–66), pays special attention to the theoretical principles of studying art monuments. General discussion in all three cases is accompanied by quite interesting and comprehensive analysis of the archaeological and numismatic material from Dora.

M. has managed to demonstrate how the community of Dora, initially Phoenician by origin, was evolving during time and participating in the general processes of Hellenisation and Romanisation. Often this meant filling up foreign forms with local content, or using such forms side-by-side with traditional images, as, for example, simultaneously putting portraits of Roman emperors on the obverse and depictions of local deities on the reverse of the coins issued in Dora during the Roman period. Using the so-called imagery-as-language approach for the analysis of iconography allows us, in the opinion of M., to move through iconography to iconology and thus, as Panofsky says, 'to reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class ...' (p. 66).

Chapter 5, 'Epigraphic Analysis of Dora's Coins' (pp. 67–73), considers monetary inscriptions and, especially, city titles and imperial titulature, being a valuable addition to the general picture of using coins as self-identity signifier. Chapter 6, 'Drawing Some Conclusions' (pp. 74–77), briefly summarises the main results of M.'s observations and researches. M.'s study is a further good example of the potential of complex coin analysis in the restoration and understanding of the historical realities and cultural landscapes that were indicative for a specific city community during Greek and Roman times.

Alas, while reviewing this book, one cannot avoid pointing out its deficiencies. There are quite numerous inconsistencies and mistakes in the text. Figure 1.18 is absent from the illustrations, though there is reference to it in the text (p. 16). Year 130 indicated on the coins of Dora should be given with Greek numerals as 'ΑΡ' and not 'MP' as in Table 1 on p. 35 and on the next page in the text. This unfortunate date appears again at the end of the book in the Coin Catalogue, where it is wrongly defined as 'year 131' (p. 96, nos. 14–16). The same is true for the year 175, which should be given as 'ΡΘΕ' and not 'ΕΘΙ' as in the book (p. 36). One cannot understand the reason for the ordering of Roman emperors in Table 2 'Denominations of Dora's Imperial Coins at the Israel Antiquities Authority' (p. 37), where after Hadrian, emperors of Severan dynasty are located, and after them, the Flavians. In n. 85 on p. 48, the reference to Fig. 4.5 is mistakenly given as to Fig. 4.6. For unknown reasons, among the Phoenician analogies to the Doran image of Tyche, a depiction of this goddess on a coin of Thracian Marcianopolis not mentioned in the text turns up on Fig. 4.31 (pp. 57, 58). Inaccurate translations from Greek and Latin are annoying as well. The author translates *Dora, maritima et longae vetustatis* ... as 'Dora on the sea and of ancient beauty' instead of the more appropriate 'of great ancientness' (p. 61, n. 146). The Greek title of the Ptolemy V (ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ) on a silver tetradrachm does not mean 'King Ptolemy', but '[coin] of King Ptolemy' (p. 68). There are also mistakes in the Greek spelling of Geta's titles on Dora's coins (p. 71). Last but not least (on the same page), Caesarea without obvious reason is called both Caesarea

Marina and Caesarea Maritima. Such lapses unfortunately diminish the otherwise good impression of the book reviewed.

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N.I. Nikolaev, *Prosopografiya Olvii Pontiiskoi, V v. do n.e.–I v. n.e.*, Oleg Filyuk, Kiev 2014, 316 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-617-7122-38-7

Après son livre de 2008 (*Politicheskaya i kultovaya elita Olvii IV–I vv. do n.e.*; cf. *Bulletin épigraphique* 2010, 460) et nombre de contributions parsemées entre-temps dans plusieurs périodiques, Nikolai Nikolaev revient avec ce nouvel ouvrage de synthèse. La base de ses enquêtes demeure le catalogue *IOSPE I² 201* (catalogue des éponymes d'Olbia, prêtres d'Apollon *Delphinios*). Les méthodes de ce que l'auteur appelle 'synchronisation' doivent beaucoup à l'analyse mathématique (principes exposés aux p. 23–24, avec justification d'une marge d'erreur allant de +2 à –4 ans, p. 31) et prennent en compte surtout les quelques inscriptions dont il estime, sur les traces de ses prédécesseurs, qu'elles sont très proches du moment du siège d'Olbia par Zopyrion, 331 av. J.-C.: *Nadpisi Olvii* 71 = *IGDOP* 11; *Nadpisi Olvii* 168; *IOSPE I² 179* (cf. *SEG* 37, 672); *IGDOP* 13. Dans tous ces documents, qui appartiendraient donc à la période ca. 325–315, sont mentionnées des personnes portant des noms qui se retrouvent dans le catalogue des éponymes (p. 30–32).

L'auteur s'oriente ensuite vers la chronologie relative qui peut être rétablie tant bien que mal grâce à des recoupements prosopographiques assurés ou hautement à supposer: c'est ainsi que commencent à se distinguer quelques grandes familles et, au sein de chacune, des générations dont la succession est susceptible d'assurer une certaine cohérence chronologique aux documents pris en compte (p. 62–78). L'auteur met également à profit, dans les pas notamment de P.O. Karyshkovskii, les légendes, pour la plupart abrégées, et les sigles monétaires rendant des noms de magistrats, qu'il essaye d'interpréter afin de reconnaître certains noms déjà connus des inscriptions. De nombreux tableaux récapitulatifs et des arbres généalogiques détaillés accompagnent cet ouvrage.

Le repère peut-être le plus significatif serait l'inscription *SEG* 32, 794 (*IOSPE I² 25 + 31*), mise en relation par J.G. Vinogradov et P.O. Karyshkovskii, *VDI* 4 (1982), 26–46, et 1 (1983), 21–39 (= Vinogradov, *Pontische Studien. Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte und Epigraphik des Schwarzmeerraumes* [Mayence 1997], 276–322) avec le siège d'Olbia par Zopyrion. Le titulaire en est un certain Καλλίνικος Εὐξένου, identifié par N. avec Καλλίνικος Φιλοξένου du catalogue *IOSPE I² 201*, col. I, l. 28, en supposant donc une erreur pour la transcription du patronyme. Le même Καλλίνικος Εὐξένου (daté par N. de 329 av. J.-C.) serait également le magistrat dont le nom se cache dans un monogramme figurant sur une émission monétaire de cette époque (longue discussion à ce propos, p. 46–49 et 159–162). Cela étant, les éponymes antérieurs à Καλλίνικος Εὐξένου (Φιλοξένου) seraient antérieurs à 329, et tous les autres postérieurs.

Quelques nouvelles propositions sont à retenir. N. suggère (p. 165–68) pour *Nadpisi Olvii* 71 = *IGDOP* 11 une restitution légèrement différente de celle envisagée récemment par V.F. Stolba, *Mnemosyne* 66 (2013), 293–302 (cf. *Bulletin épigraphique* 2014, 345). Par

analogie, il restitue (p. 169-172), pour des raisons tenant de la prosopographie, dans *Nadpisi Olvii* 168 (cf. *SEG* 37, 672):

[ἐρεῖς] Λεω[χράτου?]	
[Διονύσιος Ἀριστεῖ]δου	Στ[άφυλος? Ἡροδώρου?]
[Ἀγαθῖνος Ἀντιμήστ]ορος	<i>vac.</i>
[ὁ δεῖνα - - - - -]υος	<i>vac.</i>

Dans *IOSPE* I² 163, il suggère (p. 215–18): [Μῦς Βοσπορίχ]ου | [ἐρησάμεν]ος | [Ἀπόλλωνι] Δελφινίωι (ce prêtre serait le même que l'éponyme du catalogue *IOSPE* I² 201, col. II, l. 210, daté de « 217 »).

Sur la foi de l'éponymie divine d'Apollon datant le décret *IOSPE* I² 35 (cf. *SEG* 28, 647 [2]), N. restitue dans le catalogue des éponymes (p. 237) le nom du dieu (col. III, l. 6): Ἀπό[λλων Διός] (« 105 » av. J.-C.).

Enfin, après une discussion détaillée (p. 254–65) prenant en compte les dimensions de la stèle, les particularités paléographiques et le contexte historique (renvois au *Borysthénique* de Dion Chrysostome) évoqué par le décret de consolation pour Neikèratos, fils de Papias (*IOSPE* I² 34), N. arrive à la conclusion que cette inscription date du début de la seconde moitié du I^{er} siècle apr. J.-C. (début du I^{er} siècle av. J.-C. dans le corpus, début du II^e siècle av. J.-C. pour Vinogradov!). L'argument le plus important, auquel je souscris, est l'orthographe du nom (Νεικήρατος, avec diphtongue), qui n'est attestée à Olbia qu'à l'époque romaine. La nouvelle datation est d'une importance indiscutable, car elle ouvre la voie à de nouvelles considérations d'ordre historique ayant trait au contexte dans lequel fut pris ce décret.

J'estime en conclusion que l'ouvrage recensé ici représente une contribution notable à la prosopographie d'Olbia et qu'il fournit aux recherches futures des repères chronologiques et d'autres points d'ancrage précieux. Une version en anglais ou dans une autre langue de circulation serait hautement souhaitable.

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H.-C. Noeske, in collaboration with H. Ismail, M. Sahin, S. Abd el-Raouf *et al.*, based on preparatory studies by F.E. Koenig and D. Boschung, *A Catalogue of the Roman Provincial Coins from the Alexandrian Mint in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, 1: The Issues of the Julio-Claudian Dynasty (30 BC–AD 68)*, Frankfurter Archäologische Schriften 27, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2014, 218 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3922-6

This book is published in the series *Frankfurter Archäologische Schriften*, one of the editors of which, Hans-Markus von Kaenel, has along with Marianne Bergman written an Editorial Preface (pp. 6–7), which supplies the reader with information on the pre-history of the book's appearance. The core of the database, which is presented in the catalogue, was compiled between 1975 and 1979 by Franz Koenig and Dietrich Boschung under the

supervision of Hans Jucker in the Graeco-Roman Museum of Alexandria. After the death of Jucker, and a gap of almost ten years, the relevant documentation was transferred to Frankfurt am Main and publication of the catalogue was assigned to Hans-Christoph Noeske, collaborator in the long-term project 'Fundmünzen der Antike'. Noeske resumed work in the numismatic department of the Alexandria Museum in 2004, checking photographs and data of the card index compiled by Koenig and Boschung. Apart from this, a considerable amount of additional material, not registered previously, was added. At present, the Museum in Alexandria is closed and its numismatic collection is not accessible for research. Thus, publication of this catalogue gives us a classic example of the importance such scholarly publications have for the preservation of the historical heritage and its use for future study. It is noteworthy that the second volume dealing with the coins of the Flavian dynasty and Trajan stored in the Museum is underway, being prepared by Britta Rabe from the University of Berne.

N. clarifies the structure of the catalogue in the Introduction and Acknowledgements. It follows the order of volume 1 of *Roman Provincial Coinage* (London 1992), which has become today the exemplar for presenting numismatic materials from the Roman provinces. All in all 2689 coins are registered in the catalogue. In order to preserve the completeness of the type classification, at the relevant places N. includes (in italics) descriptions of types absent from the collection. For each coin size and weight are indicated, as well as provenance where possible. Most of the coins are illustrated with black-and-white photographs of good quality.

The catalogue occupies pp. 16–208 and is accompanied by 97 plates. As noted in the Editorial Preface, the collection of Alexandrian coins in the Museum was composed of coins from excavations, hoards and stray finds (p. 6). No special selection of the numismatic material took place. Therefore, in comparison with other museum collections, it gives the rare possibility to obtain, albeit roughly, an objective impression of the general structure of the output of the Alexandrian mint under the emperors of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. It becomes clear at once that mint production peaked under Nero, not only in quantitative but also in qualitative terms. Coins struck under him form more than two-thirds of the catalogue. Moreover, one can trace considerable changes in coin typology characterised by noted diversity of the reverse images of the Nero billon tetradrachms. A wide selection of Greek and Roman deities and personifications appeared on them from year to year, yielding rich material for study not only to numismatists, but also to art historians and specialists in ancient religion.

The book concludes with a 'Selected bibliography': nine pages (pp. 210–18) and more than 150 titles. It indicates the great extent of the interest paid by scholars to this material and the huge amount of work that the author had to do in preparing this catalogue. Although the catalogue lacks indexes, as a rule obligatory for numismatic publications of this sort, the absence does not complicate use of the book for scholarly purposes.

It remains only to congratulate N. for such a masterful and solid piece of work and to await the promised continuation of publishing this very interesting and now unfortunately inaccessible material.

M.-L. Nosch, H. Koefoed and E. Andersson Strand (eds.), *Textile Production and Consumption in the Ancient Near East: Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography*, Ancient Textiles Series 12, Oxbow Books, Oxford/Oakville, CT 2013, viii+247 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-84217-489-0

In 2010, the Centre for Textile Research at the University of Copenhagen organised a workshop entitled 'Textile Production in the Ancient Near East' as part of the 7th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East. The present volume contains 13 papers presented there, ranging chronologically from the Chalcolithic of the southern Levant to the Neo-Assyrian period. Geographically they extend from the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean, through Anatolia, Israel, Syria and Iraq. Scholars and students working in any of these areas will undoubtedly find material of great interest. Rather than summarising the papers, I shall simply comment on a number of points that were particularly interesting or on which a bit more could be said.

In 'Functions and Uses of Textiles in the Ancient Near East. Summary and Perspectives' (pp. 1–25), Catherine Breniquet raises the issue of the *kaunakes*, noting that, 'The ancient name of this curious fabric is unknown' (p. 5). This has not hindered Assyriologists from discussing the term, however, beginning at least from 1931 when Bruno Meissner identified it with Akkadian *aguhhu* (Sumerian ^u*g**ha-um*),¹ a term later identified as a kind of sash.² An oblique reference to textiles and wool exchanged by Lu-enlila, a merchant at Ur during the Ur III period (p. 19), has clearly been misconstrued. Breniquet writes, 'This is no "market" exchange, nor even bartering, although it is not a selfless act of course' (p. 19). Far from being a 'selfless act', the goods were exchanged for copper and there is nothing mysterious about the transaction. The fact that textiles were exchanged for the products of other regions does not, in itself, mean that they 'were used as a standard of value in Mesopotamia' (p. 19) or 'an actual currency' (p. 20), if by that is meant a standardised, non-monetary unit of exchange. Moreover, the issue of whether fabrics constituted 'a store of value' (p. 20) seems misunderstood. The large textile workshops of the Ur III period, for example, produced thousands of textiles, not so that the state could 'store value', but so that it could distribute textiles to dependent labourers, just as foodstuffs (barley, oil, sometimes salt) were given out as non-monetary, but monthly 'salaries'.

Janet Levy and Isaac Gilead, 'The Emergence of the Ghassulian Textile Industry in the Southern Levant Chalcolithic Period (c. 4500–3900 BCE)', raises the important issue of flax cultivation (p. 27). It is a great pity that they are silent on the very early and problematic appearance of cotton at Dhuweila in eastern Jordan, where calibrated C14 dates (ca. 4450–3000 BC) suggest an extremely important instance of cotton exploitation in the ancient Near East.³

¹ See 'Beiträge zum assyrischen Wörterbuch'. *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 47.3 (1931), 151–52; cf. L. Legrain's review of Cherblanc, *Le Kaunakès*. *AJA* 44.1 (1940), 151.

² For example, W. Farber, *Beschwörungsrituale an Ištar und Dumuzi* (Wiesbaden 1977), 201 and n. 2.

³ See A. Betts *et al.*, 'Early cotton in North Arabia'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 21 (1994), 489–99.

In 'The Costumes of Inanna/Ishtar' (pp. 128–39) Bernice Jones engages with the *kaunakes* but omits any mention of the originator of the discussion of this important subject, Léon Heuzey,⁴ let alone those who came after him, like Jean Przyluski and Emile Cherblanc.⁵

Joanna S. Smith's 'Tapestries in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages of the Ancient Near East' (pp. 161–88) focuses on the Akkadian term *mardatu*, but in some contexts this may denote a rug or carpet and cannot always be understood as 'tapestry'.⁶

Caroline Sauvage's 'Spinning from old Threads: The Whorls from Ugarit at the Musée d'Archéologie Nationale (Saint-Germain-en-Laye) and at the Louvre' (pp. 189–214) is probably the best study of spindle whorls this reviewer has seen, and will be extremely helpful to anyone working on this widespread class of artefact.

To the literature cited by Laura B. Mazow, 'Throwing the Baby Out with the Bathwater: Innovations in Mediterranean Textile Production at the end of the 2nd/Beginning of the 1st millennium BCE' (pp. 215–23), add now B.R. Jones, *Ariadne's Threads: The Construction and Significance of Clothes in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Liège 2015).

Finally, Salvatore Gaspa, 'Textile Production and Consumption in the Neo-Assyrian Empire' (pp. 224–47), is an excellent overview of the Middle- and Neo-Assyrian sources and textile terminology which provides a wealth of material and tabulated data.

One of the great pluses of this volume is to be found in papers of a technical nature wherein experts on spinning and weaving get down to very fine details about textile types and woven patterns. This is true of Angete Wisti Lassen's 'Technology and Palace Economy in Middle Bronze Age Anatolia: the Case of the Crescent Shaped Loom Weight' (pp. 78–92) and Eva Andersson Strand and Maria Cybulska's 'Visualising Ancient Textiles – how to make a Textile Visible on the Basis of an Interpretation of an Ur III text' (pp. 113–27). The latter paper, in particular, engages with the rich Ur III vocabulary of textile manufacture, studied over 40 years ago by Hartmut Waetzoldt,⁷ and will be of great interest to both Assyriologists and archaeologists, as will Richard Firth's paper, 'Considering the Finishing of Textiles based on Neo-Sumerian Inscriptions from Girsu' (pp. 140–60).

The book is generally well produced but a few small points should have been corrected. It is a pity that the name of the esteemed excavator of Ur, Sir Leonard Woolley, twice appears as Wooley on p. viii. English usage overwhelmingly prefers 'Old Babylonian' to the more Gallic 'Paleo-Babylonian' (pp. 14, 16) which is an awkward and literal translation of French 'paléo-babylonienne'. Similarly 'Protodynastic' (p. 17) is rare whereas 'Early Dynastic', since Henri Frankfort, is accepted usage in English. 'Texts from the very beginnings for the Bronze Age...' (p. 19) should have been corrected by a copy-editor. Finally, it is deeply

⁴ See 'Une étoffe chaldéenne, le Kaunakès'. *RA* 9 (1887), 257–72.

⁵ J. Przyluski, 'Une étoffe orientale, le Kaunakès'. *JRAS* 63.2 (1931), 339–47; E. Cherblanc, *Le Kaunakès. Étude critique d'après les textes, les monuments figurés et les survivances supposées du tissu* (Paris 1937).

⁶ See, for example, M.E. Cohen, *An English to Akkadian Companion to the Assyrian Dictionaries* (Bethesda, MD 2011), 180.

⁷ *Untersuchungen zur neusumerischen Textilindustrie* (Rome 1972).

regrettable that a book full of so much data was not provided with an index. There is really no excuse for this omission. It greatly diminishes the value and potential impact of this very rich volume.

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P. Pfälzner and M. Al-Maqdissi (eds.), *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism*, Proceedings of an International Conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009, both organised by the Tübingen Post-Graduate School 'Symbols of the Dead', Qatna Studien Suppl. 2, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xi+584 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10350-3/ISSN 2195-4305

From 1999 to 2010 a Syrian-German-Italian team excavated at Tell Mishrife (Syria) the important remains of the Bronze Age royal capital of Qatna. Shortly before war stopped any archaeological activity in Syria, outstanding finds from these excavations were on display in the exhibition 'Schätze des Alten Syrien – Die Entdeckung des Königsreichs Qatna' which was shown in the Württembergisches Landesmuseum in Stuttgart from October 2009 to March 2010. An international conference, held on the occasion of the opening of the exhibition, brought together a wide range of scholars specialising in the research on Qatna and the ancient Syro-Levantine region. The proceedings of this fruitful gathering are now published in this voluminous 584-page book, *Qatna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism*. With this eye-catching title the organisers of the conference and editors of this volume aimed to encompass the rich collection of contributions under the programmatic question 'whether the intensity of inter-cultural contacts between the Near East, the eastern Mediterranean and Egypt was a precursor to modern forms of globalism' (Editors' Preface, p. ix).

Globalism is the indisputable reality and challenge of present-day network relations. It happens as a long relentless process mostly governed by economic interests, rapid technological developments and new social relations which increasingly defy control by the political order. It appears as the ultimate 'time-space compression'.¹ Hence it is useful to ask if earlier forms of globalism existed in past societies in order to achieve an historical understanding of the prevailing structures, risks and solutions of global network systems. The brilliant paper at the beginning of this volume, 'Networks, Globalization and Power: Reflections on Past Spatialities' (Reinhard Bernbeck), provides a very helpful theoretical starting point for discussing the phenomenon of globalisation in the context of Late Bronze Age network relations between the Near East, Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean. Among scholars from different areas of ancient studies this period has long since been recognised as a previously unmatched phase of intensified international relations and economic exchange during which the ancient world indeed experienced an early example of global time-space compressions.

As well as the importance of the book under review in bringing the multidisciplinary and multi-perspective research on Qatna to the attention of a broader audience, its special

¹ D. Harvey, *The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford 1989), 284–307.

value lies in the innovative approach of discussing, on the basis of the new evidence from Qaṭna, the mechanisms, nodes and materialisations of globalisation in the Late Bronze Age. It is even innovative in the case of long-known archaeological sources such as the *šulmānu* letters of the Amarna archives, which following Bernbeck can be read as ‘an ideological discourse about globalisation’. However, the approach is difficult to follow up in the framework of a multiple-authored publication. Within a volume that collects 45 contributions by different authors, plus the transcript of four discussion panels, there is inevitably the risk of heterogeneity and lack of reference between the various contributors. One would have been grateful for a summary at the end of the volume that might have taken up the discussion of an early globalised network system in the Late Bronze Age and the cause of its decline by the end of the 2nd millennium BC, but unfortunately no such attempt has been made by the editors.

As it is not possible to review each individual contribution to this book in the space given here it seems appropriate to provide an overview of its structure and the thematically related sets of papers. Following the structure of the 2009 conference in Stuttgart and Tübingen, the volume is divided into five sections: ‘Qaṭna and the International World of the Bronze Age’ (five contributions); ‘Qaṭna and its Syrian Neighbours: Historical Relations and Cultural Contacts’ (12 contributions); ‘Materials from Qaṭna and International Exchange’ (13 contributions); ‘Archaeological and Scientific Investigations at Tell Mishrife/Qaṭna in a Diachronic Perspective’ (15 contributions); and ‘Qaṭna’s Role in Networks of Exchange. Proceedings of Four Discussion Panels’.

The first section is the shortest as it includes only five papers, which quite disparately address general aspects of Bronze Age power relations (Bernbeck, de Martino) and interactions on the basis of material culture and stylistic affinities (Blocher, Feldman, Aruz). Apart from Bernbeck’s fundamental heuristic approach (mentioned above), Marian Feldman’s ‘Qaṭna and Artistic Internationalism during the Late Bronze Age’ is another essential piece for the discussion of globalising networks and international relations during the Bronze Age. Her studies on the ‘international artistic koine’ of the Late Bronze Age have already sought to deconstruct previous concepts of the ‘international style’ during this period. Here, on the occasion of the Qaṭna meeting, she presents an updated view of her former arguments by proposing a modified concept, which she calls the ‘international motif tradition’. Her paper is among the very few that make clear reference to other contributions, implicitly to Bernbeck and more specifically to Peter Pfälzner (see below), who fundamentally criticise her as well as other interpretations of the phenomenon of the wide-ranging Late Bronze Age artistic internationalism. An interesting discussion arises in the triangle of the Bernbeck–Feldman–Pfälzner contributions, one which really leads to the detectable symptoms of global networks. Several other papers in this volume seem to contribute to this discussion but often they do not make this explicit, as is the case with Joan Aruz’s paper ‘Styles of Interaction in Ancient Syria’, which stresses the role of Egyptianising styles within the framework of artistic interculturalism but which strangely ignores Feldman’s and Pfälzner’s standpoints.

The regrettable lack of internal references in this volume might partly have been compensated by a different grouping of the contributions. Pfälzner’s contribution, ‘The Art of Qaṭna and the Question of the “International Style”’, which introduces Section III, would better have been placed in Section I, as it offers essential discussion and criticism of the

previous concepts of internationalism *vs* regionalism and critical terms such as 'hybridity'. At 37 pages it is by far the longest paper in the volume, which may cause some imbalance with respect to the other contributions, which were much more limited in space. However, as Pfälzner not only deconstructs existing concepts for the stylistic analysis of artistic objects in the globalised Bronze Age but also proposes new ones, his paper breaks new ground of relevance to many of the other material-culture-orientated studies in this volume. His attempt to define three different style groups for all objects utilising international motifs during the Middle and Late Bronze Age provides a useful new analytic approach to clarify the provenance of these objects and their social value in terms of prestige, status, power and identity negotiations. Specific papers on single object classes from Qatna, such as from Constance von Rüden on wall-paintings, Valeria Paoletti on pottery from the royal palace and the royal grave and Alexander Ahrens on stone vessels, might also be viewed under Pfälzner's theorem of 'Hybrid Interregional', 'Hybrid Regional' and 'Indigenous Regional' styles as constituent phenomena of the Bronze Age global network systems. Again, it remains the task of the reader to draw a connection between these contributions, because by themselves they tend to stick to what the authors have already written on their subject.

As regionalism *vs* globalism is a key point in this discussion, the reader should also specifically adduce the thoughtful paper by Marlies Heinz (in Section II), 'The Spatial Heritage of Alalakh – Any Signs of "Localism", "Regionalism" or "Globalism"', which interprets the discontinuities in the local settlement sequence of Alalakh as signs of its complex entanglement with changing regional and global power relations. As Heinz states that globalism means 'the reality of being connected', one could draw parallels from Alalakh to other nodes in the Bronze Age global system for which interconnectivity was an inescapable reality, with all its advantages but also risks of failing. Her perspective is also historical, something that otherwise is a regrettably missing viewpoint in most of the studies concerned with questions of art style. 'The beginning of a new order which either did not know about the past or purposefully did not refer to it' is a hypothesising phrase from the same paper, which stresses the possibilities of changing orders in a globalising world. From the reviewer's perspective it would be instructive to study the development of the Bronze Age network systems and the developments of *nodes*, *connectors* and *interstitial* spaces within these systems (see Bernbeck in this volume) under the premise of changing orders. Several contributions to this volume that are concerned with historical questions seem to provide a useful background for such an approach. These are dispersed across Sections I and II, and they cover themes such as the Mittanian hegemony in western and central Syria (de Martino), Suppiluliuma's raids into Syria (Wilhelm), geopolitics in Syria as mirrored in the Amarna archives (Marzahn) and, from the perspective of Qatna, inter-regional trade relations (Klengel) as well as specific phases in the history of Qatna (von Koppen). Nele Ziegler highlights the interesting political and economic relations between Qatna and the northern Mesopotamian kingdom of Samsi-Addu. In this context, the semi-nomadic tribes of the Suteans appear on the historical scene. One wonders if the Suteans, who during this period mainly settled in the region of the Jebel Bishri in central Syria, had in fact occupied one of the many interstices in the Bronze Age global network system. The control of these interstices or hinterlands of the central nodes of communication were an important factor for the functioning of this system but they are also a critical variable for its decline, as is

Sections II–IV of the volume include many more papers which present new archaeological or philological data in the framework of short excavation reports and studies of single objects and architecture as well as anthropological, archaeobotanic and archaeozoological studies. It is a treasure house for those interested in the period of increasingly mingled cultural relations and technological innovations, while it offers new points of reference for those concerned with the history of socioeconomics and politics from a global perspective. Sadly missing in this respect is any contribution on the highly interesting but so far unpublished text finds from Qatna. These are referred to in other contributions (for example, Klengel, Marzahn) but for the reader who has no insider information a short overview of their content would have been a highly appreciated additional source of information.

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B. Pongratz-Leisten, *Religion and Ideology in Assyria*, Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records 6, Walter de Gruyter, Boston/Berlin 2015, xvii+553 pp. illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-61451-482-4

The goal Beate Pongratz-Leisten sets for herself in this volume is a daunting one: to describe and assess the fluid, evolving notion of rulership in Assyria (and what was to become Assyria) over the centuries, beginning in the late 3rd millennium and ending with a detailed analysis of Assyrian royal ideology as it took its final form in texts and in rituals developed by the king and his scholars at the royal court of Assyria in the 1st millennium. She achieves this goal with impressive erudition and skilful analysis.

After a clear first chapter that introduces her main arguments and offers definitions for the key terms of religion, tradition and ideology, she begins in her second chapter to lay the foundations for her argument that Assyria forged a distinctive cultural and ideological voice not only in reaction to the strong influence of Sumerian culture but also, as a 'hub between east and west, north and south' from its earliest days (p. 29), in reaction and interaction with Syrian and Anatolian cultures. She argues for the early rise of Hurrian culture in the north, the growth of power and royal ideology at Kish, and the development of a peculiarly Tigridian cross-cultural world as three significant forces in shaping concepts of rulership in what was to become imperial Assyria. This leads her to the unconventional contention that '...Assyrian culture, on both its operational and ideological levels, exhibits a range of strategies that link it as much with the Syro-Anatolian and the eastern Tigridian cultural horizons as with the Sumero-Babylonian tradition of southern Mesopotamia' (p. 47). She concludes by analysing the creation of charismatic kingship in the state of Akkad as 'the other crucial component in the development of northern and southern royal ideology' (p. 79) that would in time shape the Assyrian ideal of kingship.

Having explored the early development of the cultures under whose influence the Assyrians would develop their own unique royal ideology, P.-L. turns in the next chapter to the city of Assur itself, tracing its early ideological development over 'a *longue durée* inextricably bound up in Assur's various roles as a trading station, an outpost at the frontiers of the empires of the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods, a city state of the Old Assyrian period' (p. 96) and, finally, in its 'role as a cultural metropolis and seat of kingship during the Old Babylonian period' (p. 101) in the large territorial state created by Shamshi-Adad I as a result of his alliance with Daduša, the powerful king of Ešnunna. Under Shamshi-Adad, the city of Assur became an important cultic centre, with the former Adad temple now rebuilt as a temple dedicated jointly to the gods Anu and Adad, and with the former Assur temple now rebuilt and dedicated to the gods Enlil and Assur together. The construction of this second joint temple had important ideological implications, since in Sumerian tradition Enlil was king of all the gods and of the cosmos, and linking the chief god of the city of Assur so closely to him opened the door for the rulers of Assur to present themselves as stewards of the god who ruled the cosmos and themselves, his servants, as the appropriate rulers of totality.

In the following chapter, she examines what was to become the central trope of Assyrian religion, 'Assur's command to expand the borders of the empire and ultimately to align the territory controlled by Assur with the cosmos' (p. 144). The king's duty was thus to bring the world's behaviour into line with the will of the gods, repelling any force that opposed

this by pushing it beyond the margins of the territory he controlled by means of war or through ritual action. As the leader of Assyria who was to establish right order in his world, the king was envisioned as enacting the roles of hunter, warrior, caretaker of the cult and shepherd of his people. In the Middle Assyrian period, the Assyrian kings set out to make this ideal universe a reality by initiating the first steps in the conquest of a huge empire, beginning with the lands west of Assyria which were ultimately incorporated into Assyria and ruled by Assyrian officials. Chapter 4 tells this story.

To represent the king's role as divine administrator and warrior on earth, P.-L. argues, the Assyrians chose not to claim that their king was himself a god, but that his behaviour on earth evoked the divine roles of the god Ninurta, son of the great god Enlil and his administrator. This near-equation of the king with Ninurta found its first literary expression in the epic of Tukulti Ninurta I in the 13th century and was to influence the rhetoric of Assyrian kingship thereafter, so that references to Ninurta myths in both visual imagery and in royal inscriptions repeatedly imply the similarity of the king and Ninurta, in order to present the king as one who is not himself divine, but who acts for and as an embodiment of that god on earth, particularly in assuming the role of the warrior who establishes right order by defeating the forces of chaos.

In subsequent chapters, she develops this mythic theme by proposing that 'the plotline of royal inscriptions should be read primarily in light of their mythic underpinnings and as testimony to the fact that the relevant king had understood the mission of his office and dutifully fulfilled the obligations prescribed by it' (p. 288). As an example of this approach to reading royal inscriptions, she explores Sennacherib's account of the Battle of Halule at considerable length, arguing that its rich pattern of literary allusions to the *Enuma elish* was designed on the one hand to present Sennacherib in classic, mythic terms as the 'good king' and an active participant in establishing the cosmic order, and on the other hand to present the Babylonians as the embodiment of the enemies of cosmic order, richly deserving the destruction of their city at Sennacherib's hands.

In the chapter that follows, she turns from royal inscriptions to propose that the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal in a novel step used the textual genres of oracle text and divination compendia as media through which to present themselves, rather than Ninurta, 'as paradigmatic models for kingship' (p. 322).

She follows this with a rich chapter on Assyrian state rituals, one of the highlights of the book. After asserting that 'the Assyrian state rituals of the Sargonid period are a powerful mechanism for publicising the *body politic* of the king in his cosmic function' (p. 390), she advances to a masterful discussion of the *tākultu* ritual, the *akītu* festival and the rituals that led up to it, the Assyrian Ishtar rituals and the Assyrian coronation ritual. Arguing that 'it is only possible to penetrate the meaning of Assyrian state rituals with a multi-layered perspective that draws from all the extant mythic narratives dealing with the battle against chaos and cultic commentaries' (p. 425), she proceeds to do so. The result is a clear exposition of some complex rituals that are essential evidence for the uniquely Assyrian approach to the ideology of kingship.

In a formidably large volume, P.-L. has given us an erudite and thoughtful look at Assyrian royal ideology from its earliest days to the fall of the empire. Her arguments are supported by an appendix giving new editions of two texts, LKA 62 and Rm 2, 455 (the first with lengthy annotations), by black-and-white drawings and photographs, by detailed

indexes, and by an abundant bibliography. It is an impressive investigation not of what it meant to be Assyrian, but rather of the idea of Assyrian kingship as invented and reinvented over the ages by many generations of ancient scholars.

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Barbara N. Porter

J.R.W. Prag and J.C. Quinn (eds.), *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the Ancient Mediterranean*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2013, xxi+471 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-1-107-03242-2

Currently, there seem to be many studies claiming to rethink or reconsider an issue, but in effect, not all of them manage to do so. This volume certainly does. In their Introduction the editors articulate their uneasiness with the traditional division of the Mediterranean into a Hellenistic East and a Roman (and Punic) West as well as with the paradigm of the dominance of Greek and Roman cultures as mirrored in the terms 'Hellenisation' and 'Romanisation', still widely adhered to. Thus it is the issue of the volume to evaluate to what extent the western Mediterranean should be considered as integral part of the Hellenistic world, although never being under Macedonian dominion. The approaches of the collected papers vary in many respects, geographically between regional and large scale, in evidence between literature, epigraphy and a wide range of archaeological material. However, all contributors, all specialists in their respective topics, try to find answers to the problem posed by the editors. In the best tradition of edited volumes the papers were discussed at several seminars and circulated among the contributors before publication. Hence we find many cross-references, besides some diverging opinions, which actually are laid open.

The volume starts with a study by Andrew Erskine on 'The view from the East' as revealed in Hellenistic-period literary and epigraphic texts. Erskine contrasts the epigraphic evidence, which suggests a diplomatic *koine* based on kinship notions of Western and Eastern Greeks, with extant literary texts from the eastern Mediterranean, mainly Polybius, but also fragments of other authors, which present the Western Greeks as disposed to luxury and indolence and hence as barbarised by close contact with the 'barbarian' world. It might have suited the approach of the volume to raise the point that the same stereotypes are to be found in the same authors also with respect to the Greeks in Syria and further east, as we can read, for example, in Books 4 and 14 of Athenaeus.

The other survey on the entire western Mediterranean world considers epigraphic cultures. Starting from the idea formulated for the eastern Mediterranean, that the development and increasing use of epigraphy to formulate civic and other collective identities is 'a Hellenistic phenomenon', Jonathan Prag surveys 'Epigraphy in the western Mediterranean'. He argues convincingly against the notion of Rome's influence as being decisive in this respect, as Latin epigraphy in the Hellenistic period only appears in quite small numbers outside its core region. Rather, the rise of epigraphy in the West forms a cultural link to the Eastern Hellenistic world.

A recurring motif in the volume as a whole is the role of Hellenistic Sicily as mediator of cultural exchange. An overview of recent archaeological evidence, always pointing to

lacunas in the material or its publication, is given by Roger Wilson. According to Wilson, 'Hellenistic Sicily, c. 270–100 BC' consists of three parts from west to east – a notion to which Wilson does not always adhere himself, as his paper does not clarify to what respect exactly the western differs from the central part. It is quite clear, however, that the long kingship of Hieron II, besides his dependence on Rome, followed Eastern models, articulated in an excessive building programme.

'Monumental power' also is the topic of an excellent paper by Josephine Quinn, who sets "Numidian Royal Architecture" in context'. Against previous attempts to classify Numidian large-scale monuments from the mid-2nd century as either Hellenistic or Punic, she argues strongly that they should be interpreted in their local context of shaping the Numidian kingdom under Massinissa and his successors. As visible marks in the landscape – we may add: structuring and designing it – the monuments use means common in the whole Mediterranean to display the king's and the aristocracy's power on a regional level. According to Quinn, a similar strategy was followed in the East, for example by Antiochos I of Commagene.

Ann Kuttner widens the geographical scope as she moves to 'Representing Hellenistic Numidia, in Africa and at Rome' and brings together three case studies from Italy against the background of Numidian monuments – very well argued indeed, however sometimes undermined by a slightly overwrought style. Kuttner interprets depictions from Rome as sending out messages to both Romans and Numidians, confirming Roman-Numidian friendship against common enemies. According to Kuttner, these messages are to be found in two Pompeian wall-paintings as well as in the San Omobono reliefs from Rome, which she dates to the 2nd century BC and thus does not follow the identification with the Bocchus monument known from literary sources only.¹

'Elites' in the wider sense are the topic of a chapter on 'Strangers in the city: élite communication in the Hellenistic central Mediterranean' by Elisabeth Fentress. On the north-south axis – Rome, Etruria, Sicily, Carthage – trading families formed an economic and social 'elite' which supra-regionally interacted and tied family bonds, even despite opposition of their 'states'. As examples Fentress interprets agriculture, especially arboriculture, as well as architecture, especially private baths, as commonly accepted means for the display of wealth.

In his paper on 'The "Hellenistics of death" in Adriatic central Italy' Edward Bispham studies burials at Fossa, which up to the late 3rd century appears to have been rather isolated. In that period, central Italian 'elites' started to distinguish themselves by using motifs common in the Hellenistic world. Bispham points to a common cultural 'language' with local expressions on a great scale of variety.

With his thoughtful and detailed paper, 'Trading across the Syrtes: Euesperides and the Punic world', Andrew Wilson explores the most easterly place covered in the volume. Wilson, himself excavator at Euesperides, points to the problem of comparable quantified material from other places such as Athens which would facilitate broader contexts. According to Wilson, trade of Euesperides intensified after Alexander the Great's conquests which

¹ For the contexts, see now L. Masri, 'Rome, Diplomacy, and the Rituals of Empire: Foreign Sacrifice to Jupiter Capitolinus'. *Historia* 65 (2016), 325–47, especially 337–44.

brought money to the Mediterranean – however, the notion of an ‘economically inward-looking Achaemenid empire’ (p. 154) might be a *topos*.

A problem still discussed with respect to the Hellenistic East is to what extent the idea of Hellenisation might be appropriate at all. Inherently we find this in Liv Yarrow’s paper on ‘Heracles, coinage and the West: three Hellenistic case-studies’. The shift in depicting Heracles and Athena in the coinage of Heraclea Lucaniae at the end of the 4th century is explained by Yarrow as a reflection of the city’s independence from its mother-cities. Also, since *ca.* 300 BC Siculo-Punic tetradrachms started to depict a male head with a lion-skin, following the coinage of Alexander the Great. Yarrow argues convincingly that both Heracles and Melqart could be seen in the depiction. The third case is the striking and re-striking of coins during the Mercenary Revolt at Carthage. Melqart or Heracles should be interpreted as an ‘emblem of power and conquest’ (p. 364). Yarrow emphasises the use of eastern models for regional messages.

The outstanding joint paper by Peter van Dommelen and Mireia López-Bertran, on ‘Hellenism as subaltern practice: rural cults in the Punic world’, studies traces of the cult of Demeter at four places from Ibiza and Sardinia. They argue convincingly that Demeter did not simply join preceding cults of Punic Tanit; they emphasise Demeter’s character as chthonic goddess of fertility and state that the original Punic ritual did not change by the integration of elements of Demeter’s attributes, thus strongly denying the idea of Hellenisation.²

Against this background, the title of Simon Keay’s contribution, ‘Were the Iberians Hellenised’, might appear a bit mistaken, especially with Hellenisation being vaguely characterised as ‘Greek influence’. After discussing the term ‘Iberians’, the paper surveys briefly ceramic evidence and at more length the problem of urbanisation. Keay detects strong Italian influences after the Punic wars and interprets Rome as the main intermediary for Iberian Hellenisation.

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, however, challenges the idea of Hellenisation in Hellenistic times with respect to ‘Hellenistic Pompeii’, as the Oscans for centuries had close contacts with Greek centres such as Naples.

To conclude, we find a theoretical paper by Nicholas Purcell on ‘The significance of East and West in today’s “Hellenistic” history: reflections on symmetrical worlds, reflecting through world symmetries’. As the title suggests, the approach seems quite constructivist: Purcell bases his thoughts on tectonic structures, which also structure history; so the Mediterranean functions as an east–west corridor of interconnectivity. He detects two symmetrical macro-regions, the Mediterranean and Western Asia, with the Levant as an annexe. Maybe I missed the point, but there are questions: how are cultures to be distinguished, and how do we detect boundaries – apart from being a construction of the self and the other in the sense of Fredrik Barth? Purcell seems to advocate, however, the eventual setting of Hellenistic history into a wider context of global history – probably in the sense of world-systems theory?

² On Isis and Demeter, also in southern Italy, see now C. López-Ruiz, ‘Near Eastern Precedents of the “Orphic” Gold Tablets: The Phoenician Missing Link’. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 15 (2015), 52–97, especially 83.

Problems remain. All the contributors stress different aspects and characteristics of Hellenism, and this may still be due to the sometimes inexact conception of the term by Droyssen. However, Bispham's coinage of the term 'hellenistics' does not bring clarity.³ Besides that, the often recurrent terms ethnicity and culture need to be shaped with respect to Hellenism – only van Dommelen and López-Bertran argue against an essential view of culture. Still the limits of Hellenism in all dimensions need to be discussed further. We might ask, for instance, whether the Celtic worlds were an integral part of the Hellenistic worlds. These points are not meant as criticism. On the contrary, *The Hellenistic West* is an important contribution to 'rethinking' not only the Mediterranean, but it may inspire research on the 'Hellenistic East' as well.

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Ulf Scharrer

M. Rind, *Die römische Villa als Indikator provinzieller Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsstrukturen*, Archaeopress Roman Archaeology 10, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, vi+286 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-78491-168-3

This book is based, with slight revision, on Mareike Rind's doctoral thesis submitted in 2011 at the University of Jena. It is concerned with rural villas in the western provinces of the Roman empire. Chapter A discusses villas in the frontier provinces of the Rhine–Danube area; separately, Pannonia, Noricum, Raetia and the two Germanies. Chapter B deals with the Gallic provinces, collectively and then with separate discussion of Narbonensis and the three Gauls, Lugdunensis, Belgica and Aquitania. Chapter C discusses villas in Britain, Chapter D those in Spain. Chapter E gives a (briefer) account of the provinces of North Africa, while Chapter F is a very brief overview of villas in the Balkans, namely in Macedonia, Thrace, Moesia, Dalmatia and Dacia. Chapter G, with a full English translation in Chapter I gives an overall comparison of the topic with conclusions in Chapter H, translated in Chapter J.

Each main chapter or province section within a chapter follows the same form: first, a succinct historical overview, from the initial incorporation of the area as a province to its end; an account of the general nature of the region; an account of the ancient written sources of information about it; the development of settlement and land occupation; the position and distribution of villas; the economy of the area; trade; the architectural form of villas found there; and a final summary.

The different sections are illustrated with a total of 255 drawings, maps and plans, virtually all of them taken from earlier publications plus just a few from German web-sites. There are no original illustrations or photographs, except for a colour photograph on the front cover. Many of these figures are reproduced to a smaller scale than the originals, making them difficult to read. They frequently retain reference numbers or letters which would have been explained in their original publication but are meaningless in the present work. The source of each of them is given with the caption. There are some confusions. Abb. 170 gives two maps taken from R. Hingley's *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London 1989) and labels them as Lower and Upper Thames Valley (though the map of the former extends

³ See the review by B. Tsakirgis in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2015.03.09.

into East Anglia). The plan of the Upper Thames occurs again in Abb. 173, labelled now as 'Möglicher fundus von Graet (*sic*) Gatcombe/Somerset' which of course it is not, and yet again as Abb. 174 'North Oxfordshire' (which it is). And 'A North Leigh, B Stonesfield, C Ditchley, D Shakenoak, E Callow Hill, F Oaklands Farm', though none of these letters or places is indicated on the map.

R. makes some important and interesting points about the villas. These include their relationship to towns (and, on the frontiers, the military bases) as the markets for the products of the rural estates which account for so many of them in the first place. She considers the nature of these products – corn, obviously, wine and olive oil in areas suitable for the production and for distribution further afield to those areas which were not so suitable for production. She points out the importance of navigable rivers for such distribution – the barge preserved in the Museum at Xanten would have helped to illustrate this. It would also have helped if she had illustrated this with larger scale maps of relevant groups of villas not only showing the rivers but also the roads which would have acted equally as routes of transport and also delivery to the rivers where these were used.

Another product she discusses, from villas in maritime regions, is garum, that fermented fish sauce which sounds so revolting to us. She might also have mentioned the oysters whose shells abound in so many Romano-British sites, even in the English Midlands, relatively remote from the sea. The quantities of butchered animal bones found on Roman sites demonstrate the importance of livestock rearing on the farms. With areas devoted to pasture rather than arable crops one would expect to find the villas at greater distances from each other, and so more thinly spread than those along the fertile river valleys.

From the social point of view, the question of who the inhabitants of the villas were is fundamental. R. notes the settlement of Roman colonists in the conquered areas replacing the original inhabitants. She points to the decimation of the local populace in the process of conquest. Yet this can be exaggerated. Even the ruthless killing machine of the Roman armies is unlikely to have caused total annihilation even in areas controlled by formal *coloniae* of legionary veterans. Even in such areas the social status of subsequently founded villas and their inhabitants is difficult to determine. There is, of course, a very wide range in the size and expensiveness of the actual buildings, not just of the villas but the ancillary buildings attached to them. The owners of the large luxury villas with their mosaic floors, decorated walls and bathing suites are unlikely to have tilled their fields with their own hands. Less imposing villas may well have belonged to absentee landlords, rented out to tenants as the means of providing income for the owners. Some villas may well have corresponded to the traditional English grouping of the Big House inhabited by the wealthy landowner, with the Home Farm attached and worked for him, with the rest of the estate that he owned worked by tenant farmers who provided his revenue. R. notes the Imperial estates, possessions of the emperors and worked by tenants, but it is less easy to detect and identify private landlords.

This book shows how diverse was the pattern, even if the villas themselves all over conform to one of the types R. defines in her assessment of their architecture. R. provides a good overview of the villa system as it developed under the essential shelter of the Pax Romana, only to falter as that peace was shattered by external pressure.

L.-C. Rizzotto, “*Sein zum Tode...*”. *Untersuchungen zu den gesellschaftlichen Strukturen anhand der Nekropolen und Gräber der protogeometrischen und geometrischen Epoche aus Mittel- und Ostkreta*, Freiburg Dissertations in Aegean Archaeology, BAR International Series 2749, Archaeopress, Oxford 2015, x+282 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-4073-1410-5

There are many recent projects, studies and publications on Dark Age Crete running, to a large extent organised and supported by INSTAP, the American research centre for eastern Crete, where even my students participate in some fields. The large-scale survey of settlement sites after M. Nowicki¹ and D. Haggis continues; for the Cretan cemeteries, the monumental publication by Coldstream and Catling of the Knossos North cemetery, and the book by M. Tsipopoulou for eastern Crete, are of basic importance.² A number of conferences on Dark Age Crete and its relations supported by the Cypriot Leventis Foundation, besides those of the *Aegaeum* series, brought together a group of scholars with similar approach to the field of study, and a general survey by Saro Wallace,³ accepted warmly by historians and more critically by some part of the archaeological community, represents *cum grano salis* many of the results of this group.

The volume under review has a different background. Even in Germany Freiburg was hardly a centre of Aegean archaeology, so this (book of the) thesis marks a kind of surprise. It brings a useful catalogue of items of very different size, but organised in a strange way: no separate bibliography of the Harvard system, but dispersed in nearly 600 footnotes in the text and many other references in the catalogue. The list of graves and cemeteries (not called a database as is fashionable now and with only a few tables) is organised as questionnaire cards, with many entries left empty, but with long descriptions of the specific situation and particularities of each interment, without critical comment. The first chapter on historical context discusses the artefacts, settlement pattern, diversity of population, chronology and cult; the second, ‘Grave Archaeology’, is more about theoretical assumptions; the third, ‘Topography of the Death’, on relations between settlement and cemetery, on their marks in the landscape. The ensuing chapters are devoted to types of graves and their contents. All chapters include discussions of ideas from recent theories on the subject of the Cambridge school and of ethnographic parallels. Laura-Concetta Rizzotto brings her own ideas and others developed from discussions with her colleagues. Certainly this is an ordinary and industrious German type of dissertation, with a specific approach to the subject. The unusual diversity of rituals, of grave types and constructions, this all reflects the political, cultural and ethnic multitude of small entities on the island at the time of formation of its *poleis*. As R. stresses, what we know are graves of the *homoioi*, the upper class; the low class is hidden to us.

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¹ *Defensible Sites in Crete c. 1200–800 B.C* (Aegaeum 21) (Liège 2000).

² J.N. Coldstream and H.W. Catling, *Knossos North Cemetery – Early Greek Tombs*, 4 vols. (London 1996); M. Tsipopoulou, *Hē anatolikē Krētē stēn prōimē epochē tou sidērou* (Athens 2005).

³ *Ancient Crete: From Successful Collapse to Democracy's Alternatives, Twelfth to Fifth Centuries BC* (Cambridge 2010).

C. Russenberger, *Der Tod und die Mädchen: Amazon auf römischen Sarkophagen*, Image and Context 13, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Munich/Boston 2015, xv+752 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-029839-0/ISSN 1868-477

Schon der Titel deutet an, daß die Amazonenkämpfe auf Sarkophagen nicht nur als die ruhmreiche Abwehr gefährlicher Feinde verstanden werden, als die sie in der griechischen Mythen tradition immer wieder in Texten und Bildern zitiert wurden. Die Kapitel, die herausarbeiten, daß das eigentliche Thema zumindest der frühen römischen Amazonomachie-Sarkophage der grausame, Mitleid erregende Tod der schönen Amazonen ist, zählen zu den besten des Buches.

Die Einleitung (Kap. I) gibt einen Forschungsüberblick und erläutert das Ziel der Arbeit: die bisher wenig untersuchte „spezifische Funktion des Themas im Kontext der sepulkralen Denkmälergattung zu klären“ und darüber hinaus „die Sarkophagreliefs als Quellengattung für verschiedene kultur- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Fragestellungen nutzbar zu machen“ (S. 4).

Kap. II: Das Material (45 stadtrömische Sarkophage und Sarkophag-Fragmente) war im Corpus *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* Bd 12,1 (Berlin 1999), 136–91 von Dagmar Grassinger ausführlich vorgelegt und diskutiert worden, sodaß nun ein kurzer Katalog genügt (S. 465–77), angeschlossen sind wenige, unsichere Fragmente und einige Sarkophage aus Ostienser und campanischen Werkstätten (S. 17–28). Wichtig ist die überzeugende Neudatierung des Sarkophagkastens im „Hearst Castle“ bei San Simeon (S. 29–36, Kat. 10) um 110–130 (Grassinger: 160/70), der dadurch zum ältesten der Amazonomachie-Sarkophage wird. Ein weiterer Nachtrag vereinigt zwei Nebenseiten im Louvre mit einer Vorderseite in Mantua zu einem Sarkophag (Kat. 8).

Die Sarkophaggruppen (S. 41–55): Die von Grassinger auf der Grundlage des alten Corpus von Carl Robert vorgenommene Untergliederung in 7 Gruppen beruht auf Motiv-Verwandtschaften. Da viele Motive aber in mehreren Gruppen erscheinen und ihre Kombination innerhalb der Gruppen variiert, sind letztere wenig homogen. Christian Russenberger begegnet dem durch eine weitere Untergliederung (Ia–d, IIa–IIIc, VIIa–VIIb), weswegen manche „Gruppen“ nur noch aus ein oder zwei Exemplaren bestehen. Die Sarkophagbildhauer bedienten sich offensichtlich sehr frei aus einem großen Motiv-Vorrat (S. 53). Dies bestätigt die schon von Grassinger vertretene These, daß die Kompositionen für die Sarkophage neu geschaffen wurden und nicht auf komplette ältere Vorlagen zurückgehen (S. 55–58). Der Abschnitt „Kontexte“ (S. 58–64) erörtert, was für die Untersuchung hilfreich sein könnte: Fundorte und Fundkontexte, Export und Verbreitung der stadtrömischen Ikonographie, zugehörige Deckel, Porträts, Inschriften. Daß sich die Befundlage als überaus dürftig erweist, überrascht nicht. Dennoch werden sich diese spärlichen Informationen als sehr nützlich erweisen.

Kap. III „Die Amazonomachie in der nichtsepulkralen Bildkunst – Rezeptionsvarianten“ spannt einen weiten Rahmen: von griechischer Kunst der Klassik bis zur Kaiserzeit und der des römischen Westens. Während die Amazonomachie als „politisch-ideologisches Referenzmodell für die Abwehr äußerer Feinde und allgemein der Verteidigung der griechischen Kultur“ (S. 84) im Osten eine ungebrochene Tradition aufweist, ist die Verwendung als Virtus-Paradigma im Westen marginal (S. 112–14). Ein Seitenblick auf die Amazonomachie in den Häusern Pompejis und in der Liebesdichtung (S. 114–44) zeigt, daß

diese Kämpfe auch eine erotische Komponente besitzen, als Metapher für die *militia amoris*.

Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Vorarbeiten wird dann das zentrale Thema angegangen:

Kap. IV. „Die Amazonensarkophage der ersten Hälfte des 2. Jhs.“ Eine detaillierte Bildanalyse, die R. meisterhaft durchführt, ergibt, daß die Amazonen nicht als hoffnungslos unterlegene Gegner dargestellt werden wie die Feinde auf den Barbarenschlachtsarkophagen, sondern als fast ebenbürtige, tapfere und schöne Kämpferinnen. Es geht nicht um die Virtus der Sieger, sondern um das tragische Todesschicksal der Amazonen, das mit jenem der verstorbenen Person (also vor allem Frauen) verglichen werden kann (S. 188, 190). Die Interpretation der Amazonomachie als Paradigma für den Tod von Frauen wird bestätigt durch eine Inschrift auf einem Sarkophagdeckel im Vatikan (Kat. 17): Bestattet ist dort die im Alter von 15 Jahren verstorbene Arria Maximina (S. 188–90). In der kaiserzeitlichen Funerärliteratur (S. 190–93) gibt es weitere Hinweise auf den Vergleich jung verstorbener Mädchen und Frauen mit Amazonen, z. B. im Gedicht für Marcia Helike, die mit 20 Jahren nach der Geburt eines Kindes starb (S. 191). Für die Bildanalyse sind einige Einzeluntersuchungen sehr nützlich, z. B. zu girlandentragenden Victorien als Eckfiguren (S. 185–91) und zu Helfer- und Berge-Gruppen (S. 169–83): In der römischen Kunst werden letztere nahezu ausschließlich benutzt um die hoffnungslose Unterlegenheit der Gegner zu illustrieren, in der griechischen zeigen sie die Kameradschaftlichkeit der Sieger. Auch am Beispiel anderer Mythen (Niobiden, Orest, Meleager, Medea, Phaeton, Adonis, S. 193–230) wird demonstriert, daß das tragische Todesschicksal als Trostexemplum dienen kann und zugleich die Möglichkeit gibt, exzessiver die Trauer und Verzweiflung auszudrücken, die die Hinterbliebenen nur in maßvoller Form zeigen durften. Darauf hat schon Paul Zanker hingewiesen, der allerdings die Amazonen-Sarkophage nicht zu dieser Gruppe zählt.¹ R. kann nun die frühen Amazonensarkophage überzeugend in diese Interpretation einbeziehen. Zum Verständnis der schrecklichen Mythenszenen als Trostexempla ist auch hier der Blick auf Konsolationsliteratur und Grabepigramme (S. 203–05) hilfreich.

Kap. V. „Die Amazonomachie in der griechischen Sepulkralkunst“ handelt im Wesentlichen von unteritalischen Grabgefäßen und folgt dem Interpretationsansatz von Luca Giuliani.² Die Amazonomachie auf den frühen römischen Sarkophagen stehe demnach in einer langen Tradition, die nur im 4. Jh. v. und im 2. Jh. n. Ch. in Bildern zu fassen ist, für die Zwischenzeit wird Konsolationsliteratur als Übermittler angenommen.

Kap. VI. „Die Amazonensarkophage der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jhs.“: Zwar sind die Bilder noch immer für Frauenbestattungen passend, aber in zunehmend mehr Fällen eignen sie sich auch für eine männliche Perspektive. Die nun häufiger verwendete Achill-Penthesilea-Gruppe hebt die Dichotomie zwischen Siegern und Besiegten auf, in diesem speziellen Fall ist der Ausgang des Kampfes tragisch für beide. Inzwischen hat die Serie der attischen Sarkophage eingesetzt, deren Bilder ganz dem griechischen Verständnis des Mythos entsprechen. Zwischen den Zentren Rom und Athen entstand ein reger Ikonographietransfer; dadurch gelangten weitere männlich konnotierte Virtus-Motive nach Rom. Der Einfluß römischer Barbarenschlachtsarkophage geht in dieselbe Richtung. Zugleich wird das Pathos

¹ P. Zanker und B. Ewald, *Mit Mythen leben. Die Bilderwelt der römischen Sarkophage* (München 2004), 52.

² *Tragik, Trauer und Trost: Bildervasen für eine apulische Totenfeier* (Berlin 1995).

der Sterbe-Szenen im spätantoinischen Stilwandel noch weiter gesteigert, die Sarkophage können also auch noch im selben Sinn wie die der ersten Jahrhunderthälfte betrachtet werden. Für die Jahre 160–180 konstatiert R. ein konvergentes, besonders „griechisches“ Interesse an Barbaren-, Kentauren- und Amazonenkämpfen auf attischen und stadtrömischen Sarkophagen und erkennt darin einen traditionell griechischen Wertediskurs im Sinne der Rhetorik der Zweiten Sophistik. Die Mythenbilder der Sarkophage sollen verstanden werden „als Evokation einer paradigmatischen griechischen Vergangenheit, in deren Tradition das Leben des Verstorbenen eingeschrieben werden sollte“ (S. 336).

Es fragt sich, ob das nicht etwas zu hoch gegriffen ist. Einige Hersteller und Besteller von Sarkophagen mögen tatsächlich in diesem Sinne gedacht und ausgewählt haben; Gruppe II, für die genannten Überlegungen angestellt werden, besteht allerdings nur aus zwei Sarkophagen. Bei den Gruppen Ib, IV und V (S. 337–79) zeigt sich aber, daß man dieses Interpretationsschema nicht zu sehr verallgemeinern sollte. Beim Sarkophag in Toronto (S. 342–44, Kat. 13), auf dem ein Krieger im Typus von Reitergrabsteinen über Gefallene hinweg direkt auf die Achill-Penthesilea-Gruppe zu reitet, wünschte der Käufer vielleicht nichts weiter als die wunderschön tragische Achill-Penthesilea-Gruppe und einen klaren Hinweis auf kriegerische Tüchtigkeit. Und wird wirklich jedem bewußt gewesen sein, daß die Helfergruppe bei Unterliegenden „römisch“, bei Siegern aber „griechisch“ ist? Es ist sicher richtig, die Entwicklung der Sarkophag-Ikonographie in einen größeren geistesgeschichtlichen Kontext einzuordnen, aber man sollte sich bewußt bleiben, daß in diesen großen Rahmen sehr viele einzelne Vorlieben und private Motivationen einfließen konnten. Es stand in der zweiten Hälfte des 2. Jh. ein außerordentlich großes Repertoire an Motiven zur Verfügung, die verschieden kombiniert werden konnten und auch wurden. R. sieht diese ikonographische Heterogenität durchaus (S. 383), setzt aber durch die Betonung der Gruppe II und ihrer Verbindung mit den Tendenzen der Zweiten Sophistik einen m. E. zu starken Akzent.

Kap. VII. „Die Amazonensarkophage des 3. Jhs.“ sind einheitlicher. Achill und Penthesilea (meist mit Portraitzköpfen versehen) stehen im Mittelpunkt der großen Gruppe VI (S. 383–420). Sie bieten idealtypische Geschlechterrollen; ihre Trennung durch den Tod vermittelt Tragik und Trauer in hohem Maße. Weiter kann der Vergleich nicht gehen, aber genau dies sind die Aussagen, die gewünscht wurden.

Der Abschnitt „Neue Mythenbilder auf Sarkophagen der mittelseverischen und nachseverischen Zeit. 200/10–250/60“ (S. 396–420) bezieht andere Mythen ein: Generell geht die Tendenz weg von Mythen, die um Kampf und Tod kreisen, hin zu Bildern, die affirmative Aussagen zum Verstorbenen transportieren und dabei verschiedene Themen, sogar mythologische und lebensweltliche, kombinieren können. Auch in Abschnitt „Letzte Amazonen-Sarkophage um 300“ geht es zunächst um die Abkehr von mythischen Themen, es werden jetzt abstrakte Konzepte individueller Lebens- und Heilshoffnungen illustriert (Musen, Philosophen, Jahreszeiten). Die letzten Amazonensarkophage (S. 427–29) gehören zu einer Gruppe von ca. 60, meist monumentalen Sarkophagen, die in tetrarchischer Zeit wieder mythologische Motive aufnehmen. Nach R. handelt es sich um ein elitäres Phänomen: Theatermasken an Deckeln, Buchrollen und Musikinstrumente in den Händen von Deckelfiguren weisen auf deren literarische und musische Bildung hin, für die das Mythenbild der Kiste als Referenz dient.

Kap. VIII. In der Zusammenfassung (deutsch, englisch), betont R. noch einmal seine Absicht, am Beispiel der Amazonensarkophag tiefgreifende Veränderungen im Umgang mit dem Tod während der hohen und späten Kaiserzeit nachzuvollziehen: Anders als die schriftlichen Quellen ermögliche das in großer Dichte überlieferte Bildcorpus, diese Veränderungen in chronologisch sehr differenzierter Weise zu verfolgen. Dies suggeriert eine konsequente Entwicklung, verfolgbar „an kleinen und kleinsten Entwicklungsschritten“ (S. 448). Den Bildhauern wird dadurch ein mentalitätsgeschichtlich sehr zielgerichtetes Handeln unterstellt. Werkstätten werden aber ihr Motivrepertoire und Käufer spezielle Wünsche eingebracht haben; so trugen sie bei zu der skizzierten Entwicklung, die daher nur in großen Zügen, nicht in kleinen Schritten verfolgt werden kann. Darüber wäre zu diskutieren. Generell trägt das sehr lesenswerte Buch Entscheidendes zum Verständnis der frühen Amazonomachie-Sarkophag bei und schildert die Rolle der Mythen in der Sepulchralkunst der Kaiserzeit in überzeugender Weise.

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P. Scholz and D. Wiegandt (eds.), *Das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasium*, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Boston 2015, 250 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-05-004641-9

The papers in this collection were given at a colloquium held at the University of Frankfurt am Main in November 2007. They are now published with bibliographies extended to 2014. The colloquium itself followed an earlier one on the Hellenistic Gymnasium, and the present volume includes an updated bibliography for the papers given then. There are eleven papers in the new book. Wolfgang Orth writes on the Roman attitude to the Greek gymnasium, quoting the lines which Lucan puts into the mouth of Julius Caesar before the battle of Pharsalus, comparing his toil hardened soldiers with Pompey's gymnasium trained softies. This, perhaps, is an opinion more likely to be a literary trope than historical reality. Orth points in contrast to Octavian's respect for the gymnasium of Alexandria, and to later emperors urging the encouragement of gymnastics and games on the Proconsul of Africa.

Christian Mann discusses gymnasia and gymnastic discourse in Imperial Rome, the gymnasium at the Baths of Agrippa to begin with, followed by the Baths of Nero and Trajan.

Martin Hose discusses Sophists and the gymnasium, the existence of philosophical and related training within the gymnasia. Dennis Kehoe's paper is concerned with the role of the gymnasium in education and the local economy, the gymnasia as places for the essential education of the local elite in the cities of the empire.

Peter Scholz writes on city dignitaries and power, and the office of Gymnasiarch in Imperial times as both an honour and a liturgy. Lucia d'Amore discussed the cult of the Muses and musical contests in gymnasia in Imperial times, a continuity from the Hellenistic. She gives the epigraphic evidence for this from Iasos, Aphrodisias, Athens and Kaisareia Mazaka in Cappadocia.

Angelos Chaniotis discusses in detail the gymnasium at Aphrodisias in Imperial times. Boris Dreyer gives the evidence, particularly the epigraphic, for the gymnasium at Metropolis in Ionia, a small place which gets its name from the cult of the Mother goddess rather than its political importance.

Frank Daubner provides an overview of the gymnasia in the Syrian and Arabian provinces. He notes the apparent size of the gymnasium at Damascus, once used in the Jewish War of AD 66 to intern and massacre 10,500 rebels. He suggests this gymnasium, like those at Alexandria and Cyrene, was a place which functioned as a law court.

Monika Trümper reviews modernisation and change of function in Hellenistic gymnasia in the Imperial period. She gives a good account of the architectural developments and changes in the great gymnasium at Pergamum, establishing what belongs to its original Hellenistic form and the improvements and alterations added to this in the Roman period. She also studies the Roman period developments in the 'Hellenistic Gymnasium' at Miletus and the Upper Gymnasium at Priene. Finally, Martin Steskal writes on Roman baths and Greek gymnasia, Ephesus and Miletus as mirrored by their bath-gymnasia.

As with all publications of colloquium papers this book represents work in progress rather than definitive accounts of the subject. There is a strong bias towards the evidence from Asia Minor: the great gymnasium at Cyrene, for example, gets only a couple of fleeting mentions, as a legal court comparable with the gymnasium at Damascus and as an example of a major gymnasium in the Roman period that did not have the addition of a bathing suite (and no mention of its new status as a *Kaisareion*).

Nevertheless, a clear picture emerges of the standing and functioning of the gymnasia, especially in the Greek parts of the Roman empire, where on the one hand they represent a continuity from the pre-Roman architecture, but at the same time reflect ideas and attitudes which had developed at Rome itself. This manifests itself particularly in the transformation of the bathing facilities. Where the Hellenistic gymnasia – and their users – made do with simple cold water washing facilities, in the Roman period they acquire substantial bathing suites, with the full range of sweat room, warm room and plunge pool. The example of the gymnasium of Pergamum, thanks to Trümper's careful studies of the evidence for its original Hellenistic form, can be seen to have acquired two additional complexes for bathing. Even the Upper Gymnasium at Priene, with its much more restricted availability of space, manages to turn one wing into a bathing sequence. Such development is a deliberate increase in the facilities related to the exercise ground function of the gymnasium, perhaps in contrast to the Imperial *thermae* at Rome itself and elsewhere. However, it is not always clear if the baths were restricted to those entitled to use the gymnasium, or whether they were also available to the general public.

It is in this, perhaps, that the most important element in the continuity of function of the gymnasium emerges. That is, that they are structures which play a vital role in the status and continuity of the local elites, for whom they primarily function. They provide for the education of the well to do inhabitants of the cities, with a regular system of schooling. They provide facilities for the continuance of intellectual and academic pursuits. They are centres for the arts, for music and other performances, they contain sculpture and, presumably, other works of art. They have a distinct political function, preserved in cities where the over-riding political power is in the hands of the Roman authorities. The status of head of the gymnasium, the *Gymnasiarch*, is paramount among the local population. Even if the proud boast of Isidorus in the *Acta Alexandrinorum*, 'I am not a slave, nor the son of a female musician, but the gymnasiarch of the distinguished city of Alexandria' (and a contrast to the low-born origin he attributes to his prosecutor, the emperor Claudius), is a

piece of wishful thinking by the authors of this subversive document it does nevertheless underline the status of the Gymnasiarch in Alexandria, as the surviving element of its once proud role as the seat of monarchy.

Obviously, the bathing element in these gymnasia is popular and, it would seem, the most durable aspect of them. Even so, at the height of the Roman Imperial system the gymnasia stood for a fundamental continuity, in a real sense as a guardian of the city's identity. They represent the real legacy of the Hellenistic age in the time of the empire.

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L.R. Siddall, *The Reign of Adad-nīrārī III: An Historical and Ideological Analysis of An Assyrian King and His Times*, Cuneiform Monographs 45, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2013, xvi+244 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-25613-2/ISSN 0929-0052

With the completion, or near completion of a number of the most significant Assyriological research projects (for example, the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, State Archive of Assyria, State Archive of Assyria Studies and, earlier, the *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*), we are entering a period of renewed focus on large-scale syntheses of the discipline, and rightly so. And yet, because of the enormous amount of material to be assessed and the lack of treatment of some periods of great importance, we will continue to need narrowly focused treatments for some time to come. In the case of the monograph under review here, the author has treated new data in the form of previously unpublished texts, and called attention to underappreciated aspects of Adad-nirari's reign at an important time in Assyria's history.

The period of Assyrian history from 823 to 745 BC, from the end of Shalmaneser III's reign to the succession of Tiglath-pileser III, is typically described in introductory handbooks as one of imperial weakness and decline. The longest reign during this period was the 28-year rule of Adad-nirari III (810–783 BC). He has occasionally been identified as the unnamed 'saviour' sent by Yahweh to deliver the northern kingdom of Israel from Aram-Damascus in 2 *Kings* 13:5 – an identification that will likely never be confirmed. Otherwise, the scholarship on Adad-nirari has typically passed him over as a weak ruler who was militarily backward and manipulated by his mother, Semiramis, and senior officials. Thanks to Luis Siddall's careful scholarship and presentation of the facts, this assessment of Adad-nirari will no longer be possible.

The volume is a revision of the author's PhD thesis supervised by Prof. A.R. George at the University of London (SOAS). The writing is lucid and clear, and avoids much of the academese that clutters most such revisions. Chapter 1 investigates the chronological problems of Adad-nirari's reign (pp. 11–59). S.'s treatment makes an important corrective to method in Assyriology more generally, by reconsidering the chronological value of the so-called 'summary inscriptions' while re-assessing the Eponym Chronicle's record for Adad-nirari's reign. The result is a more precise chronological outline of the king's military and building activities, when these data are combined with other types of evidence.

Chapter 2 takes up Adad-nirari's political relations and the route of his military campaigns in an attempt to determine the geographical extent of the empire during his reign, based partly on epistolary texts, royal grants and decrees, together with other royal inscriptions (pp. 61–79). This evidence yields a picture in which Adad-nirari appears to have reconsolidated territory lost since Shalmaneser III. In the south, Adad-nirari ruled directly over Babylonia, and his campaigns in the west were successful, extending beyond that held by Shalmaneser. However, Urartu to the north gained strength during his reign and, of course, continued to cause problems for Assyria for two centuries.

Chapter 3 investigates power structures internal to the empire during Adad-nirari's reign, including royal authority and the administration (pp. 81–132). These first three chapters reconstruct the political history of Adad-nirari's reign, while the remaining chapters turn to ideology in order to explore Assyrian royal ideology during a period when the empire was not as expansive as at other times.

Chapter 4 focuses first on the definitions of the terms 'ideology' and 'propaganda' because S. believes they need more precision among Assyriologists working on the early Neo-Assyrian period (pp. 133–69). The chapter then takes up four concepts in Mario Liverani's framework for understanding Assyrian imperial ideology: space, time, peoples and goods. Liverani's work was largely dependent upon data from Sargonid times, and therefore requires some adaptation and revision for the early Neo-Assyrian empire of the 9th century.

Based on the revised and refined model developed in Chapter 4 (p. 171 incorrectly says 'six'), S. then turns to a specific examination of the ideology of Adad-nirari in Chapter 5 (pp. 171–87). How did Adad-nirari portray himself, and how do the texts of his reign compare to those of his predecessors? S. asserts that inscriptions from Adad-nirari's reign perceived and used the past in a way that is idiosyncratic for the whole period.

S.'s impressive work culminates in conclusions somewhat at odds with previous scholarship. Instead of the typical description of the period from Shalmaneser III to Tiglath-pileser III (823–745 BC) as one of political weakness and decentralisation, Adad-nirari emerges from this study as a monarch who was politically astute and innovative, and who succeeded at stabilising the empire throughout his reign, even while the empire experienced numerous problems. S. reconstructs a relative chronology of political events during Adad-nirari's reign. First came a period of co-regency with his mother, Sammu-ramāt (Semiramis), during which Assyrian control in the west was re-established (*ca.* 810–803 BC). Second was a formative period, in which a new policy emerged using governors in turbulent regions to ensure greater stability, a policy that S. believes is of greater significance for the empire than the military defeat of Aram-Damascus (*ca.* 804–796 BC). And finally, in the later years of Adad-nirari's reign (*ca.* 796–783 BC), he ruled directly over Babylonia, and continued the policy of installing governors in turbulent regions.

Scholars working on the Neo-Assyrian period cannot afford to miss S.'s fresh assessment of the evidence for Adad-nirari's reign. He offers a re-evaluation of several texts but perhaps more importantly, he proposes a few methodological innovations that shed new light on the history of Assyria in the 9th century. Adad-nirari's imperial maintenance and innovations of administration provided stability in the west, although Assyrian royal ideology was less grandiose than we have come to expect from other periods of Assyrian history.

B. Sielhorst, *Hellenistische Agorai: Gestaltung, Rezeption und Semantik eines urbanen Raumes*, Urban Spaces 3, Walter de Gruyter, Berlin/Munich/Boston 2015, x+354 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-11-034485-1/ISSN 2194-4857

This is the third volume in the *Urban Spaces* series. It examines the status and functions of the agoras in a number of Hellenistic cities, listed in the second part of the book, a catalogue divided into two sections. The first catalogue section lists 16 agoras, selected because the evidence they provide is reasonably well preserved and they have been subjected to relatively thorough archaeological investigation. Each is fully described with the evidence for successive phases of development during the Hellenistic period. The second catalogue lists 50 more examples which are not so thoroughly described but giving, wherever possible, their position in their city, their dimensions, chronology and urban context. Both catalogues give full bibliographical details, and in addition there is a very complete general bibliography. Each catalogue entry is illustrated with plans, showing the position of the agora within its city, together with a detailed plan of the agora itself and the buildings it contained. The first catalogue also gives plans for each successive phase of development, though these are found not in the catalogue itself but in the main body of the text, in Chapter 4, 'Individual Analysis', where the examples described are divided into different categories according to form, function and topography. There are no other illustrations than these plans, no photographs, no attempts at reconstruction drawings to show the actual visible form of the agoras, apart from the well-known reconstruction drawing of the agora at Assos, shown on the front cover and which, drawn from an aerial viewpoint, would never have been observable in antiquity. The plans are all based on previously published versions (which are given in the list of illustrations) but redrawn to a consistent form. They are neatly done, though there are slips – in the account of the Agora at Magnesia on the Maeander Abb. 71 and Abb. 72 have been misplaced, 71 giving the 1st-century BC–1st-century AD plan and not its state in the second half of the 3rd century BC to the 2nd century BC, and Abb. 72 *vice versa*, while Abb. 41, the Agora of Miletus in the 1st century AD shows the gate between the Harbour Stoa and the Delphinion but removes the north gate of the Agora itself, shown correctly on the previous plan, that of the Agora in the 1st century BC.

The main text of the book discusses these examples, particularly those in the first, more detailed part of the catalogue, as spaces within the urban lay-out. After an introductory chapter, in which Barbara Sielhorst spells out her method and approach to the subject, the second chapter is devoted to a systematic analysis – sections describing the form of the Hellenistic agora, the treatment of its periphery, the aesthetic aspect and the influences of the context. The next section discusses their functions – political, religious, as a setting for athletic and other contests, and commercial. Then comes the reception of the aesthetic element, and, finally, the meaning (*semantik*) of the Hellenistic agora within Hellenistic society.

The next chapter discusses the form of the Hellenistic agora as a social phenomenon, together with the relevant literary and epigraphic sources, and the link between the Hellenistic agora and the political elites of the cities.

Based on this, the fourth and most significant chapter gives the analysis of individual examples. Under the heading 'form' it discusses pre-existing agoras in the Hellenistic

period, using as examples Athens and Corinth, followed by the ideal in new foundations: Megalopolis, Herakleia ad Latmum, Priene. This is followed by a discussion of function, the examples being the two agoras of Ephesus, the Agora of Miletus, Thera (hardly a new foundation) and the two agoras of Pergamum. Finally, a section on topography, the examples being Assos, Thasos, Cassope and Magnesia on the Maeander. It is in this chapter that the absence of photographs of the agoras discussed and their context is most felt.

S. argues that the form and appearance of the agoras of Greek cities in the Hellenistic period results from the societies under which they exist. She considers this in terms of their appearance, that this tends to regularly shaped spaces surrounded on all four sides by colonnades, thus becoming in effect peristyles. She sees this as not only giving a firm delineation to the agora but also as separating it from its surroundings. There are, however, limitations to this. Unlike the Roman colonnaded fora Hellenistic agoras have breaks in the lines of columns where streets or passages lead into and through them. Even where archways are constructed at the points of entry (as at Priene or Miletus in the Late Hellenistic period) these are decorative rather than formal closures.

S. considers the development of specialised structures or areas placed at the edges, particularly political buildings such as *bouleuteria* (even, at Miletus, outside but next to the agora itself) and the construction of separate, distinct market areas, as at Priene. She discusses the placing of statues or other monuments within the agora area. Her conclusion from the nature of these dedications is that the agora continued to contribute a political element in City life and was not just a fossilised survival.

This is a very thorough and detailed account of a crucial urban space which is an essential feature of Hellenistic cities, even if the political status and involvement of the citizens differs from the situation in Greek cities before the establishment of the Hellenistic monarchies. However, there are problems and aspects which perhaps require further consideration. Foremost, I would argue, is the use to which the open space of the agora (as opposed to the structures round its perimeter) is put, and, indeed, its nature and appearance. S. quotes the idea that the Greek agora can be regarded as the forerunner (and even the prototype) of the central public square of later European cities. In these, however, an important element is the square as a market place, where the outlying farmers bring their produce and set up temporary stalls to sell to the city inhabitants. This gives the space of the square a functional purpose but might not leave any evidence for future archaeologists to discover, and one wonders whether such temporary or more sporadic use survived in the Hellenistic agoras without being unearthed in their wider areas and under the less careful excavations carried out in the cities of Hellenistic Asia Minor in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. If the large Hellenistic agoras were simply vast open spaces with the operative structures confined to the edges and occupied, at best, by a few statue groups or other monuments, they would not seem to have been particularly useful or, indeed, enjoyable, especially in the heat of summer. After the modern excavations of the agora at Athens, limited visually to west and east by the Temple of Hephaistos and the reconstructed Stoa of Attalos, and to the north, at least, by the buildings of modern Athens, what would otherwise be a bleak, unattractive space occupied only by ruins has been made much more desirable by the planting of trees and shrubs (by the temple, at least, on the evidence of shrubs that were there in Antiquity) to give it the form of a park. Were all the Hellenistic agoras totally devoid of any form of plants? How did their ground surfaces react to wear

and tear and the impact of climate. This needs to be considered in any assessment of an urban space.

Birmingham, UK

Richard Tomlinson

M. Squire, *Image and Text in Graeco-Roman Antiquity*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2015, xxvi+516 pp., illustrations. Paperback. ISBN 978-1-107-65754-0

Seventy years ago, when I was an undergraduate, books on classical literature and history had few if any illustrations, at best maps, a coin and a portrait of Socrates. I was only awakened to the fact that there was more of relevance by attending two lectures by Charles Seltman where he showed an Athenian white-ground vase which looked like an illustration of Sappho, and the inscriptions cut by Greek mercenaries on statues at Abu-Simbel in Egypt, where he thought that *pelekos oudamou* was not 'Pelekos son of Oudamos' but 'little axe son of nobody'.

Nowadays any classical study, even on philosophy, has to acknowledge what can be got from the material evidence of antiquity, but the path to true knowledge has not been easy. Along the way classical studies has had to traverse the by-ways of semiotics, structuralism, accusations of elitism (for example, ignoring the East), as well as enjoying a better approach to the material evidence through taking account of techniques, materials, foreign influence, geometry, colour, etc. Image and word have more often now to be confronted, including a better assessment of ancient essays in descriptions of or allusions to 'art' (Philostratus, etc.), and a very new and not always necessary vocabulary ('iconotexts', etc.). The conclusion remains with Confucius – 'a picture is worth a thousand words'.

Michael Squire's book both charts the progress and makes its own contribution to this course of rediscovery, without entirely eliminating the need for close description and a properly educated practice of straight observation, a basic need which, I fear, has sometimes been neglected in favour of 'theory'. Much still remains a statement of the obvious, which is indeed often necessary. The conclusion – or one of many – that images need not be illiterate nor texts operate in a visual vacuum – is hardly revolutionary. But the scholarship here is thorough, well documented and well, if somewhat mistily, illustrated.

Woodstock, UK

John Boardman

N.C. Stampolidis, Ç. Maner and K. Kopanias (eds.), *Nostoi: Indigenous Culture, Migration and Integration in the Aegean Islands and Western Anatolia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age*, Koç University Press, Istanbul 2015, 1002 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-605-5250-49-2

Die 43 in Englisch abgefassten Beiträge, die sich mit der Frage der griechisch-kleinasiatischen Kontakte in der Spätbronze- und Früheisenzeit mit Schwerpunkten bezüglich jeweils indigener Kultur, Migration und Integration befassen, und die während der internationalen Konferenz in Istanbul vom 31.3. bis zum 3.4.2011 vorgetragen wurden, sind in 5 Teilen angeordnet: Generelles (S. 15–142), Migration (S. 145–259), Archäologische Untersuchungen in der Ägäis (S. 263–481) und in Anatolien mit Fokus auf die türkische West-

und Südküste (S. 485–668), Handel (S. 671–706) und die Aspekte Kult, Soziales und Interkulturelles (S. 709–981). Es folgen Kurzviten der Herausgeber, Adressen der Autoren und ein für den Umfang des Bandes knapper, undifferenzierter Index geographischer und Sachtermini sowie Personen (antike Personen und Forscher) in Auswahl.

Der erste Teil resümiert die politisch-historische Geographie Westkleinasiens anhand hethitischer Quellen, vor allem die der Arzawa-Länder und Ahhiyawas (J.D. Hawkins, Kap. 1) sowie die Geschichte Arzawas der hethitischen Zeit (M. Alparslan, Kap. 5; Referenzen zu den abgedruckten Kartenausschnitten fehlen).¹ Er beleuchtet ferner die Kontaktzonen des spätbronzezeitlichen Ägäisraums und Westanatoliens auf der Basis lokaler und importierter mykenischer Keramik (P.A. Mountjoy, Kap. 2: exemplarisch: Bademgediği Tepe, vgl. auch Kap. 28; zu ‚Seevölker‘-Routen vgl. Abb. 21 und 22). Die (Pfuffer-) Zone zwischen Küste und anatolischem Plateau, und damit den mykenischen und hethitischen Gebieten, verfügt mit Beycesultan zwar über einen inländischen Grabungsplatz, ansonsten liegen aber nur Surveyergebnisse vor, die die neue Periodisierung (vgl. Abb. 1) sowie die Kartierung kulturell zusammengehöriger Zonen/Gruppen u.a. durch Beobachtung von Siedlungsstrukturen, Keramikfunden für den westanatolischen Raum, auch mittels Korrelation mit den Befunden der historischen Geographie (vgl. Kap. 1), unterstützen (P. Pavúk, Kap. 3, mit Karten, z. B. Abb. 7–9). Diese These der kulturellen Eigenständigkeit Westanatoliens wird aus geoarchäologischer Sicht durch die Bestimmung unterschiedlicher Regionen/Siedlungskammern mit unterschiedlichen Siedlungsformen, die vielleicht auch unterschiedliche politische Organisationsformen reflektieren mögen, untermauert (R. Becks, Kap. 4, mit instruktiven Karten).

Teil 2 wird eröffnet mit der sehr anschaulichen Übersicht über erwähnte Migrationen in den „Anatolian narrative traditions“, ein bisher insgesamt sehr vernachlässigtes Arbeitsfeld (M.R. Bachvarova, Kap. 6, mit Fokus auf den Anatoliern). Außer der archäologisch gut fassbaren balkanischen ‚Einwanderung‘ in Troia (C. Chabot Aslan und P. Hnila, Kap. 7) und der sog. Ionischen Migration (F. Fragkopoulou, Kap. 9 sowie N. Mac Sweeney, Kap. 10, vgl. auch Kap. 38) findet auch das Problem der Herkunft und Wanderung der Phryger und die noch immer nicht abschließend gelöste Frage, ob bzw. wie in nahöstlichen Quellen erwähnte Bewohner eines Landes Mušku mit griechisch-lateinisch überlieferten Phrygern/Phrygien in Verbindung gebracht werden können, (erneut) Berücksichtigung mit dem Lösungsvorschlag, es handele sich bei Muškern und Phrygern um je ein eigenes *genos* (clan) aber desselben *ethnos* (K. Kopanias, Kap. 8).²

Teil 3 ist zum einen den archäologischen Forschungen im Ägäisraum (3A), zum anderen denen in Kleinasien (3B) gewidmet. Erfreulicherweise findet die sog. Dodekanes und die südwestliche kleinasiatische Gegenküste in mehreren Beiträgen zu mykenisch-spätbronzezeitlichen Kontexten Beachtung (F.K. Seroglou und D. Sfakianakis, Kap. 11; S. Vitale und A. Trearichi, Kap. 13: Kos; J. Eerbeek, Kap. 12; A. Vlachopoulos und M. Georgiadis, Kap. 14: in Verbindung mit den Kykladen; zu Melos speziell vgl. J.W. Earle,

¹ Abb. 1, 2 = F. Starke in *Die Hethiter und ihr Reich: Das Volk der 1000 Götter* (Stuttgart 2002), 302–03, 306–07.

² Zu einem weiteren Lösungsvorschlag vgl. C. Grace, ‚Muški Revisited‘. *AWE* 14 (2015), 23–49; A.-M. Wittke, *Muška und Phryger: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Anatoliens vom 12. bis zum 7. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wiesbaden 2004).

Kap. 15). Ebenso positiv ist hervorzuheben die Bearbeitung des nordostägäischen Raumes (L. Girella und P. Pavúk, Kap. 16) inkl. Einzelbeiträgen zu Lemnos (I. Coluccia, Kap. 18 und L. Danile, Kap. 19: jeweils mit Schwerpunkt auf Hephaistia) in Bezug auf die minoische und/oder mykenische Kultur bzw. mit der Zeitspanne mittel-, spätbronze- und früheisenzeitlich. Beachtenswert ist die Untersuchung der Verteilung griechischer Toponyme mit der Endung -ēnos und der Vorschlag, Mytilene auf Lesbos, in hethitischen Quellen Lazpa, könne als „Stadt Muwatallis“ verstanden werden (A. Dale, Kap. 17).

Der kleinasiatische Raum kann nur schlaglichtartig und letztlich etwas heterogen, was Themen sowie geographische bzw. historische Nomenklatur anbelangt, präsentiert werden. Der Rundgang setzt ganz im Südosten der Türkei mit Alalah ein (K.A. Yener, Kap. 20: mittelbronzezeitliches apsidales Gebäude). In der Region Kizzuwatna (so in vor- bzw. hethitischer Zeit benannt, später Que oder Kilikien, zumindest teilweise) findet die Frage nach Kontinuität/Diskontinuität u.a. mittels Keramik Aufmerksamkeit (R. Yağcı, Kap. 21). Ebenfalls basierend auf Keramikstudien wird mit Schwerpunkt auf Tarsos-Gözlükule der kilikische Raum bis zur Amuq-Ebene (Prov. Hatay) in der Transitionsphase fokussiert und der Versuch einer Synthese alter und neuer Befunde unternommen (E. Ünlü, Kap. 22). Ein wichtiger Mosaikstein bedeutet der archäologische und epigraphische Nachweis phrygischer und lydischer Präsenz in der wenig beachteten Region Nordwest-Pisidiens (B. Hürmüzlü und P. Iversen, Kap. 23: Fundorte Tymandos und Konane). Die bisher erstaunlich magere archäologische Evidenz im bronze- (und früheisen-) zeitlichen Großraum Lukka-Länder/Lykien im Gegensatz zur historisch-geographischen hethitischen Überlieferung wird im Beitrag von N. Momigliano und B. Aksoy (Kap. 24) zusammengefasst und durch einen weiteren Fundplatz am oberen Xanthos bereichert: Çaltılar, nordwestlich von Elmalı. Erfreulich die Verbindung mit Sarpedons *nostos*, bleibt doch insgesamt der Titel des Buches „*nostoi*“ rätselhaft: *nostos* bedeutet u.a. Heimkehr und lässt sich, um den Kontext mit dem Band herzustellen, vielleicht interpretieren als einerseits sichere Rückreise z. B. von Händlern (vgl. Kap. 31), Krieger etc. in ihre Heimatländer = ‚indigene Kulturen‘, und andererseits weiter gefasst als ‚Migration‘ und anschließende ‚Integration‘ von Menschen und Kulturfacetten. Unter *nostoi* versteht man üblicherweise die Heimkehrerzählungen vom mythischen Kampf um Troia, dessen Zerstörung man aufgrund einiger antiker Quellen, u.a. des Marmor Parium aus dem 3. Jh. v. Chr., am Übergang von Bronze- zu Eisenzeit datiert: zwischen ca. 1330–1135 v. Chr.,³ was in chronologischer Hinsicht den Herausgebern wohl als Anknüpfungspunkt diente (vgl. auch Kap. 35 mit dem Datierungsvorschlag des Krieges um 1400 v. Chr.).

Anhand einzelner Fundplätze/Grabungsorte der kleinasiatischen Westküste werden die der Tagung thematisch vorgegebenen Aspekte eher verdeutlicht. Dazu gehört u.a. das multikulturelle Milet (I. Kaiser und J. Zurbach, Kap. 25: spätbronzezeitliches ‚anatolisches‘ Material, Milet IV–VI; und M. Krumme, Kap. 26: geometrische Zeit). Die Untersuchung der früh-spätbronzezeitliche Hafensiedlung Çeşme-Bağlararası, gegenüber der Insel Chios gelegen und mit früh nachgewiesener Weinproduktion (V. Şahoğlu, Kap. 27), sowie benachbarter Orte erbrachte als Ergebnis die Beobachtung, dass offenbar jede Siedlung einen eigenen Charakter hatte und ihre jeweilige Rolle im (Handels-)Netzwerk eher mit

³ Vgl. H. Cancik in *Troia: Traum und Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart 2001), 174.

lokalen Dynamiken zu verbinden ist, als mit externen (politischen) Einflüssen (vgl. S. 607). Kennzeichnend für den benachbarten Küstenort Limantepe/klass. Klazomenai (S. Mangaloğlu-Votruba, Kap. 30) ist die ununterbrochene Siedlungskontinuität ab dem Spätneolithikum, deren Befunde zur Lösung offener Fragen der im Buch zur Diskussion stehenden Phase beitragen könnte. In Bademgediği Tepe (vermutlich hethitisch Puranda; nordwestlich von Ephesos) wurden mehrere Phasen einer Befestigungsmauer festgestellt. An einem wichtigen Verkehrsknotenpunkt z. B. zum Karabel-Pass seit neolithischer Zeit auf einem Hügel etabliert, wird es für das 14. Jh. dem Königreich Arzawa zugeordnet und vermutet, dass Muršiliš II. (ca. 1290–1272) Westexpeditionen es berührten (R. Meriç und A.K. Öz, Kap. 28; Abb. 4a: vergleichende Stratigraphie-Synopse, Karte Abb. 11). Die ebenfalls bronzezeitlich befestigte, aber zentral im Tal situierte Siedlung Çine-Tepecik am Marsyas/Çine Çayı, einem Nebenfluss des Maiandros/Büyük Menderes, verbindet die Küste mit dem anatolischen Hochland und wird Arzawa-Mira zugesprochen (S. Günel, Kap. 29). Sie zeigt neben auch lokaler mykenischer Keramik, die als Anzeiger für weit ins Inland reichenden mykenischen Kultureinfluss verstanden werden kann, zwei großreichszeitliche hethitische Stempelsiegel, wobei die hieroglyphische Inschrift mit dem Namen *tarkasna* (Teil des Königsnamen Tarkasnawa von Mira, vgl. auch Kap. 1, S. 20) auf einer der *bullae* sowie der Fundort in einem Lagerhaus(?) von besonderem Interesse ist (Lesung: S. Herbordt).

Unter dem Stichwort „Handel“ firmiert Teil 4, der aus 2 Beiträgen besteht. Nur der erste, erstaunlich umfassende befasst sich mit der Aktion des Handels als interkulturellem Konzept unter dem Titel „Profit oriented Traders“ (A. Michailidou, Kap. 31), während der zweite, eher allgemein gehaltene (E. Kozal, Kap. 32) das Augenmerk auf erkennbare und als solche definierbare Importobjekte (zumeist Keramik) aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum, die auch anderen Kontexten als dem Handel zugeordnet werden können, im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien legt.

Die verbliebenen, besonders interessanten Beiträge wurden unter „kultische, soziale und interkulturelle Aspekte“ subsumiert (Teil 5). Letzterer kommt in A. Teffetellers Artikel (Kap. 33) zur Sprache: der Einfluss und die Vermittlung früher mesopotamischer und anatolischer (hethitischer, luwischer) Texte trotz fehlender Bindeglieder in den griechischen Raum des 1. Jts. mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Delos. Noch pointierter zeigt sich die Problematik des (noch) nicht nachvollziehbaren Transfers bei Inhalten arzawischer Rituale des 2. Jts., die aus hethitischen Texten bekannt sind, und deren thematisches Aufscheinen in der ‚griechischen Religion‘ des 1. Jts. (A. Mouton und I. Rutherford, Kap. 34).

Ebenfalls auf Schrift-, aber auch auf archäologischen Quellen basieren Erkenntnisse zum Technologieaustausch namentlich zwischen dem minoisch-mykenischen Raum mit Zypern, Ägypten und Hatti, wobei die so wichtige und signifikante Metallproduktion (z. B. der Fund eines ägäischen Schwerts in Hattusa) als Beobachtungsträger für Interaktionen gewählt wurde (K. Giannakos, Kap. 35). Aufgrund der vorgetragenen, auch linguistischen Betrachtungen wird als Arbeitshypothese (erneut) vorgeschlagen, den ‚Troianischen Krieg‘ um 1400 v. Chr. anzusetzen.

Ägäische Präsenz der Übergangsphase von der Spätbronze- zur Früheisenzeit und ihr Einfluss in Kilikien und Nordsyrien ist immer wieder untersucht worden. G. Zenoni (Kap. 36) unterzieht nun zusätzlich die Fundkontexte westlicher Objekte in einigen aktuellen Grabungsorten wie Kilise Tepe im Göksu-/Kalykadnos-Tal (um 1200 v. Chr. wohl zu

Tarhunšašša gehörig), Kinet Höyük (Kilikien) sowie Tell Afis (Nordsyrien) einer kritischen Revision. Dass auch die signifikante und weit verbreitete Gruppe der sog. Lyre-player (8. Jh. v. Chr.) nochmals herangezogen und ihr Ursprung mit einer phönizischen Werkstatt auf Zypern verbunden wird, versteht sich als Beitrag zu „cross-cultural interaction“ und Mobilität, für die Phönizier/Levantiner beispielhaft gesehen werden dürfen (M. Mikrakis, Kap. 40).

Zurück in Westkleinasien wird die sprachwissenschaftliche Debatte um die Gleichsetzung von hethitisch Karkiša/Karkiya mit den seit der Ilias bezeugten Kares/Karern bzw. einem Land Kareia/Karien und der jeweiligen Lokalisation fortgeführt. Z. Simon (Kap. 37) spricht sich auf der Grundlage der in unterschiedlichen Sprachen abgefassten Testimonien, die den Namen eines Landes Karien bzw. eines Volkes Karer überliefern, gegen die Gleichsetzung aus, ebenso gegen eine „unbegründete“ proto-karische Migration. Als Eigenbezeichnung der indigenen Karer (im 2. Jt. dann zu einem Arzawa-Land gehörig) erwägt er „Kars“.

Die Beobachtung nicht zu unterschätzender mykenischer und hethitischer Einflüsse u.a. auf materielle Kultur inkl. Ikonographie und Schrift im indigenen Westkleinasien und besonders in der unteren Maiandros-Region, namentlich in Millawanda/Miletos, wird von C. Maner mit der sozialen Identität Westanatoliens verbunden und unterstreicht die oben erwähnte These der kulturellen Eigenständigkeit (Kap. 39).

Wiederkehrendes Thema ist die sog. Ionische Migration, die hier allerdings im Zusammenhang mit „Alltagsprozessen“, aber vor allem mit westkleinasiatisch-bemalter Scheibenware einerseits und stilistischen Ähnlichkeiten protogeometrischer Keramik des sog. griechischen Mutterlands und der ‚ostionischen‘ Küste andererseits Betrachtung findet (R. Vassen, Kap. 38, vgl. Kap. 9–10).

Exemplarisch für den nordostägäischen Raum (Fundorte: Troia und Beşiktepe), wo sich die Welten des Balkans, der Ägäis und Kleinasien berühren, untersucht M. Pieniżek die „cross-cultural interaction“ anhand von Körper- und Kleidungsschmuck (Kap. 41).

Dem sehr interessanten Aspekt von Exogamie oder „intra-Aegean bridal alliances“ als sozialem Indikator für Kulturaustausch innerhalb maritimer Gesellschaften ist bisher wenig Aufmerksamkeit in der bronze- und früheisenzeitlichen Forschung geschenkt worden. Dieser Aufgabe haben sich mit Fokus auf das kykladische Ayia Irini (Kea) E. Gorogianni, J. Cutler und R.D. Fitzsimons (Kap. 42) gestellt.

Den Abschluss bildet ein ausführlicher archäo-anthropologisch-historischer Beitrag in Zusammenhang mit der sog. Großen griechischen Kolonisation des 8./7. Jhs. v. Chr., der speziell den Hinterlassenschaften von Klazomenern aus Ionien (männlicher Repräsentant, *symmachos* des Theokles im säitischen Ägypten der 26. Dynastie) und Bewohnern ihrer ‚Kolonie‘ Abdera an der thrakischen Küste (weibliche Repräsentantin, *syndromos* des mythischen Oikisten Timisios) gewidmet ist.

Den umfangreichen Band kennzeichnen wiederkehrende Zusammenfassungen des bisherigen Forschungsstandes unterschiedlichster, für den Zeitschnitt größtenteils signifikanter Themen (bestimmte Regionen, besondere Materialgruppen, spezielle Sachaspekte) verschiedener universitärer Disziplinen, und seiner kritischen Hinterfragung bzw. Neueinordnung, die es auch ‚Einsteigern‘ in die Thematik der ägäisch-kleinasiatischen Kontakte erleichtern, sich ein umfassendes Bild zu machen. Die thematische Aufgliederung der Beiträge war

sicher für die Herausgeber eine Herausforderung, alle Teilnehmer zusammengeführt zu haben, ist hervorzuheben. Etwas größere redaktionelle Sorgfalt, z. B. bei der Schreibung von Autorennamen, wäre wünschenswert gewesen.

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A. Van Oyen, *How Things Make History: The Roman Empire and its Terra Sigillata Pottery*, Amsterdam Archaeological Studies 23, Amsterdam University Press, Amsterdam 2016, x+172 pp., illustrations (some in colour). Cased. ISBN 978-94-6298-054-9

This study is based on material assembled during Astrid Van Oyen's PhD research; it continues to employ a rather large amount of theoretical and technical language that can be mastered with careful, patient reading. It remains grounded in Actor–Network theory, which focuses on the relation between things. Here, terra sigillata pottery (hereafter called simply 'sigillata') is itself an actor, in relation to other types of potteries. Rather than attempt to identify human agency, the 'who' of sigillata studies, Van O. traces material agency, the 'how' of sigillata's production, distribution and consumption. She carefully teases out ('deconstructs') the incremental steps by which sigillata became a highly recognisable type of pottery. This results in a 'non-retrospective' rather than 'retrospective' account that would begin with the ultimate but not inevitable definition of sigillata. This study constitutes a highly theoretical, conceptual and, at the same time, detailed technical study of sigillata for the 21st century.

The title, *How Things Make History* – with emphasis laid on 'how' and 'make' – reflects Van O.'s methodology: using sigillata as a maker, not only a teller of history. The goal is to describe the historical processes that resulted in sigillata becoming a homogeneous, widespread category, in the past and present. Van O. chose Gaulish sigillata, which can be followed through most of the stages of its life cycle ('trajectory') from production to distribution and consumption. The sub-focus on sigillata produced at Lezoux in central Gaul, plus Trier in eastern Gaul, makes a narrower study than the subtitle *The Roman Empire and its Terra Sigillata Pottery* might indicate. Van O. succeeds in describing how Gaulish sigillata played a causal role in its own history and in broader Roman history. The reader is led to wonder whether this approach could be utilised for sigillata produced elsewhere, given the requisite data.

There is no list of the figures and illustrations for individual, well-illustrated chapters. A flow-chart comparing two models for studying sigillata ('retrospection/trajectory') appears in the concluding chapter rather than earlier in the text; a reference earlier in the text to this chart and the explanatory text would have been very helpful. Photographs are mostly in colour; location and distribution maps are grey-tone with the sea visible in light blue; black-and-white line drawings illustrate typologies; bar charts (Figs. 4.3–8) present the evidence tabulated in Appendix 1; two tables (Figs. 6.1–2) quantify regional consumption of Gaulish pottery. An index enables the reader to find specific information and terminology.

Van O. envisages three audiences for her work: readers interested in material culture theory, sigillata studies and Roman archaeology. To these audiences, this reviewer would add Roman historians, cultural and particularly economic. Van O. also suggests possible strategies for reading her book, depending on the amount of time available.

To get at the heart of the study Van O. suggests reading Chapter 1 and the short, concluding Chapter 7. There the reader learns how sigillata pottery came to be defined as a category ('bright shiny red pots') by way of ancient practices of production. In summary Van O. addresses the accumulation of traits that came to characterise sigillata as a category, traits that in turn facilitated its lifecycle as a commodity to be compared, traded, distributed and consumed.

To follow the conceptual approach, a reader interested in material culture theory and not familiar with sigillata will benefit greatly from the survival guide to sigillata in Chapter 2.1, before embarking on Van O.'s chapter-by-chapter explication of the life cycle of sigillata from production to distribution and consumption. Summary discussions at the end of each subsection and at the end of each chapter help keep the reader on track amid a wealth of technical detail; transitional introductions to new subsections and chapters provide sign posts for the argument pursued. Chapter 2 argues that sigillata was not always the same thing in late 18th- to late 20th-century practices of study. Nor was sigillata always the same thing in past practices of production; Van O. asks not 'who' or 'why' but *how* practices changed, developed and related to one another (Chapter 3). The traits of sigillata, once stabilised, facilitated its identification as a commodity that could be distributed and as an aspect of material culture that could become a widespread as well as homogeneous category of material culture (Chapter 4). Chapter 5 returns to production, where Van O. argues that sigillata as a category was able to remain stable when transferred from one production centre to another, and when faced with the development of other pottery types in the same places and at the same time. In Chapter 6 she compares and contrasts the consumption patterns of sigillata – amenable to a wide range of contexts and actions – and contemporary non-sigillata.

Van O. enables her multiple audiences to pursue particular interests by reading separate, self-contained chapters out of sequence. Readers active in sigillata studies are encouraged not only to add to our knowledge of sigillata but to transform it by accounting for just how sigillata was produced, distributed and consumed. Those with an interest in the production of sigillata are exhorted to go beyond traditional human agents – potters, workshops, *officinae* – to describe how the nitty-gritty practices of sigillata and non-sigillata production changed, developed and related to one another (Chapters 3, 5). Scholars and readers interested in production organisation and distribution will again be encouraged to see how sigillata itself set the conditions for entering into commodity exchange, and not only who – investors, traders, shopkeepers – participated in that exchange. Those interested in the consumption of sigillata may be inspired to examine how ancient people consumed sigillata in various contexts and actions (Chapter 6). Roman archaeologists are enjoined to see sigillata not only as a dating tool but as evidence to answer questions archaeology is suited to answer: again, not 'who' or 'why' but *how* sigillata was produced, distributed and consumed, before reading meaning into archaeological patterns.

Roman historians, cultural and economic, can join the audiences envisioned by Van O. She concludes, in fact, that sigillata led the way toward specific cultural and economic processes. Cultural historians are advised not to take sigillata as a marker for Romanisation but to trace its lifecycle through to consumption, before meaning was finally attached to it by ancient consumers; they are directed toward the co-relationship between centralisation, sigillata and empire. Not surprisingly, economic historians can benefit greatly from Van O.'s

approach, by following the emergence of this aspect of material culture and its historical life cycle. In production, for example, Van O. sees large intra-decorative stamps as the equivalent of a brand name or logo for the mould-maker, potter or workshop. She identifies investment – probably by landowners – as the key link between production and distribution, and sees local and regional distribution over land as the prime movers of sigillata production. For short-distance transport by sea, she examines the evidence for two different distribution patterns: from intermediate hubs and by ships hugging the coast to make frequent stops. For a quantitative increase in production and long-distance trade, Van O. again credits investment. Overall she sees sigillata as a key performance marker for charting the extent and growth of the Roman economy.

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Martha W. Baldwin Bowsky

K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse and H. Verreth with contributions by G. Azzarello *et al.*, *Graeco-Roman Archives from the Fayum*, Collectanea Hellenistica 6, Peeters, Leuven/Paris/Bristol, CT 2015, 496 pp.. Paperback. ISBN 978-90-429-3162-6

This volume is one of the results of the ‘Papyrus Archives Project’ of the KU Leuven, the members of which have since 2002 collected and publicised descriptions of ostraca and papyrus archives from Egypt in Ptolemaic and Roman times (i.e. up to AD 400). At present 497 archives, containing a total of 17,543 individual texts, can be searched for and consulted in the on-line database at the *Trismegistos* website (www.trismegistos.org), which provides the option to reproduce the information on a large number of the archives in pdf format. In recent years members of the project have also started publishing the archives by region. Following the publication of the 21 archives from Pathyris in 2009,¹ the volume at hand presents the 145 archives from the Fayum, ensuring that one-third of all archives in the on-line database are by now also available in print. While nothing compares to working with an actual book, the one disadvantage of the printed version is of course that the database is regularly updated; as time goes by one will always have to check on line to make sure to have all information available.

In the Introduction to the volume (pp. 15–30; mistakenly listed as 13–30 in the table of contents), the archives from the Fayum are placed in context. The archives date from between *ca.* 300 BC and AD 400 and consist of 138 papyrus and seven ostraca archives. While the majority of the archives contain documents solely in Greek, 28 are bilingual – Greek–Demotic (21) and Greek–Latin (seven) – and only a mere five are Demotic. The seemingly scarcity of Demotic archives from one of the most Hellenised regions of Graeco-Roman Egypt might not come as a surprise, but is however still subject to change as a large part of the Demotic material still awaits publication and study.

The authors illustrate with example the complexity of reconstructing these individual archives, using especially prosopographical data and handwriting, and the many problems faced while organising the archives for the database: the lack of detailed archaeological information on the exact find context, the problematic tracing of the journey of the papyri

¹ K. Vandorpe and S. Waebens, *Reconstructing Pathyris’ Archives. A Multicultural Community in Hellenistic Egypt* (Leuven 2009).

and ostraca to their current resting places in museums worldwide (so-called ‘museum archaeology’), the challenging classification of discarded documents reused not necessarily within a single archive, etc. There is a short introduction to the classification of each archive based on its composition (i.e., as the main types, archives of a private or official nature and miscellaneous with many subtypes, such as ‘official archive’ versus ‘archive of an official’), following the original classification of E. Seidl,² augmented with the results of more recent studies.

In the final part of the Introduction, the archives are listed according to their find context (by site and date of discovery) with a brief description of the find background. It is interesting to note that a major part of the archives was discovered not in its original context (whether house or administrative building), but in a funerary environment. Most often it concerns papyri reused as cartonnages for human mummies (38 examples), but one even finds (parts of) six, mostly official archives used as stuffing for a group of mummified crocodiles; whilst only 23 were found during excavations in residential districts, both in houses as well as rubbish dumps at sites such as Karanis (Kom Aushim), Tebtynis (Umm el-Baragat) and elsewhere. A relatively small number of archives came to light in temple areas at Bakchias (Kom el-Atl), Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) and Tebtynis. A detailed find context of almost half of the Fayum archives remains difficult to establish as they were acquired illegally and ended up on the antiquities market. More often than not hitherto-intact archives were split up and are currently found in museums worldwide.

The main part of the volume contains the individual entries for each archive (pp. 33–455). The individual archive is identified by name as well as its identification number in the database – in the format (ArchID ##). For each archive the following basic information – if known – is provided: find-spot, date, language, material, number and type of texts, current location and information on its find/acquisition. The main part of each entry consists of an up-to-date bibliography, followed by a description of the find context and the nature of the archives, next to the identification of the text type and the manner in which the individual papyri/ostraca are identified in the scholarly literature. Of particular interest are the appendices that are added to a large number of the individual entries and which provide more specific information on the archives and their holders: for example, a reconstructed family tree based on the information found in the archives, tables providing links between individual texts (for instance, written on the same papyrus, with the same handwriting, and/or the same type of content), a chronological survey of all texts, a chronological distribution of texts by recipients/type of text, a chronological overview of the liturgies performed by the archive holder and/or his family, the distribution of languages among the senders of letters and much more. Occasionally a photograph of (part of) a specific text or a map is also added to more clearly illustrate a particular point discussed in the appendix.

At the end of the volume one finds several detailed indexes (pp. 456–96), concerning archive types, places of origin, Demotic and bilingual Greek–Demotic and Greek–Latin archives, personal names, but also a concordance between the archives and the ArchID numbers. The indexes, unfortunately, are not very user-friendly, since rather than include

² *Prolemäische Rechtsgeschichte* (Glückstadt 1962), 16.

exact pages on which the information is to be found, they provide only the name of the archive(s) containing the information – forcing the reader to look that up in the table of contents in order to find the page(s) containing the information sought.

Overall – and despite the risk of the volume eventually becoming out of date, unlike the on-line database – the authors are to be commended for publishing the overview of all archives from a single region – be it the Fayum in this case or Pathyris a few years ago. In gathering all this information into a single volume, the reader and scholar are offered a fascinating introduction to the rich and varied material that is contained in the many archives that have come to us from the Fayum region in Ptolemaic and Roman times, as well as a glimpse into the lives of individuals and their families in addition to official state institutions and the temple administration. Moreover, the up-to-date bibliography and detailed information for each individual archive quickly guide the interested reader and scholar to the sources containing the original publication of the texts as well as in-depth studies of (parts of) the archives. This reviewer, for one, sincerely hopes that the project members will continue the recently established practice of publishing the material by region in the future, providing anyone interested with the means to discover more of the mesmerising multicultural world of Graeco-Roman Egypt.

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Filip Coppens

M.I. Vasilev, *The Policy of Darius and Xerxes towards Thrace and Macedonia*, Mnemosyne Suppl. 379, Brill, Leiden/Boston 2015, xi+257 pp. Cased. ISBN 978-90-04-28214-8

La littérature consacrée aux campagnes des Perses en Thrace sous Darius Ier et Xerxès est vraiment abondante. Malgré des exercices d'érudition déployés depuis le XIXe siècle et devenus de plus en plus fréquents depuis quelques décennies, les points d'interrogation persistent sur nombre d'aspects, ce qui continue à mettre à épreuve la sagacité des savants. Peut-on espérer avoir un jour une synthèse sur la présence perse en Europe qui puisse faire figure de référence de base pour les approches à venir – car il y en aura, j'en suis pleinement persuadé, beaucoup? C'est le pari que tient, avec le présent ouvrage, Miroslav Vasilev, jeune savant bulgare spécialiste de l'histoire de la Thrace et de la Macédoine à la fin de l'époque archaïque et au début de l'époque classique.

Pari en grande partie gagné, car l'auteur nous offre une analyse très propre des événements politiques qui se sont déroulés dans l'espace mentionné depuis la célèbre campagne de Darius au nord du Danube jusqu'à la fin de la présence perse en Europe. Après avoir fait, dans son introduction (p. 1–39), le point sur le but de sa recherche et les sources de notre savoir, V. présente sur l'étendue de quatre chapitres la politique de Darius en Thrace et en Macédoine de 514 à 512 a.C. (p. 40–123), puis de 499/8 à 492/1 (p. 124–61), la politique de Xerxès dans les mêmes contrées dans les années 480–479 (p. 162–211) et l'expulsion des Perses d'Europe (p. 212–26). L'ouvrage est clos par des conclusions, où les thèses prônées par l'auteur sont brièvement reprises à titre de synthèse, une liste bibliographique extrêmement riche (remontant jusqu'aux contributions de la première moitié du XIXe siècle) et un index. Quelques figures, surtout des reproductions des monnaies commentées, sont parsemées aux endroits où il en est question. On regrettera l'absence des cartes, d'autant plus que V. propose très souvent des *excursus* à caractère géographique.

Quelques thèses se dégagent de cette approche menée avec une très bonne méthode. L'auteur se range, avec de bons arguments, du côté de ceux qui nient l'existence d'une satrapie perse en Europe (la supposée unité administrative *Skudra* n'est qu'un fantôme dont il serait grand temps de se débarrasser), il estime pourtant que depuis la campagne scythe de Darius (laquelle devrait rester à sa place traditionnelle, 514/3 a.C., malgré des essais plus anciens ou plus récents de la faire basculer, selon le cas, de 519 à 512), il y eut en Thrace des places fortes (les *teichéa* d'Hérodote) tenues par des hyparques désignés par le roi, autrement dit, une présence militaire incontestable. De l'avis de l'auteur, cela ne valait que pour une région côtière peu profonde qui s'étendait vers le nord 'at most up to Apollonia' (p. 117), près de laquelle se trouvait, selon toute vraisemblance, Boryza, un fort érigé par Darius, très probablement à l'occasion de sa campagne de 514/3 (excellente discussion aux p. 77–83). V. insiste ensuite sur la participation des cités grecques de Thrace à la révolte ionienne (contrairement au 'standard' imposé entre autres par l'autorité d'un N.G.L. Hammond) et les effets de la campagne punitive de Mardonios de 492, qu'il tient à juste titre pour décisive dans le projet achéménide de mettre le pied en Europe. Il conteste, à ce propos, l'existence d'un plan de plus large portée: 'Mardonius' ambitions concerned only the Thraco-Macedonian regions' (p. 145).

V. propose souvent des solutions ingénieuses pour mieux localiser certains toponymes, oronymes ou hydronymes, de même que les aires de diffusion de quelques peuplades thraces présentes notamment chez Hérodote mais aussi chez d'autres auteurs. Il n'échappe, certes, pas à la tentation de remplacer parfois les démonstrations en bonne et due forme par des hypothèses invoquant la 'logique': il y a des dizaines de *logical/illogical* dans ses considérations, ce qui n'est peut-être pas toujours convaincant, seulement, peut-on faire mieux dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances? Après tout, l'ouvrage n'a pas l'ambition de clore le débat mais tout juste de se constituer en une contribution dont il sera désormais hautement nécessaire de tenir compte.

Quelques considérations de V. invitent à de nouvelles polémiques. Je ne comprends pas pourquoi l'auteur, même s'il estime que 'it is logical [une fois de plus *logical* – A.A.] to accept that north of the Gulf of Burgas the Persian army closely followed the coast', n'admet pas (p. 66–67) que l'armée de Darius soit passée, en dépit du silence d'Hérodote à ce propos, par Odessos et Istros. En fait, Istros est la seule cité de la région à avoir fourni des témoignages archéologiques indubitables de la présence d'une garnison perse installée à cette époque (voir surtout le jeu de garnitures de harnais perses publié par P. Alexandrescu, *AMIran* 42 [2010], 267–83, un article qui aurait dû figurer dans la bibliographie et qui, à coup sûr, aurait pu nourrir les réflexions de V.). D'autre part, la destruction d'Istros vers 490, qui a laissé des traces archéologiques des plus édifiantes, ne serait-elle pas à imputer à un épisode secondaire de la campagne de Mardonios de 492? Auquel cas, l'on aurait la preuve qu'Istros avait participé à la révolte ionienne et que, par conséquent, avant que cela ne se passât, Darius y avait jadis installé une garnison. Ce qui jetterait un certain doute sur la conclusion en quelque sorte hâtive de V., selon laquelle 'Darius decided not to impose military and administrative control over the lands between Mt Strandja and the Istros' (p. 76). Puisque j'ai développé ces idées dans un article actuellement en cours d'impression, je ne m'y attarderai plus ici. Pour la fondation de Mésambria, au lieu d'en reprendre largement la discussion (p. 76–77, avec n. 179), il aurait suffi de dire que l'expression d'Hérodote (6. 33. 2) à propos des réfugiés byzantins de 493, *polin Mésambrian oikèsan*, parfois mal

interprétée par certains exégètes, signifie tout juste que ceux-ci ‘s’établirent à Mésambria’, autrement dit, dans une cité déjà existante, et non qu’ils auraient ‘fondé’ Mésambria à cette occasion (*oikéô* n’est pas la même chose qu’*oikizô*).¹

Au-delà des débats que cette nouvelle approche peut engager, j’estime que l’ouvrage de V. est bienvenu et qu’il sera désormais utilisé avec succès par quiconque voudra se prononcer sur les aspects encore en grande partie méconnus de la présence achéménide en Europe.

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Alexandru Avram

K.J.H. Vriezen and U. Wagner-Lux (eds.), with contributions by J. Dijkstra, O. Dussart, R.J.L.L. Guimée *et al.*, *Gadara – Umm Qēs II: The Twin Churches on the Roman-Byzantine Terrace and Excavations in the Streets*, Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereines 30/2, Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden 2015, xii+387 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 978-3-447-10452-4/ISSN 0173-1904

After earlier plans for fieldwork at Gadara, one of the cities of the Dekapolis, were aborted in 1967 as a result of the outbreak of the Six-Day War, the project was finally started in 1974, with an extensive surface survey, followed by excavations in 1976–80, 1992 and 1997. The work was led by the German Evangelical Institute for the Archaeology of the Holy Land, and the excavations were carried out in co-operation with the Theological Faculty of the University of Utrecht.

The main site investigated is a terrace on the west side of the Acropolis of Gadara, situated between the main east–west street of the ancient town (here called the Decumanus) and the Roman theatre. Other areas to the west of this were also studied.

The terrace was supported by a substantial wall on its western side, with a series of vaulted chambers in front extending the terrace area, and Roman in date. On this terrace were found, from north to south, a colonnaded courtyard, an ‘octagonal’ church and a basilical church.

The octagonal church, dated to the 6th century AD, comprises an octagonal stylobate, supporting columns at its corners, and contained within a square, each side of the square measuring a little over 23 m. It had fallen, in the mid-8th century AD, in an earthquake, so that on the western side the wall of the square was completely demolished; at the eastern side, protected by the rising slope of the acropolis and soil washed over it, it was better preserved, but covered with a mass of building stone fallen in the destruction. Inside this square were four apses, one in each of the corners, opening from an ambulatory some 5.5 m wide which ran round the central octagon. The octagon itself was marked by the stylobate, which was 0.74 to 0.82 m wide. The columns on the angles of this octagon had fallen, but have been re-erected after the excavations. They are *ca.* 5.98 m high, including base and capital. Along the east front of the church was a narthex formed by an open colonnade with columns 5.48 m high including base and capital. The capitals are not described, but in the view of fallen column shafts of the octagon (Pl. III.11) a Corinthian capital is clearly visible, though its precise details cannot be made out, and in the general aerial view

¹ Voir, dernièrement, A. Avram, *Pallas* 89 (2012), 208; A. Robu, *Mégare et les établissements mégariens de Sicile, de la Propontide et du Pont-Euxin. Histoire et institutions* (Berne 2014), 311–17.

of the site, after the columns had been re-erected (Pl. II.1), as well as the view of the restored terrace wall (Pl. V.4) the capitals to the church and its narthex can be clearly made out to be Corinthian. No attempt is made to show whether or not there were any variations in the form or dimensions of these capitals. Fragments of Corinthian capitals (acanthus leaves) in both marble and limestone are recorded in the 'Building Elements' section of the description of finds, but there are no details of complete capitals or drawings of the profiles of the bases. The material associated with the construction of this church dates it securely to the 6th century AD.

Inside the church were opus sectile floors in the apses and the ambulatory. The eastern part of the octagon also had an opus sectile floor, while the western part was paved with large slabs, though these octagon floors were badly damaged. In the eastern part of the octagon, under the floor, was a U-shaped line of stones forming a grave. There were also later graves and reliquaries in the church. Tesserae and plaster on the surviving sections of wall indicate that there was mosaic decoration. The existence of the graves and the form of the church point to its being erected as a memorial.

The main problem in trying to understand the architectural form of the church is the lack of evidence for the superstructure over the columns of the octagon, whether they supported an architrave or arches. The columns themselves are reused from a Roman structure, presumably once in the near vicinity and probably situated on the terrace itself, where they might well have had an entablature supported by an architrave. There are no signs at all of the long blocks that would have been needed for an architrave over the columns re-erected to form the octagon of the church, where they would have had to have been about 4 m in length. But equally, there are no traces of the relatively substantial impost blocks which would have been needed to cap the columns if an arcade was to be constructed. There are no signs of the other blocks which would have been needed for a conventional entablature, nor of the voussoirs which would have formed arches. A solid entablature and superstructure over it would have been awkward as part of the surround to the octagon – an arcade is more likely. This would have risen, on its underside, to a height of about 2 m (half the diameter of the arches) above the columns which would have given a more reasonable clearance between octagon and ambulatory.

What extended above this is equally uncertain. There seems to have been no trace of anything other than conventional pan and cover tiles to form the roofs, but nothing remotely complete has survived. The tentative restoration of the complex (Fig. XVIII.1) shows the octagon superstructure wall rising above the level of the surrounding roof over the outer square, and covered with an eight sided roof which would have required triangular tiles along its eight ridges. The alternative would have been a dome, but again there is no evidence for this. The restoration drawing shows an awkward flat roof section between the angled edges of the octagon walling and the main inclined roof line over the ambulatory and apses. I do not see how this would have been possible.

Immediately to the south of the octagonal church and built against it is the basilical church, 15.82 m. wide and *ca.* 18.85 m long, with an apse at its eastern end. It is very poorly preserved. It dates probably to the late 6th or early 7th century AD.

All this, together with the peristyle courtyard to the north of the octagonal church was built on the Roman terrace, whose slab paving can be found below the paving of the churches. It is suggested the terrace had a monumental entrance at its northern end from

the 'Decumanus' road. The excavations also cleared the façade to the vaulted rooms along its western edge, and this too has been subsequently restored. There was no attempt to elucidate the function of this terrace or its original architecture.

Other areas (IV and V) were excavated some 420 and 454 m respectively west of the terrace. Area IV revealed part of the road surface of the 'Decumanus', edged with a stylobate and the position for columns on either side. Further west still area VI comprised soundings in the remains of a large building. This was identified as a hippodrome which had never been completed.

The greater part of the volume is taken up with the description of finds. Section 12, on the ceramic material runs from p. 70 to p. 161, plus 27 pages of drawings. It includes material from the Iron Age to the 8th century AD.

This volume is a valuable and thorough investigation of a site dating to late antiquity. It could perhaps have given a fuller picture of the actual architecture, and of the archaeology which preceded it, but in all other respects it is precise and detailed, and will provide a useful point of reference.

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Richard Tomlinson

C. Wawrzinek, *In portum navigare: Römische Häfen an Flüssen und Seen*, Akademie Verlag (Walter de Gruyter), Berlin/Boston 2014, 517 pp., 149 plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-05-006029-3

Christina Wawrzinek hat unter dem Titel „In portum navigare“ eine archäologische Untersuchung vorgelegt, die sich auf die landgestützte Infrastruktur römischer Schifffahrt und dabei im Besonderen auf künstlich angelegte Häfen konzentriert. Ziel ist es, und damit will die Verf. eine deutlich erkennbare Forschungslücke schließen, alle nachweisbaren Binnenhäfen jenseits moderner Klischees zu erforschen, deren Existenz von Beginn der republikanischen Zeit bis in die Zeit der Reichsteilung in der Spätantike reicht.

Damit hat sich die Verfasserin eine wahre Heraklesaufgabe zugemutet, an der sie aber – das sei schon an dieser Stelle hervorgehoben – zumindest teilweise gescheitert ist. Dies mag man nur bedauern angesichts des offensichtlichen Engagements und des Arbeitspensums, das in der Arbeit steckt. Das Hauptproblem der vorliegenden Untersuchung besteht darin, daß keine klare Fragestellung formuliert wird, die eingebettet ist in einen überschaubaren zeitlichen und räumlichen Kontext. Aus dieser Perspektive überrascht es nicht, daß dann im Detail bei Interpretation der antiken Quellen und der Heranziehung der Forschungsliteratur immer wieder oberflächliche Ungenauigkeiten erkennbar werden. Der weite der Arbeit zugrunde gelegte Untersuchungszeitraum bringt es mit sich, daß Flusshäfen in dem Katalog aufgenommen werden, die sehr spät erst im Zuge der Expansion Roms in Italien und dann auch im Imperium Romanum unter römische Kontrolle geraten sind. Im Einzelfall fällt es sehr schwer zu entscheiden, ob und wann ein Hafen als römisch bezeichnet werden kann. Eine Abgrenzung fällt sehr schwer, vor allem wenn man die Häfen in Griechenland und dem griechischen Osten in den Blick nimmt; und man mag sich die Frage stellen, wie man angesichts eines derartigen Ensembles denn überhaupt Vergleichbarkeit herstellen kann. Wenn man diese grundsätzlich fehlerhafte Ausrichtung ernst nimmt, dann ist der gesamte theoretisch-methodische Ansatz der Untersuchung von vornherein

zum Scheitern verurteilt. Das ist sehr schade, wird doch im Verlauf der Untersuchung das Bemühen erkennbar, Kategorisierungen aufzustellen und klare Begrifflichkeiten zu finden und den Fokus von der Archäologie im engeren Sinne auf Fragen zu richten, die eher der Politik und Wirtschaft der römischen Antike zuzuordnen sind. Generell zu begrüßen ist auch, daß die Verf. naturräumliche Entwicklungen in ihre Überlegungen einbezieht, die sich häufig auf die Erhaltung archäologischer Überreste von Flusshafenanlagen massiv auswirkten. Neben natürlichen Flüssen werden auch künstlich angelegte Wasserläufe untersucht und die technischen Anstrengungen der Römer mit in die Untersuchung einbezogen.

Auch die Gliederung der Arbeit vermag nicht zu überzeugen: Das ist vor allem darauf zurückzuführen, daß die Themen nicht stringent bearbeitet werden. Immer mal wieder findet man eingestreute Hinweise zur Forschungsgeschichte und über die Arbeit verstreut gibt es Bemerkungen, die sich mit methodischen Fragen auseinandersetzen. Viele Probleme, die sich ergeben, werden von der Verf. in aller Offenheit benannt. Darunter wiegen Datierungsprobleme am schwersten, so daß vieles rein spekulativ bleiben muß. Ausführlich behandelt die Verf. die archäologische Quellensituation (unter den Reliefs kommt vor allem der Traiansäule Bedeutung zu), wobei auch die verschiedenen nicht archäologischen Gattungen zur Sprache kommen, zu denen aber die Verf. erkennbar keinen rechten Zugang findet.

In den Kapiteln zu den einzelnen Bestandteilen, die einen Flusshafen ausmachen (vor allem Kais, Piers, Becken, Molen etc.) wird jeweils nach einer Definition des Begriffs auf die förmliche Ausgestaltung, das verwendete Material und die Bauweise eingegangen und auf die Besonderheiten sowie die Vor- und Nachteile der Betriebseinrichtungen hingewiesen. Mit einigen Vorurteilen, die das Bild der schiffbaren Häfen und römischer Schifffahrt aus Flüssen insgesamt prägen, kann die Verf. aufräumen. Die Römer haben etwa keineswegs ausschließlich Altarme für die Anlage von Hafenkomplexen herangezogen. Beim Treideln wurden keine Zugtiere eingesetzt.

In Auseinandersetzung mit den römischen Schiffshäusern im Umfeld von Flusshäfen muß die Verf. auf Material aus Griechenland (Athen und Oiniadai) zurückgreifen, um Entwicklungslinien und Besonderheiten nachzuweisen. Ehrlicherweise gibt die Verf. hier wie anderswo unumwunden zu, daß es vielfach kaum möglich ist, zwischen griechischen und römischen Schiffshäusern zu unterscheiden. Ob tatsächlich ein Funktionsunterschied zwischen Schiffshäusern in Meereshäfen und Flusshäfen besteht, muß angesichts des schwierigen Befundes vor Ort vielfach offen bleiben. Zu Recht wird auch die Zuordnung einiger Schiffshäuser zu einem militärischen Kontext eher zurückhaltend beurteilt.

Sichere Hinweise auf „Leuchttürme“ in Binnenhäfen in der römischen Zeit lassen sich nicht belegen. Die meisten erhaltenen Werften scheinen in den jeweiligen Hafenkomplex integriert worden zu sein, andere waren deutlich getrennt eingerichtet worden.

Ausführlich wird dann diskutiert, ob eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen Militär- und Zivil- bzw. Frachthafen überhaupt existierte. Die Verf. argumentiert hier zurückhaltend und arbeitet dann weiter mit einer Funktionsbestimmung einzelner Installationen in den Flusshäfen als Frachthafensektor, Marinehafensektor etc. und ordnet die Befunde den einzelnen Typen zu. Abschließend wird zu dieser Problemstellung betont, daß die Häfen häufig ein breites Funktionsspektrum abdeckten und somit in der Regel als „Mehrzweckhäfen“ zu betrachten seien.

Anschließend diskutiert die Verf. die Frage, ob Binnenhäfen in der römischen Antike anders ausgestaltet waren als der mediterrane Hafentyp. Tatsächlich scheinen Kais und Piers in den Binnenhäfen eine größere Bedeutung gehabt zu haben. Über einige allgemeine Feststellungen kommt die Verf. bei den Versuchen der Ergebnissicherung jedoch nicht hinaus.

Ein generelles Problem stellt die Datierung der archäologischen Befunde dar – das wird an vielen Stellen der vorliegenden Abhandlung deutlich. Dies ist ein wesentlicher Grund dafür, daß auch übergreifende Fragen, z. B. ob Binnenhäfen im Imperium im 1. und 2. Jh. n. Chr. einen ähnlichen Ausbau erfahren haben, wie man dies für die römischen Meereshäfen festgestellt hat, nicht klar beantwortet werden können.

Ausführlich wird auch der „Kontext“ der Häfen diskutiert. Auch hier finden sich immer wieder methodisch grundsätzliche Einschätzungen, die die generelle Einordnung der Befunde von vornherein maßgeblich negativ beeinflussen (hier ist vor allem auf die Frage nach dem Aussagewert einer Kartierung der Binnenhäfen des römischen Reiches hinzuweisen). Unter dem „Kontext“ der Häfen versteht die Verf. auf ihre Anbindung an Landstraßen und Schnittstellenfunktionen und die wirtschaftliche, administrative und politische Organisation der Binnenhäfen.

Ausführlich wird daran anschließend die Verbindung zwischen Flusshafen und Siedlung und die Bedeutung sowie repräsentative Funktion der Häfen diskutiert. Hier geht es vor allem darum, Gebäude und Hafenviertel etc. im Kontext von Häfen in den Blick nehmen, die nicht unmittelbar mit dem Hafenbetrieb in Verbindung standen. Auch hier stellt sich heraus, daß es zum jetzigen Zeitpunkt sehr schwer fällt, aus einigen wenigen Hafenplätzen mit bemerkenswerten Funden auf größere und langfristige Funktionszusammenhänge zu schließen. Vieles bleibt hier bei einer generellen Einordnung noch im Dunkeln.

Der zweite große Abschnitt der Untersuchung bleibt für den umfangreichen Katalog mit insgesamt ca. 300 Hafenfundstellen reserviert. Um den zahlreichen Spekulationen über Flusshäfen in der römischen Antike gerecht zu werden, hat die Verf. sich dafür entschieden im Katalog unter A die Häfen auszulisten, die vor dem Hintergrund der archäologischen Quellensituation als sicher belegt gelten können, während unter B Häfen aufgelistet werden, deren Existenz man nur vermuten kann und die in dem schriftlichen Quellenmaterial Erwähnung finden. Der Nutzen der getrennten Auflistung wird dem Rezensenten nicht recht klar. Die Untersuchung verfügt über diverse Anhänge: Eine Sammlung von Testimonia präsentiert einige literarische Quellen (mit beigefügter englischer und deutscher Übersetzung), die sich mit Flusshäfen in römischer Zeit beschäftigen. Wenig hilfreich ist ein kleines Corpus relevanter epigraphischer Quellen, die in Faksimile aus den diversen Bänden des „Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum“ stammen, jedoch ohne Transkriptionen, ohne Anwendung des Leidener-Klammersystems und ohne Übersetzung präsentiert werden. Ein ausführliches Verzeichnis der abgekürzten Sekundärliteratur macht deutlich, auf welcher breiter Literaturbasis (leider konnte die nach 2008 erschienene Literatur nicht systematisch herangezogen werden) die Untersuchung insgesamt bearbeitet worden ist. Trotzdem wird man im Einzelnen dann doch das Fehlen von vielen einschlägigen Forschungsbeiträgen bemerken. Wenig nützlich ist denn auch ein kleines Glossar nautischer Fachbegriffe rund um das Thema Binnenschifffahrt. Besser gelungen scheint mir hingegen der umfangreiche Karten- und Abbildungsteil, der insgesamt 149 Tafeln umfasst.

Kommen wir nun zu einer Gesamteinschätzung: Die Arbeit weist in der methodischen und theoretischen Ausrichtung und im Detail viele Mängel auf, die nur zum Teil

charakteristisch sind für derartige wissenschaftliche Erstlingswerke. Im genuin althistorischen Bereich zeigen sich immer wieder Schwächen, Ungenauigkeiten und schlichtweg inhaltliche Fehler. Dies hängt hauptsächlich mit dem Fehlen einer klar durchdachten Fragestellung und mit der viel zu breiten Themenausrichtung zusammen, die zu einer Reihe von durchaus vermeidbaren Wiederholungen, Redundanzen und Ungenauigkeiten führt. Demgegenüber muß man konstatieren, daß der Katalog mit seinem Handbuchcharakter für künftige Forschungen durchaus nützlich sein kann.

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Klaus Freitag

P. Wheatley and E. Baynham (eds.), *East and West in the World Empire of Alexander: Essays in Honour of Brian Bosworth*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2015, xxvii+372 pp., illustrations. Cased. ISBN 78-0-19-969342-9

This fine book dedicated to Brian Bosworth derives from a 2007 conference in honour of his retirement from the University of Western Australia. Initially conceived to mark his 65th birthday, it was subsequently expanded and instead presented past his 70th. His death in 2014, however, now marks it as *in memoriam*. The beginning contains an impressive list of Bosworth's publications, while a collected bibliography and sparse index form the end. The nineteen articles that comprise this collection are for purposes of this review divided into six parts.

The first section consists of three articles that examine the source tradition of Alexander's divinity. Judith Maitland argues that the treatment, particularly by Curtius, of Alexander's kinship with Achilles with emphasis on his wrath is based on a motif that originated from an unknown author of the vulgate who imbued his conception of Alexander with the Homeric hero. Waldemar Heckel notes that Alexander knew that he was not a god, but the tradition that surrounded this notion was born of propagandistic and even romantic notions. His emulation of the Greek hero Herakles as opposed to Achilles is real and is marked at the outset of his reign. In her examination of the story about the Pythia's proclamation of Alexander's divinity and invincibility, Lara O'Sullivan contends that the source of this likely propaganda was Callisthenes.

The five articles that treat military matters, some more loosely than others, comprise the second section. Elizabeth Baynham takes up the role of the military kit as a reflection of power and identity, but not as a prognostic of success on the battlefield. The politics of display, moreover, were constantly shifting between symbols emphasising manliness and ornaments of mere ostentation. Edward M. Anson sides with the traditional view that the army and/or its commanders caused Alexander to halt his eastward advance at the Beas. In doing so, he is at odds with the notion that Alexander staged the 'mutiny' to save face, because he had no intention of proceeding any further. David Whitehead examines the identity of Philippus an engineer, who is listed among the guests at the party by Medius of Larissa in 323 BC and was thus connected with the alleged conspirators in a plot against Alexander. He concludes that Philippus may have been the successor of Alexander's chief military engineer, Diades. In his review of Alexander's Exiles Decree of 324, Ian Worthington builds on Bosworth's work by arguing that Alexander not only used the decree to build support in Greece, but was compelled to make it policy as a result of the problems caused

by his Dissolution Decree in Asia. Finally, Norman G. Ashton reexamines the events of Craterus in three chronological periods between August 324 and May/June 321 BC from the point of view of Craterus as opposed to what others had done to him or their decisions made about him. He concludes that when Alexander died Craterus was in Asia Minor where he subsequently died fighting Eumenes in May/June 321 BC, but had he been in Babylon in June 323 Craterus may well have been 'Alexander's designated "successor"' (p. 116).

The Argead household portrayed in myth or history forms a third division composed of three chapters. To begin, Daniel Ogden reassesses the seduction of Olympias by the Nectanebo serpent, which coils upon her lap in the *Alexander Romance* and is represented in the Baalbek illustration, which 'was conceived on the model Hygieia's iconography' of the Palatitsa relief (p. 121). Olympias, however, is not understood as nor is she compared with Hygieia, because the manifestation of anguiform-cult imagery seems to exist in the *Romance*, thereby allowing such references to Hygieia to be appropriated. Timothy Howe focuses on the source tradition connected with Cleopatra-Eurydice's murder and the chronology of events that led up to it, the political situation in the Macedonian court beginning with Philip, and proposes that just after Alexander's reign began he was vulnerable politically and sought allies, including a leviratic marriage with Cleopatra. Nevertheless, before he could enact the marriage, Olympias murdered Cleopatra and her daughter Europa in Alexander's absence, since she feared her power at his court was diminishing. Elizabeth D. Carney re-examines the 50-year period (323–ca. 277 BC) of the dynasties that undertook to control Macedonia and compares it with other dynasties before and after it to ascertain why dynastic loyalty ebbed and flowed. She asserts that a successful dynasty was one that tended to blend dynastic and national identity, 'biological/demographical chance' (p. 161) and kings whose personality resembled their predecessors. She hints at future research on the topic by contemplating that 'dynastic loyalty did not end with Roman conquest' (p. 162).

The three chapters dealing with Ptolemy as satrap, then as king of Egypt, followed by a Diadochan chronography beginning with the death of Philip Arrhidaeus, form the fourth section of the book, albeit out of chronological order. In Robin Lane Fox's perspicacious assessment of important aspects of Ptolemy's career to 304 BC: he reviews the source tradition praising Ptolemy; the circumstances that resulted with Ptolemy establishing his rule over Egypt; he dismisses as overly simplistic the notion that Ptolemy was an 'isolationist'; he examines Ptolemy's ambitions, postulating that he was the source of Alexander's Will; and, finally, as ruler of Egypt. For Kenneth Sheedy and Boyo Ockinga the crowned ram's head on two small issues on coins bearing Alexander's name is the 'native' sign of Amun-Re. This unprecedented use, they argue, emerged from Alexander's policy, subsequently enacted by Ptolemy, 'of proclaiming to the Egyptian people a respect for the critical religious importance of the pharaoh and an acknowledgment of the traditional obligations which accompanied elevation to this office' (p. 199). Pat Wheatley takes as his reference point the death of Philip Arrhidaeus and by integrating a variety of primary and secondary sources both literary (Aramaean, Babylonian and Classical) and material (Sidonian coins), argues for the 'High' chronology anchored on key events (battles, the deaths of Eumenes and Olympias, the siege of Pydna) as the 'interface' between the Second and Third Diadochan wars, 317–313 BC.

In his appraisal of the crossing places of Thapsacus, associated with the Achaemenids and Alexander, and Zeugma, where the Hellenistic and Roman cities of Seleucia and Apamea occupied opposite banks, David Kennedy re-evaluates a host of primary sources. His analysis extends back to the *Epic of Gilgamesh* and encompasses a historiography of secondary sources, including the British Euphrates Expedition of 1835, in order to establish viable routes on which timber could easily have been transported. He reasons that the key to the identification of the Thapsacus lay not in the ancient accounts of great armies, but in the overlooked routes from the Levant to Mesopotamia that 'pass notice although they were surely the norm' (p. 283). As a result, he sides with those who argue in favour of Birecik as the ancient site of Thapsacus.¹

Three articles round out this last of six sections. One concerns Alexander's portrayal by Valerius Maximus, which is perfectly fitting for the tenor of the collection, but no explanation is offered by the editors for the inclusion of the two final articles of the book that concentrate on matters related to Roman history and numismatics. Thus Jane Bellemore analyses the almost two dozen *exempla* mentioning Alexander in Valerius Maximus' *Dicta et Facta Memorabilia* in order to discern whether a pattern exists of how Alexander is portrayed. Valerius overwhelmingly projects a positive Alexander who is privileged by the gods as seen by his success as a military leader. She also injects this image of Alexander as quasi-divine and successful military commander indirectly into Augustus. Arthur J. Pomeroy examines certain divisive issues connected with the early imperial history of Rome reflected in Tacitus' *Histories* and *Annals* and discussed in modern historiography. John R. Melville Jones builds on the suggestion proposed by Jolivit-Lévy that John the Baptist is depicted crowning the emperor on the obverse of the solidus of Alexander III (AD 912–913). The description of the imagery displayed on the coin in question would have been greatly enhanced had illustrations been provided.

To sum up, this useful and significant collection of papers is befitting a scholar of Brian Bosworth's stature. They open many important perspectives for future research in this field. The book contains a wealth of information and serves as a welcome addition to anyone interested in Alexander studies, including the Diadochi, the Hellenistic period and beyond.

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Jeffrey D. Lerner

E. Winter and K. Zimmermann (eds.), *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten: Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Asia Minor Studien 76, Verlag Dr Rudolf Habelt, Bonn 2015, viii+193 pp., 18 plates and colour plates. Cased. ISBN 978-3-7749-3937-0

The present volume contains the written, revised versions of presentations delivered at a conference in February 2013 concerning Achaemenid Anatolia; their focus: those regions under or adjacent to the sphere of influence exercised by the Hekatomnid family. The editors' introduction (April 2015) is precise in giving the main argument of each contribution. But I recommend that the reader begin with P. Briant's (placed last, pp. 175–93), in which

¹ It should be noted that Getzel M. Cohen's article on 'Polis Hellenis' is here not discussed, since it forms 'Appendix IX: Polis Hellenis' in his *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India* (Berkeley 2013), 360–77.

he encourages the investigator to be aware of the wider range of documentation from outside Anatolia in addressing the depth of Achaemenid influence *vs* the depth of native tradition. One must strike a balance between the extremes of expecting a too highly centralised administration or its near absence.

The first three papers examine the nature of Hekatomnid control, an assessment prompted by the recently discovered Hekatomnidgrab at Mylasa. C. Marek's (pp. 1–20) cautious and well-documented presentation of the state of existing and the difficulties in interpreting that evidence offers numerous correctives to the who build upon uncertainty in creating an ordered construction. Marek, cognisant of Briant's advice, concludes (p. 14): 'Meine Schlussfolgerung besteht darin, dass wir dir „Satrapie“ der Hekatomniden grundlich ueberdenken und uns bei ihr von einer starren Konzeption des persischen Weltreiches loesen muessen.' It is also without question that the Hekatomnids enjoyed basking in the radiance of titulature derived from that Weltreich. M. Nafissi (pp. 21–48), like Marek, introduces correctives in his discussion of the Iasus monument and epigram. While the Hekatomnids never claimed a royal status for *themselves*, they accepted the claims of such when made by others, particularly those in subordinate position. Thus, in the world of Iasus, which maintained its ancestral chancellery and political practices, the Hekatomnids were a royal family, whose status could be transmitted across generations and for whom the Iasians were the first to set up statues of the royal family, recipients of honours normally reserved for the divine. I would add two observation about this Iasian 'dream within a dream': the epigram's wording is very reminiscent of the opening portion the later *OGIS* 219 (Ilium, start of Antiochus I's reign); secondly, the activities of 'royal family' are described in terms found in Dumézil's trifunctional scheme, in which Idrieus sets aright ancestral power (sovereignty, military), Ada leads the Carians back to economic order (productivity).

R. Fabiani's (pp. 51–74) contribution on Iasus under the Hekatomnids is more problematic. Its middle section (pp. 51–59) is beneficial in demonstrating continuity in civic administration personnel based on epigraphic data and the existence of an oligarchic structure. The reconstruction of civic internal and external relations is more uncertain. I am unconvinced that Hekatomnid 'Habgier' (p. 53) was a cause for extended political tensions or that the suppression of the Anti-Mausollos Plot was a significant 'Wendepunkt'. One should avoid the use of Modemeinungen – 'ambigue', 'Kreolisierung' (p. 65, cf. ll. 4–5 on p. vii) – or 'die Herausbildung einer karischen Identitaet' (p. 54). With apologies to Jacques Stern, former French Minister for the Colonies, the Hekatomnids were not in the business of creating 'one hundred million [Carians]'. The imperial problem here is one of perception, poorly documented from evidence presently available from antiquity. How did administrators perceive themselves, their colleagues, their subordinates? And, in turn, how were these administrators perceived? How did the 'locals' perceive themselves in relation to the administrative structure? Building upon Marek p. 14 and Nafissi p. 41, I suggest that the use of comparative data drawn from the better documented late 19th- and early 20th-century empires, for example the Raj and Deutsch Ostafrika. The peoples of these regions, whether 'local' or 'alien', were literate, and have left behind still-extant public and private documents touching upon the questions delineated above. At least we might gain some inkling of the wide range of possibilities which existed with the Achaemenid realms.

The papers now depart Iasus. L. Karlsson (pp. 75–82) provides an informative and enjoyable introduction to the Sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda. Its development from a native sanctuary to a Hekatomnid version of a Persian *paradeisos* with tomb connected to an ancestor cult is an intriguing proposition, but I prefer to see overall Hekatomnid self-promotion yielding a secondary advantage called to the minds of those familiar with other sectors of the empire establishments elsewhere. Of exceptional value as a starting point for research into the art formerly labelled ‘Graeco-Persian’ is Nieswandt and Salzmann’s study of Relief Manisa 3389 (pp. 83–133), accompanied at Taf. 8.1 by a photograph of the stele in its better state of preservation (1966). The authors lean towards a 4th-century BC date for the monument which depicts local nobilities’ desire for a presentation in *‘imitatio regis’*, i.e. the Achaemenid, and introduce the term ‘Anatolian-Persian’ as an apt means of reflecting Greek, Persian and epichoric influences. They win the crown by means of their detailed footnotes, detailed catalogue of Anatolian-Persian reliefs and extensive bibliography

A somewhat antiquated perception of events in the Achaemenid Far West mars Rheidt and Arslan’s account of Assus in the 4th century BC. While the archaeological record is presented with clarity, the attempt to tie it to specific events is less successful. The persistent expansion of the civic market place, the new Bouleuterion, increased coinage, the heightened ‘Selbstbewusstsein’ of the citizens rather all point to a period of relative stability and economic growth. H. Klinkott (pp. 147–73) seems to present a valid case that officers from the Great King down did not intervene to the disadvantage of local/regional religious institutions. But if the institution proved a fount of disorder, its economic base was overturned.

Engelbert Winter and Klaus Zimmermann have here edited valuable studies. The Marek, Nafissi, Nieswandt-Salzmann, and Briant pieces are cause for acquisition and careful examination. But as of 29 February 2016 they did not have the last word: <http://www.louvre.fr/l-anatolie-achemenide-nouvelles-recherches-archeologiques>.

Berkeley, CA

M.N. Weiskopf

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